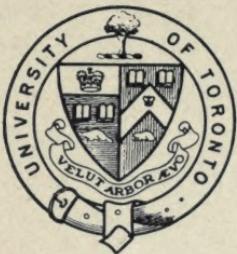


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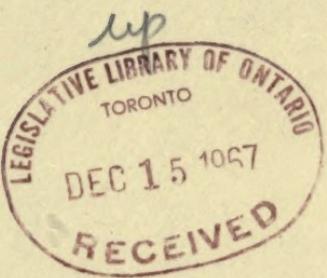
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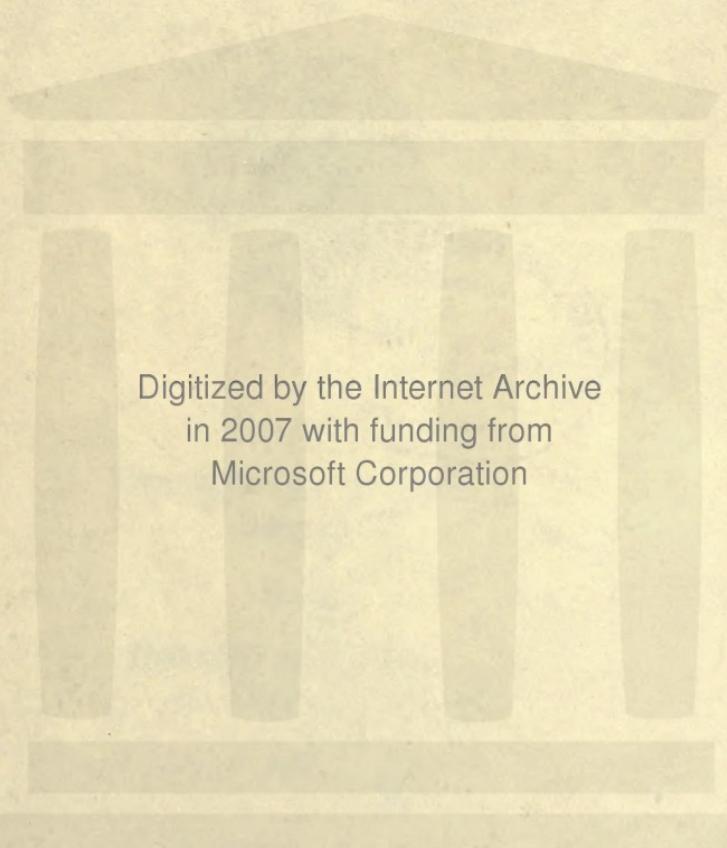
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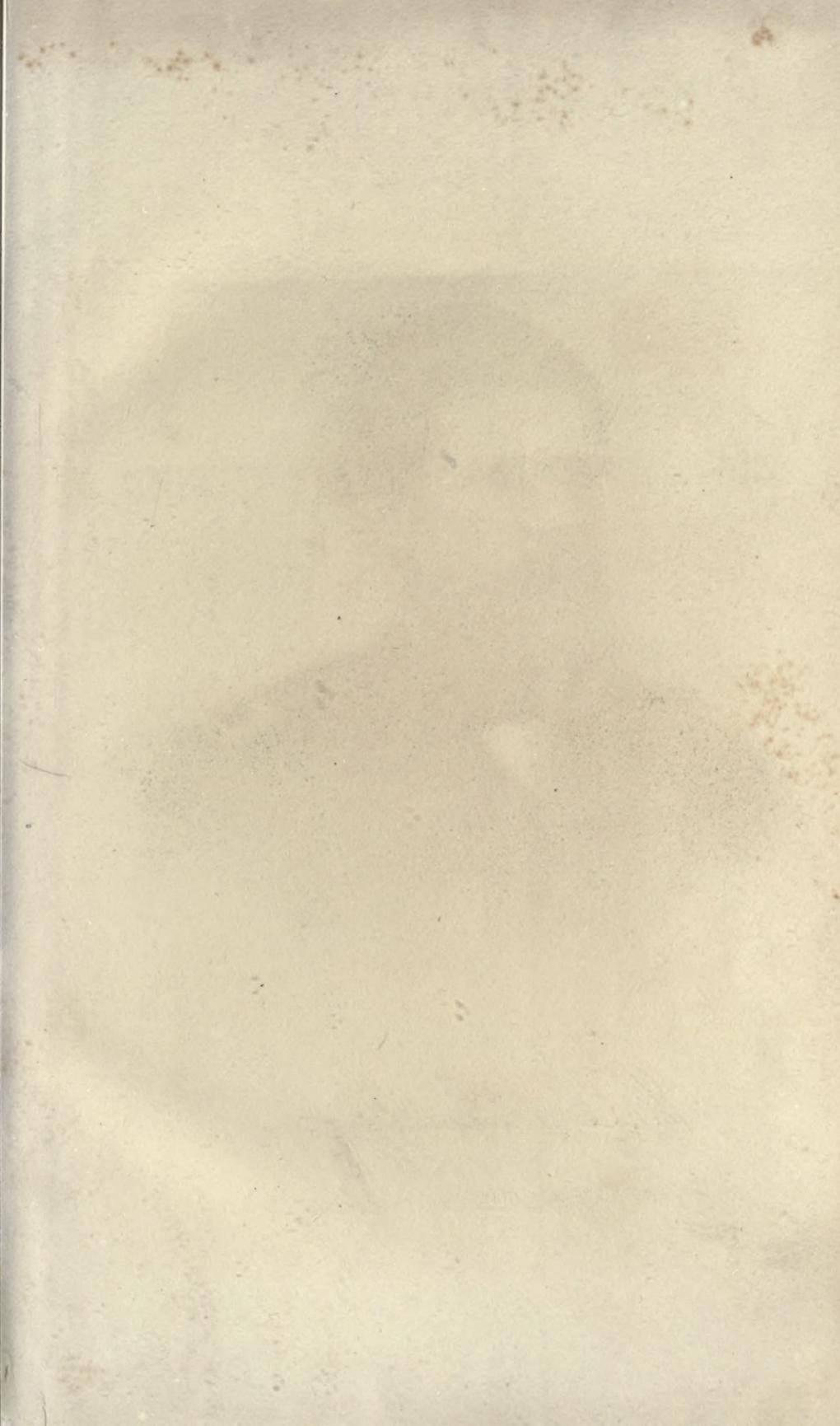
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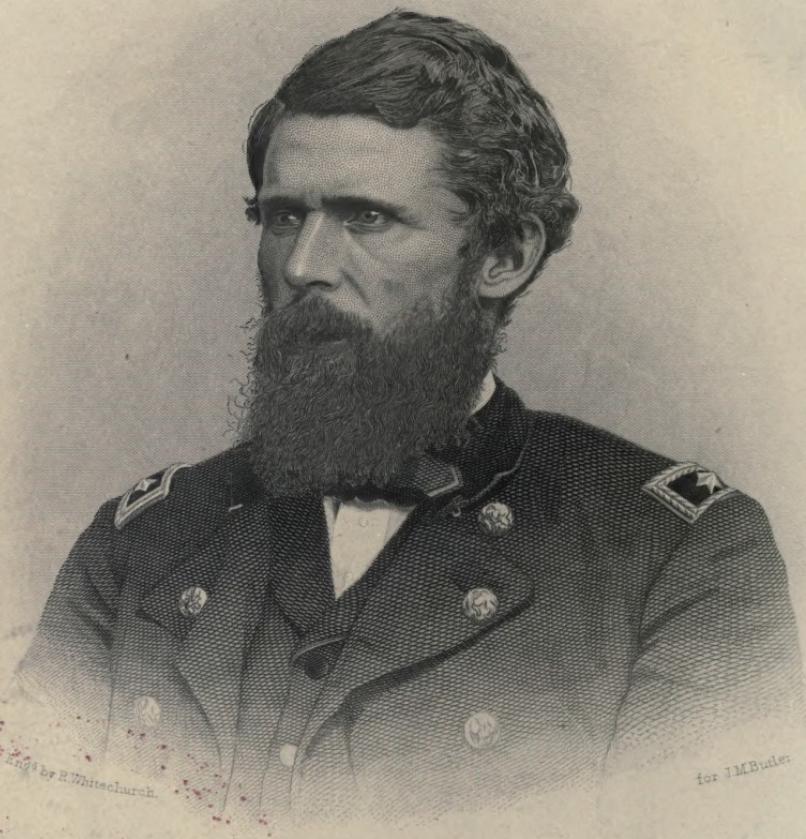




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SECRET SERVICE.







J.C. Butler.

BRIG. GEN<sup>T</sup>. AND CHIEF, NATIONAL POLICE.

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## HISTORY



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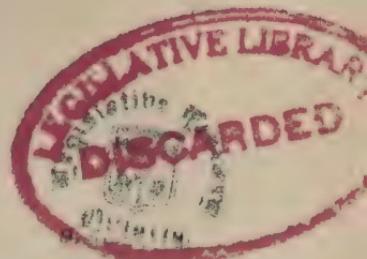
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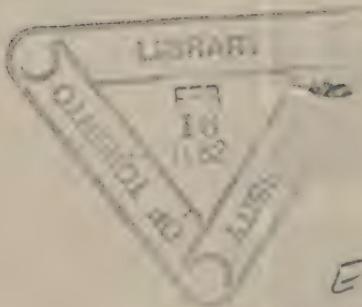
GENERAL L. C. BAKER,

CHIEF NATIONAL DETECTIVE POLICE.



PHILADELPHIA:  
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1868.



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## P R E F A C E.

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IN giving to the public this volume, it has been the design to present the operations of the Bureau of the National Detective Police during the war, so far as it is proper to make them known to the people. It is not a book of romantic adventures, but a narrative of facts in the secret history of the conflict, and mainly an exposure of the manifold and gigantic frauds and crimes of both the openly disloyal and the professed friends of the Republic. Many reports are introduced, some of which are lengthy, and portions of them are dry, because they are the official records of the work done, and the verification of the statements made, and the highest vindication of the character and importance of the secret service. Passages occur in them, the propriety of which many readers may question, but their omission would have weakened the strength of the reports, and softened down the enormity of the offenses charged upon certain individuals. The whole volume might have been made up of chapters very similar to those of the first hundred pages or more, but we preferred to sacrifice the peculiar interest, to some extent, of a merely sensational work—sketches of exciting scenes and hair-breadth escapes—for the greater object of an authentic official record of the vast amount of indispensable service rendered to the Government, during nearly four years of bloody strife, with the months of trial

and agitation which followed. The plan of the book was, therefore, chosen by the responsible head of the bureau, while the introductory chapters were written by another, whose editorial aid was secured in the general preparation of the annals for the press. No desire or effort has been cherished to wantonly expose or wound in feeling any man, and therefore initials, for the most part, alone appear; but a faithful history of transactions under the authority delegated to the Bureau, will unavoidably reach the sensibilities of persons of distinction, no less than those in humble life.

The volume of war records, the most of which have never before met the public eye, is offered to the people as a part of the veritable history of the most extraordinary and perilous times the Republic has known, or is likely to pass through again.

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BRIGADIER-GENERAL LA FAYETTE C. BAKER belongs to a family of New England origin. In an early history of Vermont, entitled the "Green Mountain Boys," the name for two generations is conspicuous among those of the heroic men of the French and Indian wars. About the year 1770, the military organization bearing that name was formed, to resist the arbitrary claims of the colonial government of New York over the settlers and soil of the "New Hampshire Grants." Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and Remember Baker were acknowledged leaders of the heroic, self-sacrificing band of patriots. We find it recorded, that "previous to 1770, many acts of violence had been committed by both of the belligerent parties. It was at this date that the governor of New York attempted to enforce his authority over the territory in dispute by a resort to military force. The Green Mountain Boys having learned that a military force of seven hundred and fifty men were marching to subjugate them, immediately organized themselves, and appointed Ethan Allen, colonel, and Seth Warner, Remember Baker, and others, captains of the several companies under him. The New York force having advanced at night upon the dwelling of a settler, were suddenly surprised by the mountaineers in ambush, and the whole posse ingloriously fled, without a gun being fired on either side. The Green

Mountain Boys were occasionally called out for military exercise and discipline. In 1771, the governor of New York issued a proclamation offering a reward for the arrest of Colonel Allen, and Captains Warner and Baker. Several attempts were made to abduct them, but none were successful."

Subsequently, in the Indian conflicts, Mr. Baker's toes were cut off, and other barbarities inflicted upon members of his family. General Baker's father, who inherited the paternal name, removed to Stafford, New York, in 1815. La Fayette was born there, October 13, 1826. When three years of age, his father removed to Elba, an adjoining town, where he lived till thirteen years of age, when the family started for the wilderness of the Great West. Mr. Remember Baker chose his home within the limits of Michigan, where Lansing, the capital, now stands, then a primeval forest, haunted by the aborigines. Soon the log-house and the clearing around it rewarded the toil of the father and the son.

In the year 1848 he returned to New York, where he remained nearly two years, when he went to the city of Philadelphia, and was engaged in mechanical and mercantile pursuits. Mr. Baker was married December 24, 1852, to Miss Jennie C. Curry, daughter of John Curry, Esq., of Southwark. The next year he went to California. An incident occurred on the Isthmus, illustrative of his bold, fearless, and adventurous character. A native attempted to take advantage of an Irish emigrant, and charge him for the passage of two children the second time. Mr. Baker remonstrated. The party of half a dozen were in a small boat, near Gorgona. The enraged boatman seized one of the children, and threatened to throw him in the water unless the unjust demand were complied with by the father. Mr. Baker told him to stop, but he refused; when a well-directed blow from an oar staggered the man. Recovering himself in a few moments, he drew his knife, and rushed toward Baker, who, raising his revolver, shot him dead, the lifeless body tumbling over the boat's side into the water. He suddenly became conscious of his danger, aware that the native population would, if possible, kill him. Leaping from the small craft, he waded to the opposite shore, the frantic pursuers at his back. Turning, he shot the leader, and crept into the tangled, matted thicket. Here he eluded search,

and at length reached the American consul's house, where he was concealed in a subterranean passage for two weeks, and then smuggled on board of a vessel bound for California, and safely landed. The next meeting with one of his traveling companions, where the tragic scene narrated occurred, was in Richmond. He was accosted by him there, but, as it will be seen, having become "Mr. Munson," did not choose to know his friend of California memory.

Mr. Baker engaged in mechanical pursuits on the Pacific coast, when the lawless period of 1856 called into existence the Vigilance Committee. Mr. Baker was immediately enrolled in the army of 2,200 men, every one of whom was known by a number, his own being 208. In the summary work of ridding the country of reckless gamblers and "ballot-box stuffers," for exposing whose crimes James Casey had murdered James King of William, editor of the *San Francisco Bulletin*, Mr. Baker was an active and efficient member, giving unmistakable evidences of that peculiar adaptation to the detective service, which has made him pre-eminent in it, on this continent, since the long struggle for victory over a foe that gloried in treason under a smiling face, and robbery in the name of inalienable rights, called for and received the best men and treasure of the country. With the disbandment of the extraordinary and formidable organization, Mr. Baker returned to his peaceful occupation, in which he continued till 1861, when he came to New York City, intending to remain only a brief period. The appreciation of his services while a member of the Vigilance Committee and engaged in a mercantile agency, was very emphatically and tastefully expressed on New Year's day, the date of his departure, by the merchants of San Francisco. They met at the Bank Exchange, and sent for Mr. Baker. When he entered the room, to his entire surprise, a gentleman presented him with a cane of mansinita wood, found only in California. The head is polished gold quartz from the Ish Mine, Oregon, and around it are nine oval stones of similar material from as many different mines. The whole is richly mounted with solid gold, and cost two hundred and fifty dollars.

At the very moment he was ready to return to the Pacific coast, the tocsin of civil war startled the land. In common with the loyal millions of the North, his patriotic indignation at the treasonable

revolt, and the desire to aid in its suppression, made all other purposes and plans of small importance. He immediately decided to abandon his business schemes and serve the imperiled country. How well he succeeded, and his public career from this point in his history, will appear in his story of the National Secret Service.

In General Baker's personal appearance there is nothing, to a casual observer, remarkable. And yet, physically, he is an extraordinary man. Before the exhausting labors of his official position during the war reduced his weight, it averaged one hundred and eighty pounds. His frame is of the firmest texture, and its powers of endurance very great. For days together he has prosecuted his duties without food or sleep, and exposed to winter storms. He is of medium height, lithe, and sinewy, and his movements are quick, and yet having the air of deliberateness natural to a profession in which circumspection and habitual self-control are among the first conditions of success. Around his forehead of intelligent outline lies a profusion of brown hair, and his face is partially covered with a heavy brown beard. His gray eye, in repose, wears a cold expression; in his naturally cheerful mood, and in the unguarded enjoyment of social life, it is changeful and playful; and, engaged in his special duty of detecting crime, it becomes sharply piercing, often making the victim of his vigilance to quail before its steady gaze. Indeed, he was evidently the man for the place he filled during the national struggle. The personal peril to which he exposed himself, and the untiring service performed, at the head of a division, or even a regiment, would have sounded his name over the land as a daring, untiring and heroic leader. He is probably the best "shot" in the country, and also a fine horseman. Some additional and interesting facts in his history will be noticed in the eloquent defense of General Baker by Mr. Riddle, in the "Cobb case."

For nearly twenty years he has not tasted intoxicating drinks, but has been enrolled among the Sons of Temperance; and what seems still more remarkable, when we think of the associations inseparable from his adventurous career, he has never been addicted to the shameless profanity so common in the army and among men of adventurous character. His fidelity and kindness of heart in his

domestic relations, and toward kindred less fortunate than himself are well known.

Such are the general characteristics of the first national chief of a Detective Bureau in the war record of this country.

Blackstone's definition of the police is: "The due regulation and domestic order of the kingdom, whereby the individuals of a State, like members of a family, are compelled to conform their general behavior to the rules of propriety and good neighborhood, and good manners, and to be decent, inoffensive individuals in their several stations."

The definition is comprehensive, and certainly gives to this public service both great utility and honorable, dignified character. Another able writer divides the services of policemen into several distinct duties; among which is "giving recent intelligence," the very work of the detective police, when a specialty in time of public perils, and one which awakens the prejudice and hostility of all classes.

The history of the police of the world, would be a most exciting and instructive library of itself. We can only glance at this service in the two leading nations of Europe; one Protestant and the other Catholic. "The office of constable," says a "magistrate," in his annals of the London police, "is as old as the monarchy of England." He writes again, with reference to the unpopular character of the indispensable office: "The best laws are worthless, if the public impression be cherished that it is a matter of infamy to carry them into execution." Doubtless, the principal reason for the general disfavor toward the police department, arises from the *espionage* inseparable from it. People do not like to be *watched*, and are still less willing to have their offenses against law and order reported to the tribunals of justice. Nevertheless, the records of the police, with all that is unworthy of it, are irresistible evidence of its importance in securing public and personal security from the depravity which scorns all restraints but the iron grasp of law. In Britain, the police department has never become a national institution; but, until comparatively a recent date, has been "a hand to mouth affair." About the middle of the eighteenth century, Henry Fielding devoted his energies and influence to the organization of the London police into an efficient and able force under the acting magistrate of the city. And,

like the modern defenders of the “constitution,” there were not a few who wrote and talked about the dangerous infringement of the rights of citizenship, and predicted the rapid decay of liberty, until the “British lion would slumber ingloriously in the net of captivity.” But the reform went forward, and the charter of English freedom remained unshaken by the dreaded power of an omnipresent police. The crimes it exposed and the criminals convicted, for a single year, were tens of thousands.

We turn to France for the most complete and successful system of police service the world has yet seen. Until the latter part of the fifteenth century, the kingdom had no effective police. Even in the streets of Paris, “wolves roamed unmolested,” and citizens forsook their habitations. Charles VII took charge of the criminal business of the realm, to the sudden alarm of the lawless people, who lived on the property and peace of the communities. Francis I., in 1520, appointed a provost-marshall, with thirty constables. The next grand advance in this department of justice, was the creation, by Louis XIV., of a lieutenant-general, which office continued from March, 1667, to the memorable July 14, 1787. The most distinguished officer during this period was De La Renye.

The storm of the French revolution, which swept away the entire order of things, reduced the police organization to sixty petty committees. After the restoration, the prefect was appointed. Through all these changes, the national police of France stood alone in the recognition of its worth, and the mighty power it wielded in securing the public good.

The very vices of the great metropolis are so far regulated and controlled by it, that their ruinous results in Paris are probably not one-half they are in proportion to the population in Protestant London or New York. We shall quote a few passages from Vidocq's memoirs, a man of doubtful character, but the great modern Parisian detective, to illustrate the practical workings of the system there.

M. Henry, to whom Vidocq refers, was “the préfet” of police. He thus describes his entrance upon his official duties:—

“As the secret agent of government, I had duties marked out, and the kind and respectable M. Henry took upon himself to instruct me in their fulfillment; for in his hands were intrusted nearly the entire

safety of the capital : to prevent crimes, discover malefactors, and to give them up to justice, were the principal functions confided to me. By thieves, M. Henry was styled the Evil Spirit; and well did he merit the surname, for, with him, cunning and suavity of manners were so conjoined as seldom to fail in their purpose. Among the coadjutors of M. Henry was M. Bertaux, a cross-examiner of great merit. The proofs of his talent may be found in the archives of the court. Next to him, I have great pleasure in naming M. Parisot, governor of the prisons. In a word, M. Henry, Bertaux, and Parisot formed a veritable triumvirate, which was incessantly conspiring against the perpetrators of all manner of crimes ; to extirpate rogues from Paris, and to procure for the inhabitants of that immense city a perfect security.

"So soon as I was installed in my new office of secret agent, I commenced my rounds, in order to take my measures well for setting effectually to work. These journeys, which occupied me nearly twenty days, furnished me with many useful and important observations, but as yet I was only preparing to act, and studying my ground.

"One morning I was hastily summoned to attend the chief of the division. The matter in hand was to discover a man named Watrin, accused of having fabricated and put in circulation false money and bank notes. The inspectors of the police had already arrested Watrin, but, according to custom, had allowed him to escape. M. Henry gave me every direction which he deemed likely to assist me in the search after him ; but, unfortunately, he had only gleaned a few simple particulars of his usual habits and customary haunts : every place he was known to frequent was freely pointed out to me ; but it was not very likely he would be found in those resorts which prudence would call upon him carefully to avoid ; there remained, therefore, only a chance of reaching him by some by-path. When I learnt that he had left his effects in a furnished house, where he once lodged, on the boulevard of Mont Parnasse, I took it for granted that, sooner or later, he would go there in search of his property, or at least that he would send some person to fetch it from thence ; consequently, I directed all my vigilance to this spot, and after having reconnoitred the house, I lay in ambush in its vicinity night and day, in order to

keep a watchful eye upon all comers and goers. This went on for nearly a week, when, weary of not observing any thing, I determined upon engaging the master of the house in my interest, and to hire an apartment of him, where I accordingly established myself with Annette, certain that my presence could give rise to no suspicion. I had occupied this post for about fifteen days, when one evening, at eleven o'clock, I was informed that Watrin had just come, accompanied by another person. Owing to a slight indisposition, I had retired to bed earlier than usual; however, at this news I rose hastily, and descended the staircase by four stairs at a time; but whatever diligence I might use, I was only just in time to catch Watrin's companion; him I had no right to detain, but I made myself sure that I might, by intimidation, obtain further particulars from him. I therefore seized him, threatened him, and soon drew from him a confession that he was a shoemaker, and that Watrin lived with him, No. 4, Rue des Mauvais Garçons. This was all I wanted to know: I had only had time to slip an old greatcoat over my shirt, and without stopping to put on more garments, I hurried on to the place thus pointed out to me. I reached the house at the very instant that some person was quitting it: persuaded that it was Watrin, I attempted to seize him; he escaped from me, and I darted after him up a staircase; but, at the moment of grasping him, a violent blow which struck my chest, drove me down twenty stairs. I sprang forward again, and that so quickly, that to escape from my pursuit he was compelled to return into the house through a sash window. I then knocked loudly at the door, summoning him to open it without delay. This he refused to do. I then desired Annette (who had followed me) to go in search of the guard, and while she was preparing to obey me, I counterfeited the noise of a man descending the stairs. Watrin, deceived by this feint, was anxious to satisfy himself whether I had actually gone, and softly put his head out of window to observe if all was safe. This was exactly what I wanted. I made a vigorous dart forward, and seized him by the hair of his head: he grasped me in the same manner, and a desperate struggle took place; jammed against the partition wall which separated us, he opposed me with a determined resistance. Nevertheless, I felt that he was growing weaker; I collected all my strength for a last effort; I strained every

nerve, and drew him nearly out of the window through which we were struggling : one more trial and the victory was mine; but in the earnestness of my grasp we both rolled on the passage floor, on to which I had pulled him ; to rise, snatch from his hands the shoemaker's cutting-knife with which he had armed himself, to bind him, and lead him out of the house, was the work of an instant. Accompanied only by Annette, I conducted him to the prefecture, where I received the congratulations, first of M. Henry, and afterward those of the prefect of police, who bestowed on me a pecuniary recompense. Watrin was a man of unusual address ; he followed a coarse, clumsy business, and yet he had given himself up to making counterfeit money, which required extreme delicacy of hand. Condemned to death, he obtained a reprieve the very hour that was destined for his execution ; the scaffold was prepared, he was taken down from it, and the lovers of such scenes experienced a disappointment. All Paris remembers it. A report was in circulation that he was about to make some very important discoveries ; but as he had nothing to reveal, a few days afterward he underwent his sentence.

" Watrin was my first capture, and an important one too ; this successful beginning awoke the jealousy of the peace-officers, as well as of those under my orders ; all were exasperated against me, but in vain ; they could not forgive me for being more successful than themselves. The superiors, on the contrary, were highly pleased with my conduct ; and I redoubled my zeal, to render myself still more worthy their confidence.

" About this period a vast number of counterfeit five-franc pieces had got into general circulation ; several of them were shown me ; while examining them, I fancied I could discover the workmanship of Bouhin (who had informed against me) and of his friend, Dr. Terrier. I resolved to satisfy my mind as to the truth of this ; and in consequence of this determination, I set about watching the steps of these two individuals ; but as I durst not follow too closely, lest they might recognize me, and mistrust my observation, it was difficult for me to obtain the intelligence I wanted. Nevertheless, by dint of unwearyed perseverance, I arrived at the certainty of my not having mistaken the matter, and the two coiners were arrested in the very

act of fabricating their base coin ; they were shortly after condemned and executed for it."

"In so populous a capital as that of Paris, there are usually a vast many places of bad resort, at which assembled persons of broken fortune and ruined fame ; in order to judge of them under my own eye, I frequented every house and street of ill-fame, sometimes under one disguise and sometimes under another ; assuming, indeed, all those rapid changes of dress and manner which indicated a person desirous of concealing himself from the observation of the police, till the rogues and thieves whom I daily met there firmly believed me to be one of themselves ; persuaded of my being a runaway, they would have been cut to pieces before I should have been taken ; for not only had I acquired their fullest confidence, but their strongest regard ; and so much did they respect my situation, as a fugitive galley-slave, that they would not even propose to me to join in any of their daring schemes, lest it might compromise my safety. All, however, did not exercise this delicacy, as will be seen hereafter. Some months had passed since I commenced my secret investigations, when chance threw in my way St. Germain, whose visits had so often filled me with consternation. He had with him a person named Boudin, whom I had formerly seen as a restaurateur in Paris, in the Rue des Prouvaires, and of whom I knew no more than that trifling acquaintance which arose from my occasionally exchanging my money for his dinners. He, however, seemed easily to recollect me, and, addressing me with bold familiarity, which my determined coolness seemed unable to subdue, 'Pray,' said he, 'have I been guilty of any offense toward you, that you seem so resolved upon cutting me?'—'By no means, sir,' replied I ; 'but I have been informed that you have been in the service of the police.'—'Oh, oh, is that all,' cried he ; 'never mind that, my boy ; suppose I have, what then ? I had my reasons ; and when I tell you what they were, I am quite sure you will not bear me any ill-will for it.'—'Come, come,' said St. Germain, 'I must have you good friends ; Boudin is an excellent fellow, and I will answer for his honor, as I would do for my own. Many a thing happens in life we should never have dreamed of, and if Boudin did accept the situation you mention, it was but to save his brother : besides, you must feel satisfied, that were his principles such as a gentleman ought not to

possess, why, you would not find him in my company.' I was much amused with this excellent reasoning, as well as with the pledge given for Boudin's good faith; however, I no longer sought to avoid the conversation of Boudin. It was natural enough that St. Germain should relate to me all that had happened to him since his last disappearance, which had given me such pleasure.

"After complimenting me on my flight, he informed me that after my arrest he had recovered his employment, which he, however, was not fortunate enough to keep; he lost it a second time, and had since been compelled to trust to his wits to procure a subsistence. I requested he would tell me what had become of Blondy and Deluc? 'What,' said he; 'the two who slit the wagoner's throat? Oh, why, the guillotine settled their business at Beauvais.' When I learnt that these two villains had at length reaped the just reward of their crimes, I experienced but one regret, and that was, that the heads of their worthless accomplices had not fallen on the same scaffold.

"After we had sat together long enough to empty several bottles of wine, we separated. At parting, St. Germain having observed that I was but meanly clad, inquired what I was doing, and as I carelessly answered that at present I had no occupation, he promised to do his best for me, and to push my interest the first opportunity that offered. I suggested that, as I very rarely ventured out, for fear of being arrested, we might not possibly meet again for some time. 'You can see me whenever you choose,' said he; 'I shall expect that you will call on me frequently.' Upon my promise to do so, he gave me his address, without once thinking of asking for mine.

"St. Germain was no longer an object of such excessive terror as formerly in my eyes; I even thought it my interest to keep him in sight, for if I applied myself to scrutinizing the actions of suspicious persons, who better than he called for the most vigilant attention? In a word, I resolved upon purging society of such a monster. Meanwhile, I waged a determined war with all the crowd of rogues who infested the capital. About this time, robberies of every species were multiplying to a frightful extent: nothing was talked of but stolen palisades, out-houses broken open, roofs stripped of their lead; more than twenty reflecting lamps were successively stolen from the Rue Fontaine au Roi, without the plunderers being detected. For a

whole month the inspectors had been lying in wait in order to surprise them, and the first night of their discontinuing their vigilance the same depredations took place. In this state, which appeared like setting the police at defiance, I accepted the task which none seemed able to accomplish, and in a very short time I was enabled to bring the whole band of these shameless plunderers to public justice, which immediately consigned them to the galleys.

"Each day increased the number of my discoveries. Of the many who were committed to prison, there were none who did not owe their arrest to me, and yet not one of them for a moment suspected my share in the business. I managed so well, that neither within nor without its walls had the slightest suspicion transpired. The thieves of my acquaintance looked upon me as their best friend and true comrade; the others esteemed themselves happy to have an opportunity of initiating me in their secrets, whether from the pleasure of conversing with me, or in the hope of benefiting by my counsels. It was principally beyond the barriers that I met with these unfortunate beings. One day that I was crossing the outer Boulevards, I was accosted by St. Germain, who was still accompanied by Boudin. They invited me to dinner; I accepted the proposition, and over a bottle of wine they did me the honor to propose that I should make a third in an intended murder.

"The matter in hand was to dispatch two old men who lived together in the house which Boudin had formerly occupied in the Rue des Trois-Voies. Shuddering at the confidence placed in me by these villains, I yet blessed the invisible hand which had led them to seek my aid. At first I affected some scruples at entering into the plot, but at last feigned to yield to their lively and pressing solicitations, and it was agreed that we should wait the favorable moment for putting into execution this most execrable project. This resolution taken, I bade farewell to St. Germain and his companion, and (decided upon preventing the meditated crime) hastened to carry a report of the affair to M. Henry, who sent me, without loss of time, to obtain more ample details of the discovery I had just made to him. His intention was to satisfy himself whether I had been really solicited to take part in it, or whether, from a mistaken devotion to the cause of justice, I had endeavored to instigate those unhappy men to an act which would

render them amenable to it. I protested that I had adopted no such expedient, and as he discovered marks of truth in my manner and declaration, he expressed himself satisfied. He did not, however, omit to impress on me the following discourse upon instigating agents, which penetrated my very heart. Ah, why was it not also heard by those wretches, who, since the revolution, have made so many victims ! The renewed era of legitimacy would not then, in some circumstances, have recalled the bloody days of another epoch. ‘Remember well,’ said M. Henry to me, in conclusion, ‘remember that the greatest scourge to society is he who urges another on to the commission of evil. Where there are no instigators to bad practices, they are committed only by the really hardened; because they alone are capable of conceiving and executing them. Weak beings may be drawn away and excited: to precipitate them into the abyss, it frequently requires no more than to call to your aid their passions or self-love; but he who avails himself of their weakness to procure their destruction, is more than a monster—he is the guilty one, and it is on his head that the sword of justice should fall. As to those engaged in the police, they had better remain forever idle, than create matter for employment.’

“ Although this lesson was not required in my case, yet I thanked M. Henry for it, who enjoined me not to lose sight of the two assassins, and to use every means in my power to prevent their arriving at the completion of their diabolical plan. ‘The police,’ said he, ‘is instituted as much to correct and punish malefactors, as to prevent their committing crimes; but on every occasion I would wish it to be understood, that we hold ourselves under greater obligations to that person who prevents one crime, than to him who procures the punishment of many.’ \* \* \* \* \*

“ At the words ‘secret agent,’ a feeling almost approaching to suffocation stole over me, but I quickly rallied upon perceiving that, however true the report might be, it had obtained but little faith with St. Germain, who was evidently waiting for my explanation or denial of it, without once suspecting its reality. My ever-ready genius quickly flew to my aid, and without hesitation I replied, that I was not much surprised at the charge, and for the simple reason that I myself had been the first to set the rumor afloat. St. Germain stared

with wonder. ‘My good fellow,’ said I, ‘you are well aware that I managed to escape from the police while they were transferring me from La Force to Bicêtre. Well! I went to Paris and stayed there till I could go elsewhere. One must live, you know, how and where one can. Unfortunately, I am still compelled to play at hide and seek, and it is only by assuming a variety of disguises that I dare venture abroad, to look about and just see what my old friends are doing; but, in spite of all my precautions, I live in constant dread of many individuals, whose keen eyes quickly penetrate my assumption of other names and habits than my own; and who, having formerly been upon terms of familiarity with me, pestered me with questions I had no other means of shaking off, than by insinuating that I was in the pay of the police; and thus I obtained the double advantage of evading, in my character of “spy,” both their suspicions and ill-will, should they feel disposed to exercise it in procuring my arrest.’

“Enough—enough,” interrupted St. Germain; ‘I believe you; and to convince you of the unbroken confidence I place in you, I will let you into the secret of our plans for to-night.”

We add a single adventure which is illustrative of the shrewdness and success of the ever-active, fearless, self-reliant, and successful Videoc:—

“I was employed to detect the authors of a nocturnal robbery, committed by climbing and forcible entry into the apartments of the Prince de Condé, in the Palais Bourbon. Glasses of a vast size had disappeared, and their abstraction was effected with so much precaution, that the sleep of two *cerberi*, who supplied the place of a watchman, had not been for a moment disturbed. The frames in which these glasses had been were not at all injured: and I was at first tempted to believe that they had been taken out by looking-glass makers or cabinet-makers; but in Paris these workmen are so numerous, that I could not pitch on any one of them whom I knew, with any certainty of suspicion. Yet I was resolved to detect the guilty, and to effect this I commenced my inquiries.

“The keeper of a sculpture-gallery, near the Quineaux of the invalids, gave me first the information by which I was guided. About three o’clock in the morning, he had seen near his door several glasses in the care of a young man, who pretended to have been obliged to station

them there while waiting for the return of his porters, who had broken their hand-barrow. Two hours afterward, the young man, having found two messengers, had made them carry off the glasses, and had directed them to the side of the Fountain of the Invalids. According to the keeper, the person he saw was about twenty-three years of age, and about five feet and an inch (French measure). He was clothed in an iron-gray greatcoat, and had a very good countenance. This information was not immediately useful to me; but it led me to find the messenger, who, the day after the robbery, had carried some glasses of large size to the Rue Saint-Dominique, and left them at the little Hôtel de Caraman. These were, in all probability, the glasses stolen, and if they were, who could say that they had not changed domicile and owner? I had the person who had received them pointed out to me, and determined on introducing myself to her; and that my presence might not inspire her with fear, it was in the guise of a cook that I introduced myself to her notice. The light jacket and cotton nightcap are the ensigns of the profession; I clothed myself in such attire, and, fully entering into the spirit of my character, went to the little Hôtel de Caraman, where I ascended to the first floor. The door was closed; I knocked, and it was opened to me by a very good-looking young fellow, who asked me what I wanted. I gave him an address, and told him that having learnt that he was in want of a cook, I had taken the liberty of offering my services to him.

“‘My dear fellow, you are under a mistake,’ he replied, ‘the address you have given me is not mine, but as there are two Rues Saint-Dominique, it is most probably to the other that you should go.’

“All Ganymedes had not been carried off to Olympus, and the handsome youth who spoke to me had manners, gestures, and language, which, united to his appearance, convinced me in an instant with whom my business lay. I instantly assumed the tone of an initiate in the mysteries of the ultra philanthropists, and after some signs which he perfectly understood, I told him how very sorry I was that he did not want me.

“‘Ah, sir,’ I said to him, ‘I would rather remain with you, even if you only gave me half what I should get elsewhere; if you only knew how miserable I am; I have been six months out of place, and

I do not get a dinner every day. Would you believe that thirty-six hours have elapsed and I have not taken any thing ?'

" You pain me, my good fellow ; what, are you still fasting ? Come, come, you shall dine here.'

" I had really an appetite capable of giving the lie I had just uttered all the semblance of truth ; a two-pound loaf, half a fowl, cheese, and a bottle of wine which he had procured, did not make long sojourn on the table. Once filled, I began again to talk of my unfortunate condition.

" See, sir,' said I, ' if it be possible to be in a more pitiable situation. I know four trades, and out of the whole four can not get employ in one—tailor, hatter, cook ; I know a little of all, and yet can not get on. My first start was as a looking-glass setter.'

" A looking-glass setter ! ' said he, abruptly ; and without giving him time to reflect on the imprudence of such an exclamation, I went on.

" Yes, a looking-glass setter, and I know that trade the best of the four ; but business is so dead that there is really nothing now stirring in it.'

" Here, my friend,' said the young man, presenting to me a small glass ; ' this is brandy, it will do you good ; you know not how much you interest me. I can give you work for several days.'

" Ah ! sir, you are too good, you restore me to life ; how, if you please, do you intend to employ me ?'

" As a looking-glass framer.'

" If you have glasses to fit, pier, Psyche, light-of-day, joy-of-Nar cissus, or any others, you have only to intrust me with them, and I will give you a cast of my craft.'

" I have glasses of great beauty ; they were at my country-house, whence I sent for them, lest the gentlemen Cossacks should take a fancy to break them.'

" You were quite right ; but may I see them ?'

" Yes, my friend.'

" He took me into a room, and at the first glance I recognized the glasses of the Palais Bourbon. I was ecstatic in their praise, their size, &c. ; and after having examined them with the minute attention

of a man who understands what he is about, I praised the skill of the workman who unframed them, without injury to the silvering.

“‘The workman, my friend,’ said he; ‘the workman was myself; I would not allow any other person to touch them, not even to load them in the carriage.’

“‘Ah! sir, I am very sorry to give you the lie, but what you tell me is impossible; a man must have been a workman to undertake such work, and even the best of the craft might not have succeeded.’

“In spite of my observation, he persisted in asserting that he had no help, and as it would not have answered my purpose to have contradicted him, I dropped the subject.

“A lie was an accusation at which he might have been angry, but he did not speak with less amenity, and after having given me his instructions, desired me to come early next day, and begin my work as early as possible.

“‘Do not forget to bring your diamond, as I wish you to remove those arches, which are no longer fashionable.’

“He had no more to say to me, and I had no more to learn. I left him, and went to join my two agents, to whom I gave the description of the person, and desired them to follow him if he should go out. A warrant was necessary to effect his apprehension, which I procured; and soon afterward, having changed my dress, I returned, with the commissary of police and my agents, to the house of the amateur of glasses, who did not expect me so soon. He did not know me at first, and it was only at the termination of our search, that, examining me more closely, he said to me:—

“‘I think I recognize you; are you not a cook?’

“‘Yes, sir,’ I replied; ‘I am cook, tailor, hatter, looking-glass setter, and, moreover, a spy, at your service.’

“My coolness so much disconcerted him, that he could not utter another word.

“This gentleman was named Alexander Paruitte. Besides the two glasses, and two chimeras in gilt bronze, which he had stolen from the Palais Bourbon, many other articles were found in his apartments, the produce of various robberies. The inspectors who had accompanied me in this expedition undertook to conduct Paruitte to the depot but, on the way, were careless enough to allow him to escape, inc.

was it until ten days afterward that I contrived to get sight of him, at the gate of the ambassador of his highness, the Sultan Mahmoud, and I apprehended him at the moment he got into the carriage of a Turk, who apparently had sold his odalisques.

"I am still at a loss to explain how, in spite of obstacles which the most expert robbers judged insurmountable, Paruitte effected the robbery which twice compelled me to see him. He was steadfast in his assertion of having no companions; for on his trial, when sentenced to irons and imprisonment, no indication, not even the slightest, could be elicited, encouraging the idea that he had any participants."

The annals of this Bureau, we think, will establish the three following propositions :

I. The Detective Bureau, although contrary to the spirit of our republican institutions in time of peace, is indispensable in time of war.

II. Some of the most important army movements and battles have been made and fought entirely upon information obtained through this Bureau.

III. There is nothing in the Secret Service that demands a violation of honor, or a sacrifice of principle, beyond the ordinary rules of warfare.

Reference will be made to these statements in connection with the striking and illustrative facts which will be recorded in the progress of the narrative.

There is an important distinction to be made between the service of a scout and that of a detective. The principal qualifications in the scout are courage and daring. He is to ride boldly into the enemy's lines, generally during action, or while the army is in motion, to ascertain the locality and movements of the hostile forces.

The detective must possess ability, shrewdness, great self-reliance and self-control, discretion, courage, and integrity. He will have complicated and important measures to carry forward, requiring no ordinary amount of mental power, and plans and plots to unravel which demand keen discernment and a profound knowledge of men; critical moments, when vacillation, or even hesitation, would be fatal; secrets, which without a complete mastery over feeling and all its forms of expression, will be revealed; delicate questions of procedure

and duty, to decide which the nicest prudence will be necessary; dangers to meet, requiring a fearless spirit nothing can alarm or intimidate; and, to crown all, as the servant of the Government in matters of the gravest responsibility, he must have reliability of character to win and hold the unclouded confidence of its officers in his revelations, on which the most momentous operations may depend.

A moment's reflection will convince any mind of the correctness of this estimate of qualifications, among which the last-mentioned has not been generally understood and appreciated. But the fidelity to his trust of the Chief of the Detective Police must be such as to command no ordinary faith in information which may decide the victory or defeat of an army. Not only so, but he must be inapproachable by *bribery*. Striking illustrations of this will be given in the record of official services. Another interesting fact will appear; General Baker's impartial justice to the colored race, in contrast with the *animus* of slavery, whose most cruel wrongs he was compelled to meet, and endeavored to remedy.

The detective police has ever been an indispensable institution in the old monarchies of other lands. The throne is apart from the people, and under its shadow watchful eyes must guard the sovereign's life and law, by observing and reporting the first symptom of discontent, or intimations of a treasonable plot.

In a republic the people govern, and in the nature of things an official espionage in the time of peace over their conduct, by some of their own number, is contrary to the genius of the institutions they create and control. But when war, especially its most fearful form, a civil conflict, exists, the unnatural condition of things calls for the detective service, to watch and bring to justice the enemies of the State, who are plotting its ruin.

There are reasons why such needful and valuable service has fallen into dishonor, many regarding it as small and doubtful business in its nature, thoroughly illustrated by the common adage, "It takes a rogue to catch a rogue." In despotic countries, shrewd and unprincipled men have been largely employed to betray their companions in guilt, and, guided by their experiences in vice, to put the police and other officers of justice on the track of criminals.

In this country, the Detective Bureau was entirely new; and there was, for a time, mismanagement of its work in certain quarters. Department commanders, district and post provost-marshals, and post quartermasters, permitted by military law and army regulations to do so, have, in the contingencies of the case, employed detectives. Most of these persons had only a limited knowledge of the detective service. As an inevitable result, the most ignorant, unscrupulous, and worthless characters were sometimes employed by them.

The fact is, the detective business for the war was commenced with no head, system, or regulations, excepting such as were made by those having no knowledge of the peculiar and difficult business.

Had Congress passed a law at the outset of the Rebellion, authorizing the organization of a detective police, with a head responsible only to the War or some other Department, no complaints would ever have been heard against a detective police system.

From the nature of the detective's professional work, he must pre-eminently awaken prejudice at every step, and make bitter enemies, not only among those hostile to the cause with which his special service is connected, but also among its friends.

He must interfere with plans of speculation, and cut off extra rations, which unlawful appropriations might secure. Then, again, his business forbids him to give his authority for certain acts, or assign any reason for his procedure. Hence the clamor was often raised, of rash and lawless abuse of power, when all the time he was acting under the direct orders of Government. These statements will have abundant confirmation in the pages of this history.

And we doubt whether any other officer, not excepting the Lieutenant-General, has more patiently borne misrepresentation and abuse in silence, for the sake of the common cause of the country, than General Baker.

With sublime moral courage, for nearly five years he toiled on, with the crushing weight of public opinion, and prejudice, and peril of death constantly before him, sustained by exalted patriotism, and a laudable desire to excel in his peculiar service or line of duty. While the public press was filled with eulogies upon daring and valor of officers in the field, the Chief of the Detective Bureau, whose deeds are no less heroic, and the importance of whose achievements

cannot be over-estimated, if noticed at all by the press, is referred to in a doubtful or contemptuous manner. And even when the chief and his subordinates frequented the presidential mansion, after the execution of the assassins of Mr. Lincoln, because telegrams were received from leading army officers, giving information of a design by friends of the murderers to avenge their death, the object and motives of the protection were unappreciated and, by a member of the cabinet, denounced. The facts will appear in the progress of these annals.

He was not permitted to disclose his authority for the summary work he was required to do. The propriety for such a course by the War Department we do not question, for we know not the reasons back of it—they are not given. The fact, however, presents clearly the offensive position in which he was placed by the difficult and perilous office he held, even while he desired to be transferred to a more pleasant service. He was thus the target of unjust suspicion and bitterest hate, when the true object of the popular and personal displeasure was in reality the Government he was faithfully obeying. We give here a single forcible illustration of the truth of these statements, and of General Baker's uncomplaining endurance of undeserved persecution.

During 1862, an order was issued to arrest a certain prominent Pennsylvanian, on the charge of selling a large quantity of bandages and lint donated by ladies benevolent societies in Philadelphia for the benefit of the Union soldiers.

General Baker knew nothing about the case, having no acquaintance even with the individual, nor the charges brought against him.

It was his official work only to arrest and confine him in the Old Capitol prison. This duty he performed. Within an hour, a whole delegation of friends called at General Baker's headquarters, and, in an excited and boisterous manner, demanded the prisoner's release. He was offered a large amount for bail. To all this outcry and appeal, he calmly replied, that he knew nothing of the charges; was simply executing orders. The same evening, an indignation meeting was held, presided over by Judge B—, a prominent Union man of Pennsylvania. Resolutions were passed, openly denouncing General

Baker as an arbitrary, vindictive man, and appointing a committee to wait on the President and Secretary of War, asking for his dismissal from service. In this instance, which is one among many of a similar character, he was not permitted to show the order of arrest to any citizen. A reporter was never allowed to enter his headquarters, nor any communication allowed to be had by his bureau with the public press. Yet there are not wanting cheering tokens of confidence and esteem. The citizens of Philadelphia presented him with a badge of solid gold, nearly three inches square, surmounted by an eagle carved from the coin, and bearing on a scroll the words "Death to Traitors;" and on the back, "Presented to L. C. Baker, by his friends." Its value was not less than two hundred dollars.

The officers of the First District Cavalry, raised by General Baker, presented to him an elegant saber, with sash of China silk, valued at about the same amount.

He was also the recipient, from officers, of the most elaborately finished saddle and trappings probably in the country. Its value was six hundred and fifty dollars. These and other mementoes of regard confirm the statement, made by prominent officers, that his subordinates in the Bureau, numbering in all about four hundred, were ready to fight for him.

We have received, among other volunteer testimony to his official sagacity and achievements, the following—the first from a chaplain in "Baker's Cavalry," the other from another army chaplain :—

"General Baker, I think, acquitted himself with marvelous tact, energy, and success. He was the terror of all rogues, whether with clean faces or dirty, in broadcloth or rags, with a general's star or a corporal's stripe. I think that, during the most critical period of the war, he was (next to Secretary Stanton) the most important officer of the Government."

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 18, 1866.

"In regard to Gen. L. C. Baker, Chief Detective of the War Department, during the late rebellion, I feel it a duty to say : *First.* It is scarcely possible to estimate the *good* he has accomplished in strengthening the armies afield. *Second.* In weeding out the mischievous and the worthless. *Third.* In making copperheads, scoundrels, and traitors

feel the secret war power at home. I believe him to have done more during the late war to save the country than any other single power. His name carried with it a dread that made evil-doers tremble. He was always at his post when wanted (a rare trait), and most efficient when active. Booth knew that Baker was in New York, or he would have delayed the tragedy of the 14th of April, 1865! And when he knew that Baker was on his trail, his heart fainted in him, and lost all hope!

"And now about certain facts Baker may state with respect to men high in official relation with the Government or otherwise : The half he will not tell. I know of many things he will not state which I would. I have no mercy on men who will corrupt and contaminate all with whom they come in official contact ; and men who, in time of peace, after treason has been put down, again secretly plot the overthrow of a Government at once the best and noblest that the sun of the Eternal ever shone upon.

"I hope to see truth come, let it cut where it may, as I believe the country to be still in danger ; and unless some master hand will seize the knife and lay open the festering wound, the disease of the Republic will never heal!"

It may interest the curious reader to give some illustrative incidents in regard to trivial circumstances which lead to detection, and which would escape the notice of men unaccustomed to the close observation indispensable to success in the secret service.

The clue to a deserter's character was found in his bronzed face, while his dress and positive declarations indicated the life of a quiet citizen. In another case, the falsehood was exposed by the *spur-mark in the boot*. A soldier in disguise, and asserting his innocence of battle-service, was detected through an examination of his hand, on the palm of which was a callous spot where the gun-lock had pressed in the march.

The red line on Government stockings and the peculiar style of the shirts have revealed the fact denied by the lips and all the rest of the apparel.

A deserter from the Twelfth New York Battery so well concealed his "soldiering" that nothing about his person confirmed my suspicions

At last General Baker resorted to *strategy*. He watched for an opportunity when he was lazily dozing in his office, and suddenly and loudly shouted : " Fall in, men ! " He started up, looked around, and began to prepare for the march. It was plainly useless to deny any longer that he had been in the ranks.

At another time, General Baker was searching for a female spy, and had his attention drawn to rather a delicate-looking young man, whom he followed, with some companions, into a saloon. When they stood before the bar, drinking and talking, he noticed that this youth threw up the fingers often to brush aside the hair. The form was shaped like a woman's, and in a sitting posture the hands were crossed just as women are in the habit of placing them.

He called the astonished stranger aside, and desired a private interview, in which he said the game of deception was finished—that he knew both the sex and business in hand. She burst into tears, and confessed all.

Not unfrequently the simplest disguises were entirely successful. The slouched hat drawn down over the forehead ; the garb of "butternut," or of an honest farmer ; the dress and manner of an itinerant Jew ; the face and gait of an inebriate,—each served the purpose of an introduction to the desired company and scenes.

We might multiply illustrations, and make an inventory of disguises in apparel and modes of dressing the hair and face to which the detective is compelled to resort. But, excepting the narratives which will make further revelations of the kind, these will be sufficient to indicate the varied language of moral and professional character and pursuits to a practiced eye.

Mention has already been made of the fact that the detective police of the Government were brought into disrepute, and some reasons assigned for it. His bureau was known as the only regularly organized national police, although, as stated before, there were employed, at the headquarters of every department commander, provost-marshall, and quartermaster, a large number of persons representing themselves as Government detectives. These men had been selected, in many instances, from the most worthless and disreputable characters, and whenever they were found to be receiving bribes, or committing other offenses, they were always denominated "Baker's

detectives." The reporters of the press invariably did this. Hence he was held responsible to the public for the acts of these scoundrels, when in fact he knew nothing of their operations, except as he might have occasion, from time to time, to arrest them himself. The provost-marshall of the District of Columbia, appointed under the Enrollment Act, for the recruiting service, had employed at one time a large number of these detectives. Scarcely a day passed but complaints were made at his headquarters respecting these men. There was in the vicinity of Washington a large military force; and a bounty had been offered for the apprehension of deserters. The enrolling provost-marshall at Washington had detailed a number of his detectives and placed them on duty at the Baltimore depot in Washington, for the purpose of apprehending them. A deserter, in citizen's clothes, would repair to the depot, and attempt to enter the cars; these officers would arrest him, and for a small bribe allow him to go at large. This was practiced for many months. Colonel Baker called the attention of the Secretary of War to the fact, but there seemed to be no remedy. Finally, he determined to ascertain who these detectives were. Assuming the garb and dress of a loafer and deserter, he one evening repaired to the depot. He was so completely disguised that his own men did not recognize him. On attempting to pass the gate and enter the cars, he was stopped by an individual who said, "Let me see your ticket." He showed him his railroad ticket, when he charged him with being a deserter. He replied that he was not; that he was a citizen, and did not want to be detained. One or two other detectives approached, and all insisted that he should be arrested. Accordingly, he was taken into a small room, with one or two others, who had also been arrested and searched. They took from him his passage ticket, a valuable gold watch, and some seventy-five dollars in treasury notes, which he had marked for the occasion. He was then placed in charge of a detective, to be taken to the provost-marshall's headquarters. Instead of taking Colonel Baker directly theré, the detective took him to a low drinking-saloon on Seventh Street, near the avenue, called the "McClellan House," which was the general rendezvous of these detectives and deserters. He was here asked to take a drink, but he declined, pretending to feel very badly about his arrest. He was then taken into a back room, and in the presence of detectives No. 1

and 2, his watch and money were divided between the two detectives. He was here told that he could go at large, provided he would leave his watch and money. He complained bitterly of this treatment, and threatened to report the facts to Colonel Baker, when they laughed, and remarked that they were not Colonel Baker's detectives, but the detectives of the provost-marshall. He consented to give them the money, but declined to give up his watch, as it was a very valuable one. This refusal induced detective No. 2 to take him to the provost-marshall's headquarters. On the way there, he had a conversation with the detective, who told him it was very foolish for him to go to headquarters; if he went there, he would be locked up for several days, and finally sent back to his regiment, tried, and perhaps shot as a deserter. He persisted, however, in declining to deliver up the watch. On arriving at headquarters, Baker was ushered into a room, where, seated at a table, he saw the provost-marshall, with whom he was well acquainted, and his clerks, none of whom recognized him. The detective remarked to the provost-marshall, "Here is a deserter, captain, that we have taken at the depot. He won't tell what regiment he belongs to, but if we lock him up a few days, and put him under the shower-bath, he will probably tell all about it." The provost-marshall said to him, "What regiment do you belong to?" He said, "Sir, I am not a deserter, but a citizen." He remarked, "Oh, that's played out. We know you; we have been looking for you for some time." Some other conversation occurred, and the provost-marshall directed that Baker should be locked up. He took off his old slouched hat, and, standing at the end of the table, said to the provost-marshall, "I am Colonel Baker. I have assumed this disguise for the purpose of detecting your detectives, and ascertaining the *modus operandi* by which deserters are allowed to escape." The aspect of a proud superiority gave place to that of consternation. The detective attempted to leave the room, when Colonel Baker immediately arrested him, took him to his headquarters, searched him, and found a portion of the money he had marked, in his pocket.

It was a standing complaint against the Detective Police Bureau that the force was liable to be corrupted. In no other branch of public service were the opportunities so great for manipulation and bribery as in the police department. It is a well-known fact that

nearly every individual arrested, who represented or personated an officer of the Government, was alleged to be one of Colonel Baker's men. At Barnum's Museum, in 1865, a man was arrested who had a forged appointment from him. At Elmira, New York, another was arrested with a similar paper, endorsed by the Secretary of War. These, and hundreds of other instances of a similar character, were heralded through the country as a sufficient reason why the Detective Bureau should be abolished. In New York, two individuals by the names of McNeil and Garvin had for a long time represented themselves as attached to his force. They visited saloons and gambling-houses, threatening to close them up unless certain sums of money were paid. Their operations were principally confined to the arrest of deserters, who were endeavoring to keep out of the way of arrest. In the month of February, these individuals arrested one John H. Harris, who was an omnibus-driver in the city of New York, and demanded from him the sum of one hundred dollars, in consideration of which they would allow him to go at large. The fact was reported to Colonel Baker, and he immediately detailed officers to search for these bogus detectives.

Harris not having the money with him, but having a friend in Maiden Lane, by the name of Depew, he asked McNeil and Garvin to come to his friend's store the following morning and he would give them the one hundred dollars. In the mean time Baker directed a detective to conceal himself in the store. At the appointed time the detectives arrived, received the one hundred dollars, and were immediately arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to the penitentiary.

*Report in cases of John McNeil and Charles Garvin.*

John H. Harris, of No. 156 West Thirty-fifth Street, between Sixth and Seventh Avenues, stage-driver, states:—

He has been arrested twice before this, on charge of being a deserter; both times discharged, and no proof against him.

On February 17, 1865, McNeil and Garvin got into his stage, rode with him to the end of his route, where they arrested him on charge of being a deserter; told him they were Government officers, and proposed to compromise the matter with him. He took them to

his house, and arranged to pay them one hundred dollars if they would meet him the next day at the office of a Mr. Depew. They declined; then went together to Depew's hotel, represented themselves to Depew as Government officers, and authorized to make arrests; agreed to let off Harris if Depew would become responsible for the payment of one hundred dollars next day. Depew agreed to do so; parties arranged to meet at Depew's office, No. 53 Cedar Street. Depew then gave information to Colonel Baker, who sent one officer to the place of meeting. The parties met; McNeil professing to have a descriptive list for Harris, which he said he would tear up on receipt of the one hundred dollars. The one hundred dollars were paid by Depew to McNeil and Garvin, when the officer appeared and took them into custody.

The money and certain papers are transmitted to you with this statement. The money will be needed in proof, after which I think it should be returned to Depew.

J. H. HARRIS.

It may be said, that the deception and misstatements resorted to, and inseparable from the detective service, are demoralizing, and prove unsoundness of character in its officers. But it must be borne in mind that, in war, no commander fails to deceive the enemy when possible, to secure the least advantage. Spies, scouts, intercepted correspondence, feints in army movements, misrepresentations of military strength and position, are regarded as honorable means of securing victory over the foe. The work of the detective is simply deception reduced to a science or profession; and whatever objection, on ethical grounds, may lie against the secret service, lies with equal force against the strategy and tactics of Washington, Scott, Grant, and the host of their illustrious associates in the wars of the world. War is a last and terrible resort in the defense of even a righteous cause, and sets at defiance all the ordinary laws and customs of society, overriding the rights of property and the sanctity of the Sabbath. And not until the nations learn war no more, will the work of deception and waste of morals, men, and treasures, cease.

## CHAPTER I.

### ORIGIN OF THE BUREAU OF DETECTIVE SERVICE.

The first Visit to Washington—Interview with General Hiram Walbridge, and Hon. W. D. Kelley—Introduction to General Winfield Scott—Return to New York—Appointed by General Scott to renew the Attempt to visit Richmond—The first Failure—Crossing the Lines—The Arrest—Examinations—Sent to General Beauregard—On to Richmond.

In April, 1861, I went to Washington, to learn, if possible, in what capacity I could serve the loyal cause. At Willard's Hotel, I met its able and fearless champion, General Hiram Walbridge, of New York, and the Hon. William D. Kelley, of Philadelphia. We conversed freely upon the condition of the country, and the necessity of more reliable information respecting the strength and movements of the enemy.

General Walbridge then said to me, "Baker, you are the man of all others to go into this secret service; you have the ability and courage." General W., with the Hon. Mr. Kelley, strongly urged an interview with General Scott, who was in command of the Army of the United States; accompanied by him and the Hon. George W. Wright, of California, I went to his rooms. My father having fought under Gen. Scott in the last war with England, I was introduced as the son of "an old friend, with discretion, ability, and courage to do what was necessary."

After a little general conversation, the venerable commander requested those present to leave the room, when he talked freely of my experiences as a detective, and the services required to ascertain the strength and plans of the enemy, requesting an interview the following day.

At the hour appointed, with a deliberate purpose to accept any service for the country he might desire, I was again closeted with the Lieut.-General. After stating that he had

thus far found it impossible to obtain definite information respecting the rebel forces at Manassas, that of the five men who had been sent to Richmond two were known to be killed, and the other three were probably taken prisoners, with patriarchal and patriotic interest, he said to me: "Young man, if you have judgment and discretion, you can be of great service to the country."

I then told him that I could not immediately engage in the service, but must at once return to New York, to arrange unsettled affairs; and left him with the understanding that I should report to him as soon as circumstances would permit. The latter part of June, I was again in Washington, and had repeated interviews with the General. The result was, a definite arrangement for a journey toward Richmond, if not *into* the rebel capital. Directions in detail were given me respecting the difficult service I was expected to perform.

Taking from his vest pocket ten double eagles of coin, General Scott handed them to me, expressing the warmest hopes of my success in the excursion to "Dixie."

July 11, 1861, I started for Richmond. Along the route of my travel toward the Confederate Capital, and while there, I was to learn, if possible, the locality and strength of the hostile troops, especially of the dreaded Black-horse cavalry, and also of their fortifications; leaving no opportunity to gather items of information concerning the movements and plans of the enemy which might be of any service to the Government.

To one unacquainted with the nature of the service, it may seem strange that our troops should not know my character and design. But such concealment is not only always practiced in the Secret service, but was pre-eminently needful for us at that time, when we knew not whom to trust, because traitors were in the Government and in the army. To let the Union troops into the secret, would be to send it to Richmond before I had reached Manassas. Guarding the frontier of the Confederacy, the rebel army lay before Washington, stretching from a point three miles below Alexandria, toward the Potomac, eight miles above the capital. At Alexandria, then recently stained with the martyr blood of Ellsworth, Gen. Heintzelman was Provost-marshall. No passes were

recognized by either the Union or rebel army, and I must necessarily run the risk equally, in the attempt to pass their lines, of being arrested as a spy. The surreptitious movements would begin, therefore, with the first step from Washington toward the "sacred soil of Virginia."

I went to a daguerrean establishment, and purchased for four dollars an old box which had once contained photographic apparatus, slung it across my back, after the fashion of an itinerant artist, and started for Alexandria. Four miles out of the city I came to the Second Maine Regiment, and proceeded at once to the headquarters of the colonel. He received me politely, and wished me to take a view of the camp, including his tent and the principal officers standing in the foreground. War scenes were new to the people, and the desire was natural enough, to gratify friends at home with pictures of the martial field. After a good dinner, I took my box, and told the colonel I would go to a neighboring hill and take views of the encampment, then return to photograph the headquarters. I was soon in the woods with my hollow box, eluding guards, and pushing forward through the tangled undergrowth, toward the heart of rebeldom. When across the Federal lines as I supposed, I was startled with the shout, "Who goes there?" I looked up, to see a sentinel, with lifted gun, standing upon a knoll just before me.

I had no alternative but to surrender, and march with him to the colonel's quarters. This officer was sure he had caught a spy, and, escorted by ten men, I was sent back along the railroad, the same way I came, to General Heintzelman's headquarters. The lieutenant in charge presented me to the commanding officer, with the following flattering and promising introduction: "Here is a spy, general, that we found lurking about our camp, trying to get through the lines."

"Oh! you villain you, you," said Heintzelman, with his usual nasal twang and an oath, "trying to get through my lines, are you? I've a good notion to cut your head off! But I'll fix you, you rascal; I'll send you to General Scott." Another guard, with a message from the brave general, who was evidently gratified with the successful vigilance of his men, was ordered for me, and I was hurried away to Washington. The escort was dismissed by General Scott, and my

story told. With an expression that indicated both amusement at the *ruse*, and its failure, and confidence in me, the old veteran said: "Well, try again!"

The uprising North was now sending her legions to the field of civil conflict, and in an almost unbroken line they were marching over Long Bridge into Virginia. That night, I took a position at the end of the bridge, and, when a regiment came down broken into considerable disorder, I stepped into the ranks, hoping to be borne along with the troops. Unfortunately, a lieutenant saw the movement, and, taking me by the collar, put me under guard, and sent me back to the rear. Another night was spent in Washington, but not wholly in sleep. My mind was busy with new plans for a successful visit to the Confederate capital.

With the dawn of the next morning I renewed my journey afoot through the lower counties of Maryland, toward Port Tobacco, traveling thirty-five miles that day, and reaching that town at night. Exhaustion prepared me for sound and refreshing sleep. In the morning I gave a negro a twenty-dollar gold piece to row me across the river, when I was safely in the Confederacy, below Dumfries. The country was wooded, and an unfrequented road, whose general direction was toward Richmond, suggested the line of my advance into the Old Dominion. I pursued my solitary journey through the desolate country, slaking thirst, excited by the heat of the Southern sun, at brooks which at intervals crossed my path. I could necessarily have no settled plan of future movements, but trusted to providential indications of what, under the circumstances, it would be prudent and politic to do. With that entire composure of feeling and self-reliance which attend a purpose, however daring, when once the die is cast, to reach its final issue, I cast my eye over the sparsely-settled country, with its old roads crossed with paths, and studded with oaks, particularly careful to observe the least sign of a human form within its horizon. Four miles of distance lay between me and the banks of the Potomac, when two Confederate soldiers made their appearance, too near me to make an escape possible. I was taken prisoner under an order to arrest as a spy any stranger passing that way, and marched off toward camp, eight miles distant. A

beer shop by the roadside tempted the guard, and we all entered it. I was invited to drink. I saw my opportunity, and, although I never indulge in stimulants, accepted the offer of a glass of ale, and in return treated my captors. The generous indulgence was repeated, until my escort were stupidly under the influence of the potations, and fell asleep on the stoop of the beer-house, leaving me to go unmolested on my way.

I went up the road toward Manassas Junction, congratulating myself on my easy escape, when four rebel cavalrymen suddenly came out of the brush and ordered me to halt; then drawing their sabers, commanded me to surrender. I replied to them: "I am a peaceful citizen, unarmed, and on my way to Richmond." One dismounted, proceeded to search me, and succeeded in finding a number of letters introducing me to prominent rebels in Richmond. Among them were two written by the Rev. Mr. Shuck, for many years a missionary in China. He returned to California, where I had formed his acquaintance, and came to the Atlantic States in the same steamer with myself. He was at this time chaplain of a rebel regiment near Richmond. After obtaining possession of all my letters, the boastful chivalry could not read them. They requested me to be seated, while they heard from me the contents of the epistles.

Taking advantage of their ignorance, I read such portions as I chose. They at once directed me to proceed under guard to Brentsville, distant about ten miles—they riding, and keeping me on foot between them, and constantly conversing in a low tone of voice respecting the importance of the arrest. Arriving at Brentsville at ten o'clock, P. M., I was taken to the headquarters of General Bonham, of South Carolina, commanding at that point, ushered into the large tent occupied by General Bonham and staff officers, and ordered to take a seat. In a few minutes, General Bonham, in splendid uniform, took a seat beside me, and commenced conversation, by asking the direct question, "Where did you come from, and where are you going?" I replied: "I came from Washington, and am on my way to Richmond." Apparently unconscious of the deference due to the commanding officer, I sat with my hat on. Observing it, he

said, "Take off your hat, sir." With the order, I at once complied.

The letters were then handed to General Bonham by one of the captors.

After reading, he said, "How dare you come inside of my lines?"

Exhibiting proper surprise and indignation, I replied, "I am a loyal and peaceful citizen of the United States, engaged in an honorable and legitimate pursuit. I have business in Richmond, and desire to go there."

He replied, "Well, I will see that you *do* go there. I believe you are a Yankee spy, and I'll send you to General Beauregard at once." He gave the necessary order to detail a guard, and, handing a sealed letter to a lieutenant standing by, said, "Put this man in irons, and with this letter take him to General Beauregard's headquarters." Accordingly I left Brentsville at twelve o'clock at night, protesting, however, against being compelled to go on foot. He said, "As you have chosen that mode of conveyance, sir, you ought not now to find fault. Take him away."

We arrived at Manassas Junction about daylight, and went to General Beauregard's headquarters—the Weire House. Completely exhausted by the walk, and the excitement attending the arrest, I laid down in front of the house and went to sleep. At nine o'clock A. M., I was awakened by the warm, bright rays of the sun, shining in my face, and found myself in charge of the guard attached to the headquarters. I called for food, and was informed that General Beauregard desired to see me. I was taken into his presence, with whom were two or three staff officers. Pointing to an open letter (General Bonham's, I supposed), he said: "From this letter I see you have been found within our lines. What explanation have you to make?"

I replied, "I am from Washington, and going to Richmond, on private business. I have not intended to violate any law, regulation, or military rule, of the Confederate army."

"When did you leave Washington?"

"Day before yesterday," I replied.

"Where did you cross the river?"

"In the vicinity of Port Tobacco."

"How did you get across?"

"In a boat."

"Who brought you across?"

"A negro."

"So you are going to Richmond, are you?"

"Yes, if I can get there; but am willing to return if you will permit me to do so."

"No; I prefer that you should go to Richmond. Where do you reside?"

"I have lived in California the last ten years; but formerly lived in the South."

"What part of the South?"

"Knoxville, Tennessee."

"How long since you were in Knoxville?"

"Ten or twelve years."

"What is your name?"

"Samuel Munson."

"Yes, I see from your letters that that is your name; but what was your name before you turned spy?"

"I am no spy."

"I believe you are; and, if I was satisfied of it, I would hang you on that tree," pointing through an open window to an oak-tree in full view. "Orderly," he added, "take this man out and put him in the guard-house."

"I am very hungry; can you give me breakfast?"

"You will find breakfast in the guard-house."

I was taken by the guard to a stockade or pen, inside of which was a log-house. Following the officer in command, I said:

"Sir, I am very hungry—can you give me something to eat?"—taking from my pocket a gold eagle. At sight of the coin, he said—

"What will you have?"

"Send out and get me the worth of that, or the best breakfast you can get."

He soon returned with a good warm breakfast and a bottle of sour wine. The wine I gave to the guard, and ate the breakfast.

Having put myself on good terms with the officer in

command of the guard-house, he asked me what I was there for.

I replied I did not know—but, if not in violation of his orders, would like to go outside in charge of a guard. Whether it would be so or not, the sight of a twenty-dollar gold piece relieved his mind of any doubt on the subject. Handing it to him, he called a soldier and said :

“Take this man out, and walk him around awhile.”

I went to the hotel, treated my escort, and then went with him to take a general survey of all the troops in the immediate vicinity of Manassas Junction. One of my instructions from General Scott, and not least in importance, was to ascertain the numbers of the famous, and by the Union army much dreaded, black-horse cavalry. In conversation with my half-drunken guard, I referred to this cavalry, and inquired where they were.

He replied, “Down on the railroad.”

I expressed a wish to see them.

He said, “Certainly—them’s the boys to whip the Yankees !”

We went down the line of the railroad half a mile, and there found the cavalry in camp. I asked him how many men there were in that command.

He said, “Two hundred.”

I made a thorough inspection of these troops. My accommodating guard then took me to all the camps, pointed out the different intrenchments in course of erection, the names of the several regiments and brigades, who commanded them, their strength, &c. When I had obtained this information, my guard met drunken friends, and left me to go where I pleased. Fearing I should be missed, I immediately returned to the guard-house. I was not locked up, but allowed to remain in the stockade, where I met two fellow-prisoners, as I then supposed, who at once began asking me questions. It did not take me long, however, to decide that they were decoys, placed there for the purpose of eliciting from me, if possible, my real character. They complained bitterly of their treatment, and one even requested me to take a letter to his wife in Washington.

I consented to take the letter. It was written in a way well

RECEIVING RELIGIOUS TRACTS FROM BELLE BOYD IN THE REBEL STOCKADE AT MANASSAS JUNCTION.





calculated to mislead me. I went to the guard-house, called the lieutenant on guard, and said: "You have a spy in the stockade"—handing him the letter. He said, "I will send it up to headquarters." A few minutes later I saw the same man in private confidential conversation with the lieutenant, at the same time pointing to me across the yard.

This satisfied me of the truth of my suspicions. Repeated efforts were afterward made, during my stay in the stockade, to ascertain who I was, and my intentions. To all inquiries, however, I had but one answer, and that was: "That they had made a great mistake in arresting me." My next questioner was a woman, assuming the calling of a colporteur, or tract distributer. I was standing by the pump—she approached me and said:

"Sir, will you read one of my tracts?"

"Certainly, thank you, madam."

Handing me two or three tracts, she remarked, "This war is a terrible thing. How long have you been here?"

"Came here this morning."

She said—"Read those tracts, and then give them to your fellow-prisoners."

"What are you here for?"

"I do not know, madam, but hope nothing very serious."

"Do you live in the South?"

"No, I am from the North—was arrested yesterday down on the river."

"Oh, you are from the other side, are you—from Washington?"

"Yes, I left there three days ago."

"Are you going back?"

"Well, that depends upon General Beauregard."

"Oh! he is a very kind man, and certainly would not keep you here a moment without some good reason. Were you born in the North?"

"Yes, I suppose I am a Yankee."

"Is the North really going to fight the South?"

"I think it will."

She then left me, to continue her mission, distributing tracts to the prisoners and guards.

Returning soon afterward, she said in a low tone of voice, "I am trying to do all the good I can. Are you a Christian?"

I answered, "I thought I was once, but now have very serious doubts on the subject."

She then added: "The lieutenant thinks you are a spy: if you are, be very careful what you say. I was born at the North, but have lived among these people seven years. My sympathies are all with the Northern people. I am trying now to get a pass from General Beauregard, that I may visit my sister in New York, who is a teacher in one of the public schools. I will gladly take any message you may want to send to your friends. I think I shall get my pass to-morrow."

The only reply I made was, "I think I shall see my friends before you do."

With this she shook my hand cordially, and left me. Two years and a half later, I met my tract friend, who was the famous "Belle Boyd," under very different circumstances, which will be recorded in the order of their occurrence.

At eleven o'clock that night, the sergeant, with four men, came to the guard-house, and took me to General Beauregard's headquarters, where I again caught a glimpse of the attentive colporteur. After waiting in silence a brief time, the sergeant ordered me to follow him.

"Where am I going?" I asked.

"To Richmond. Fall in, men."

I was at once marched to the dépôt, and put into a freight car which had been used for the conveyance of troops, having the sides knocked off near the top, and started off at half-past one o'clock, P. M. The train moved very slowly, and Gordonsville was not reached until the next night. This otherwise irksome delay afforded me an excellent opportunity to observe the number of troops moving toward Manassas.

At Gordonsville, I was turned over to another guard, put into a passenger car, and entered Richmond at eight o'clock the succeeding evening.

The tidings of my capture had gone before, and the value of it to the Confederacy discussed and of course magnified,

as was everything by distance, on both sides, at that early period of the war.

Instead of giving me a cell in Libby prison, I was conveyed to the third story of an engine-house, an open, airy loft, with a clean bed, and in all respects more comfortable quarters than I anticipated. A guard of two soldiers were my keepers.

I retired to rest, and reflected on the course to be followed from this crisis in the enterprise. I was in the rebel capital, must survey its military resources, and get back to Washington, or die as a spy.

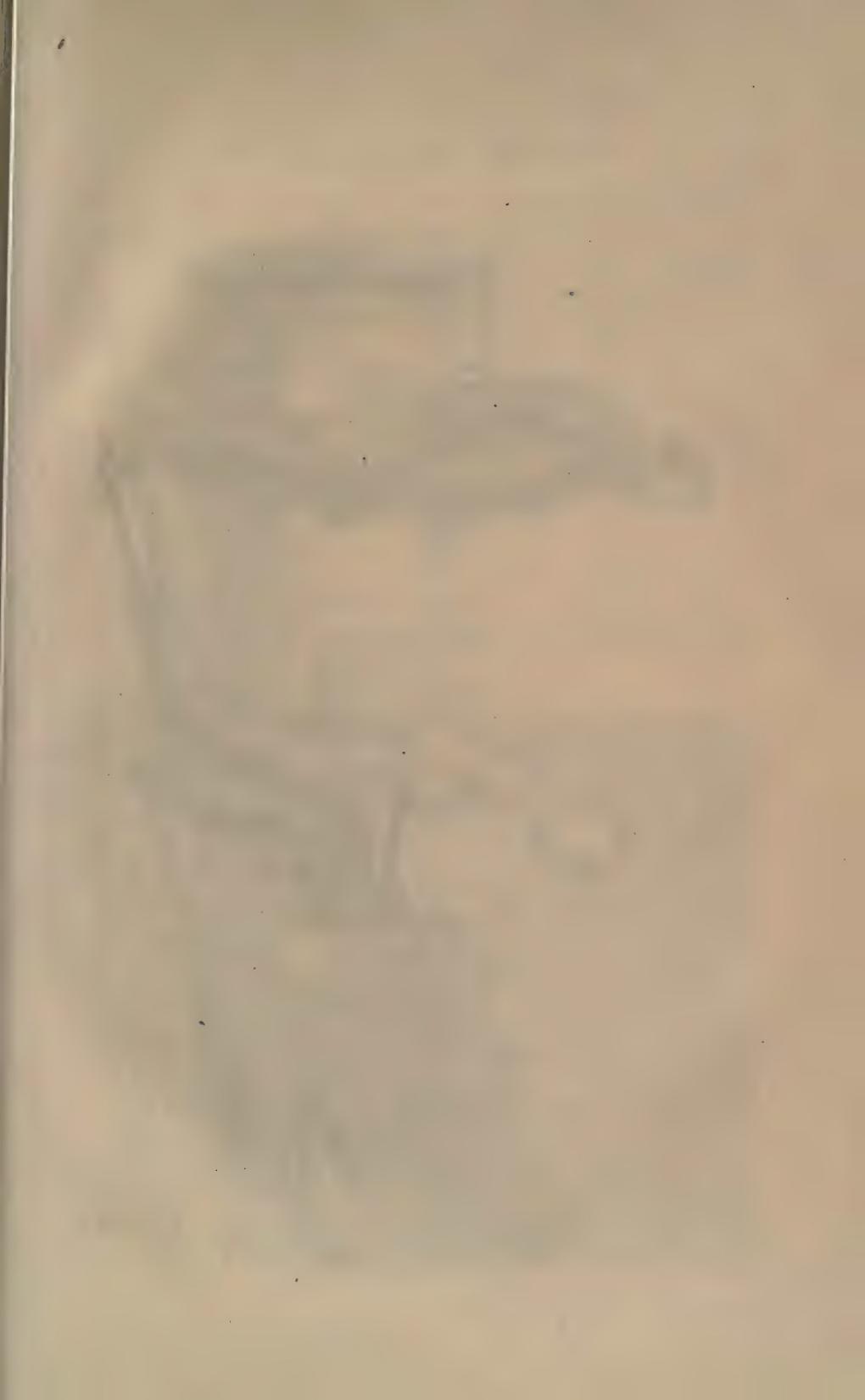
## CHAPTER II.

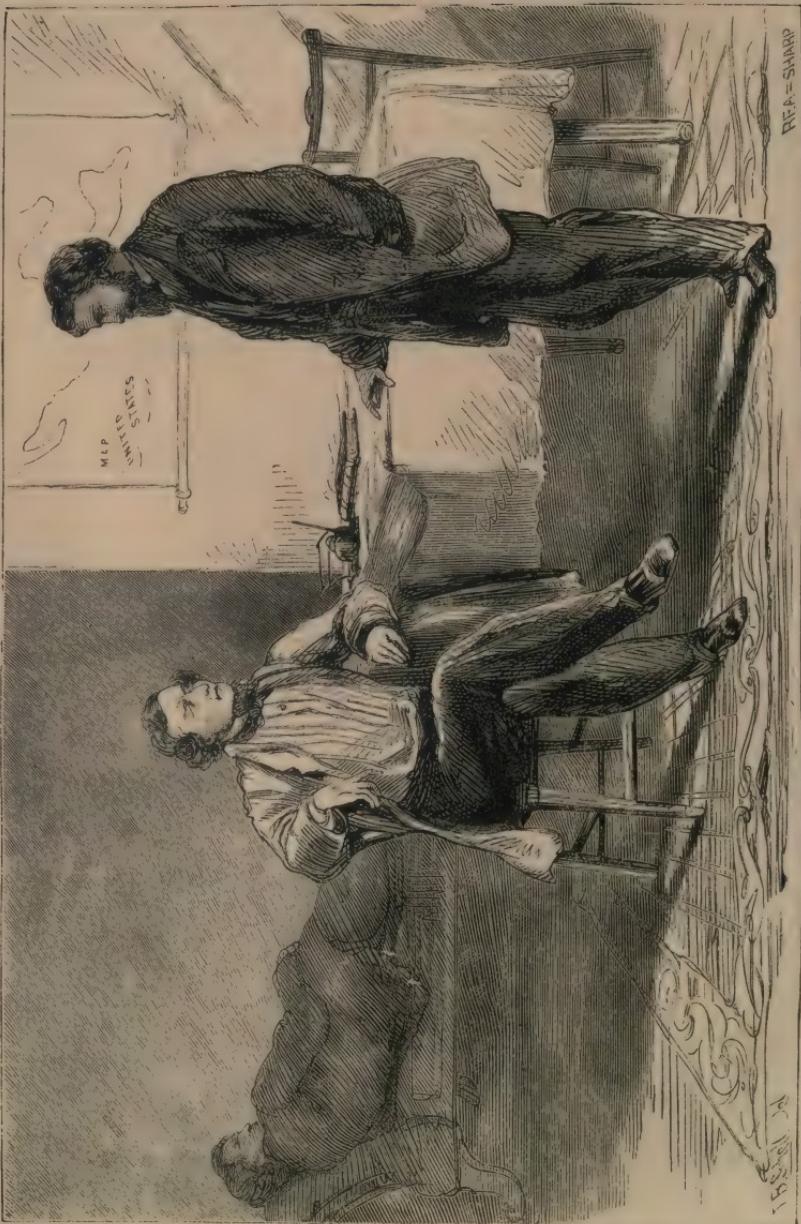
### RESIDENCE IN RICHMOND.

Summoned to an interview with Jeff. Davis—Subsequent Examinations by him—Critical Emergencies—Mr. Brock—"Samuel Munson"—Confidence secured—Mr "Munson" is appointed Confederate Agent—Original Letters from Davis, Toombs, and Walker—Starts for the North—Unpleasant Delays—A Narrow Escape—Reaches the Potomac—Deceives the Dutch Fishermen and runs the Rebel Gauntlet safely.

ON the fourth or fifth day of my confinement, a commissioned officer, attended by a guard, entered the apartment and said the President wished to see me. I obeyed the summons, and after reaching his room waited nearly two hours before I was presented to Mr. Davis with the simple expression, "This is the man, sir!" The room occupied by him in the Spottswood House was a front parlor connecting with a bedroom. The weather was warm, and he wore simply a light linen coat, without vest, collar, or cravat. He then said, "You have been sent here from Manassas as a spy! what have you to say?" I related the circumstances of my capture, complaining bitterly of my treatment, to which he listened with perfect indifference. He then asked substantially the same questions Beauregard had proposed, and which were answered as nearly as possible in the words used during the interview with him. I was taken back to the engine-loft, and at the expiration of three days was once more escorted to the executive apartment. The Confederate President was out, engaged in the inspection of troops who had just arrived from the South, and I returned to my quarters without an interview. At the expiration of a week, I was ordered for the third time into the presence of Jefferson Davis. The following inquiries were made by him:

"How many troops do you suppose there are in Washington and its vicinity?"





COL. BAKER'S INTERVIEW WITH JEFF. DAVIS.

I answered, "I have no means of knowing; probably 75,000 or 100,000, with more daily arriving."

"Who commands the Yankee troops?"

"I suppose, General Scott."

"Where are his headquarters?"

"In Washington."

"Then he is not with the troops?"

"No; General McDowell is in immediate command."

I was then marched back to my prison-chamber.

At the next interview the arch-traitor determined to make a thorough and satisfactory examination of his prisoner.

He began: "What is your name, sir?"

"Samuel Munson."

"Where were you born?"

"In Knoxville, Tennessee."

"What is your business here?"

"The settlement of certain land-claims in California for a man whose agent I am."

"Who is the man?"

"Rev. Mr. S—, of Barnwell Court-House; now I believe a chaplain in the army."

Having brought with me from the Pacific Coast land-claims in behalf of a minister, who returned to Barnwell Court-House, his former place of residence, and whose name as chaplain was on the Army Roll, my statement had certainly an air of plausibility.

"How long have you resided North?"

"I have been in California eight years."

"When did you leave California?"

"On the first day of January, 1861."

"Were you in Washington?"

"I was."

"Did you come directly here from Washington?"

"Yes, sir."

"Were there many troops in Washington?"

"Yes, sir, a great many."

"How many?"

"It is impossible to say, as they were constantly arriving and departing."

"Where were they concentrating?"

"In Virginia, opposite Washington."  
"Throwing up fortifications, are they ?"  
"Yes, sir; I believe so."  
"Are they fortifying Arlington Heights ?"  
"I do not know."  
"Or in the vicinity of Long Bridge ?"  
"I do not know."  
"Are they fortifying about Alexandria ?"  
"I can not say, I have not been there."  
"Can you tell me the names of any of the regiments now  
in Washington ?"

I mentioned the names of a few of which he could not have failed to know something through the press and rumors afloat.

He continued, "Where is General Scott ?"  
"I do not know. He is said to be in Washington."  
"Do you consider yourself a Southern man ?"  
"Yes, sir, I do."  
"Do you sympathize with the Southern people ?"  
"I do."  
"Are you willing to fight with them ?"  
"Yes, sir."  
"Will you enlist ?"  
"No, sir."  
"Why not ?"

"Because I am here on business which I ought first to accomplish."

The guard was summoned to take "Mr. Munson" to his prison again. Before leaving, I stepped forward to a table on which stood a pitcher of ice-water, and, turning to the rebel chief, said :

"Will you allow me to take a drink of ice-water ? I get none where I am."

"Certainly," he replied.

I was soon in my upper room reflecting upon the difficulties in my way, and the probability that they would yet thwart my plans, and leave me undisguised at the mercy of exasperated enemies.

Three additional days of monotonous life in my loft were passed, when I was summoned once more into the presence

of Davis. He sat by his table writing, with his back toward the door, while nearly opposite, reclining upon a lounge half asleep, and looking much like a man who had imbibed strong drink too freely, was Robert Toombs. He roused himself as I entered, to listen to my examination by the President, who, laying down his pen, turned to me and said :

"Have you any other way of proving that your name is Munson, excepting the letters found in your pocket?"

"I am not acquainted here, sir, and do not know any one."

Davis resumed his writing for a few moments, then said :

"Do you know how far they are running the cars on the Alexandria and Orange Railroad?"

"I don't know. I have not been on that side."

"Do you know whether they are running the cars on the Leesburg road?"

"I do not."

"How many Yankee troops do you think there are in the vicinity of Washington?"

"I have heard that there are one hundred and twenty thousand, but have no means of knowing whether it is true."

"I suppose you know who commands them?"

"I believe General McDowell does."

"You say you are originally from Knoxville. Can you give me the name of any persons whom you know there?"

"It has been a good many years since I lived in Knoxville, but I remember some persons who were there when I left."

I gave the names of several men whom I knew resided in that city.

"Would they know you?"

"I think so, though a residence of eight years in California has, no doubt, changed me very much. If I should see them, I think I could make them remember me."

I had taken the name of Munson, because I had learned that several families of that name belonged in Knoxville, and the son of a Judge Munson had been in California, whom I could represent.

Davis rang a bell, a messenger appeared, and, taking a

name, left the room. I suspected at once his errand. He was dispatched for somebody from Knoxville, to identify me, if my story were true. The crisis in my affairs had come. I concluded the game was up, and my vocation gone. It was a moment of great anxiety, and my thoughts were intensely active with the possibilities of escape from the snare in which I seemed to be caught. Davis continued writing, and Toombs closed his eyes. The messenger left the door ajar, and, unobserved, I drew my chair nearly in front of it, to gain a view of the outer hall. In it, on a small table, were blank cards on which those who called to see the Confederate President wrote their names, and sent them by an orderly, before they were admitted to an audience with him.

Soon the messenger with a stranger entered the hall. The latter wrote his name, and handed it to the orderly, who came in where I was sitting. I raised my hand to take the card, and he stopped to give it to me, when I glanced at the name, and made a motion to have it laid on Davis's table. The rebel Executive did not observe this, and Tombs was apparently asleep. The orderly put the card before him, was directed to admit the visitor, and retired. The Knoxville man came in, and, turning toward him with a look of sudden recognition, I rose, grasped his hand, and exclaimed:

"Why, how do you do, Brock?"

Toombs raised himself up and nodded to Davis, who said:

"Be seated, sir. Do you know this man?"

Brock was taken by surprise, but, not to appear ignorant before the President, replied:

"Yes, I know him, but I can't call his name now."

"My name is Munson, of Knoxville. Don't you remember Judge Munson's son who went to California?"

"What, Sam Munson?"

"That's my name."

"Oh yes," said Brock, turning to Davis, "now I remember him. Yes, I know him very well."

"Do you know his people there?" asked Davis.

"I know his father, Judge Munson, very well."

Toombs stood up and said, "That will do, sir, that will do," and Brock walked out of the room.

Toombs then drew a chair close to Davis, and they con-

versed in whispers for a few moments, when the guard escorted me to my quarters. I fancied that I had made some progress at this interview.

The next morning brought Mr. Brock to my loft, evidently sent to satisfy himself fully that I was Sam Munson. A delicate and difficult task was before me, and the result to my own mind very doubtful. Brock, however, was talkative, willing to carry on the conversation, and evidently quite sure that he was not mistaken in his man. I knew something of the Munsons, and localities in Knoxville, and, by the aid of imagination, could fill any pauses in Brock's conversation; eight years of absence excusing failures in memory. Brock asked leading questions, saying, for illustration, "You know so-and-so." "Oh, yes," I responded, though I had not the remotest knowledge of the person. Then Brock would refer to something very ludicrous, and I would burst into laughter, as though at the recollection, while Brock, greatly enjoying it, would unconsciously tell the whole story, so that I could put in a fitting remark here and there, which seemed to come naturally from recollection. Brock went away entirely satisfied, and reported to Jeff. Davis. Two days later, a commissioned officer entered the room with a parole, pledging myself not to leave the city of Richmond without orders from the provost-marshal. I signed it, and was released from confinement. With the freedom of the city, I continued my observations.

Walking through a street one Sunday morning, by a high board fence covered with posters concerning regiments being organized and other military announcements, from which I gleaned additional information, a man came up and slapped me on the shoulder with,—

"Hallo, Baker! What are you doing here?"

The name sounding strangely, under the circumstances, I was startled, but, looking around, calmly said:

"I guess you are mistaken, sir. My name is Munson."

"Ain't your name Baker?"

"No, sir."

"Didn't you go to California in 1850?"

"No, sir. I have lived in California, but I did not go there till '52."

"Why, didn't you go across the isthmus with me in April, 1850, when we had the fight with the natives?"

"No, sir. I guess you have mistaken the man."

"Well, I would have sworn that you were Baker. Didn't you have a brother there?"

"I had a brother there, but he came home in '53."

"Well," said he, turning away, "it's all right, I suppose; but I never saw two men look so much alike in my life!"

In the mean time I had obtained information of military movements and plans, learned where the enemy had stationed troops, or were building fortifications, and what they were doing at the Tredegar works. I had obtained the knowledge for which I came, and was anxious to return North. Through the influence of Hayes, I got from the provost-marshall, a pass to visit Fredericksburg, making an appointment to meet the former, which, of course, I did not keep. Arriving in Fredericksburg, I made three or four ineffectual attempts to get into the country, and finally, by the aid of a negro, crossed the Rappahannock one morning four miles below the city. To reach the Potomac would tax all my powers to the utmost, but the case was desperate and I must go forward. As, when entering upon my Southern tour, it was indispensable to success that I should even among friends be *incog.*, so now I must return with the precious epistles in my pocket, through the Confederate lines, on my own account, having only the chances of escape which any wanderer at large might have.

My face was toward Washington, and the only question remaining was, whether the success in the attempt to reach it would equal that of my journey to Richmond.

The Potomac was the goal of my solitary travel through forest and over open fields; for on its northern banks lay the Union Army, and, once across its waters, I was safe. My appearance was that of a common citizen, and I hoped to pass unnoticed any persons with whom a meeting was unavoidable. Scarcely two miles were traveled, when, by the side of woods which bordered the road, an officer and soldier on horseback appeared, and too near to give me time to seek concealment in the forest.

The officer reined up before me, and inquired : "Have you got a pass, sir?"

"Yes, sir."

"Let me see it."

With the promptness of assurance, I drew forth and handed him the pass from Richmond to Fredericksburg. If able to read, I hoped he might be satisfied with a glance at the paper, and let me proceed. He studied it awhile, till his eye caught the word "Fredericksburg;" he then said :—

"I don't think this will do, sir!"

"'Tis all right."

"Well, it may be, but you'll have to go back with me to Fredericksburg."

My locomotion had not been observed, and, with a pitiful limp, I remarked that it was hard for a lame man to be compelled to walk that distance; and that, if I attempted it, I must necessarily defer my journey till another day. I made a painful effort to walk, and so far moved the compassion of the officer, that he offered to take the pass to the commanding general, and leave me in charge of the soldier. When he was gone, after a little pleasant conversation, the day being warm, I proposed to my guard that we go into the shade of the woods. Tying his horse to a small tree, he threw himself down on the grass. Half an hour was spent in pleasant chat, and the officer did not make his appearance.

"Ugh!" said the guard stretching, "How sleepy I am, I didn't sleep a wink last night."

This fact, with the inviting greensward and shade, disposed him to snatch a nap; and soon he was oblivious to everything around him. It was no pleasure to me to subject him to punishment or even censure on my account; but the law of self-protection necessarily overruled my regard for the unwatchful guard, and, carefully appropriating his revolver, I unloosed and mounted his horse. Riding leisurely along the path a short time, I turned suddenly into the woods; but the ground was rough, and the bushes almost impenetrable, making progress distressingly slow. As the sun was sinking behind the trees, having traveled half a dozen miles, I emerged into a clearing, where a white-haired

old man, who evidently had reached his threescore years and ten, was making shingles.

With a respectful salutation, I inquired :

"Will you tell me the shortest road to the Potomac?"

This Southern patriarch looked at me with surprise. I said again :

"The river—the Potomac river—which way is it?"

"I never heard of it in my life."

"How long have you lived here?"

"Always; was born here."

"And don't know where the Potomac river is?"

"I never heard about such a river."

He was equally ignorant of the existence of Aquia Creek, or any of the streams or places along the river.

"Did you know that the South had seceded?" I inquired.

"Well, well! I've heard suthing was going on, but hain't taken much interest in politics no how since Jackson's time. 'Spose they are all the time getting up suthing new."

With a cup of water from the unsuspecting Jacksonian democrat, who was enjoying Cowper's lodge in the wilderness, undisturbed by the alarms of war, I rode away, to try the next turn in the wheel of fortune. At length a house was visible in the distance, and toward it I directed my course.

Dismounting near it, I hitched my horse, and commenced observations. Two negroes only were in sight, in an out-house. I went to them with a plausible story, and for ten cents obtained some bread and milk, which broke the day's fast, with refreshment for the night's adventure before me. Darkness was setting upon the forest, and, unable to discern the mire and stones ahead, I became entangled among the branches, and found I must abandon my horse, and plunge into the thicket alone. After wandering about bewildered for an hour, I unconsciously returned to the very house I had left. I decided to risk a rest here till morning, and working my body feet foremost under a haystack, until completely hidden, fell into a sound sleep. Just before the dawn of the next day, I was startled from slumber, and, listening, soon learned that rebel cavalry were in search of me, and had surrounded the house. A dozen horsemen could be

seen through the lattice-work of hay, moving about in the darkness. From the dwelling they went to the outhouses, and finally came to the haystack. I prepared for the worst. With my head thinly covered, I could watch my foes, unseen by them ; while my revolver lay before me. If discovered, I resolved to shoot the successful man, and run for dear life toward the woods. Several times the cavalry rode around the stack ; then one of the number, dismounting, began a sword examination of my lodgings. I could hear the thrust of the blade into the hay, until it grazed my coat, and I grasped my six-shooter to spring ; but he passed on, saying :

“ He ain’t in there, boys.”

Remounting, with his comrades, he rode off.

Watching them till out of sight, I crept cautiously into the deepening light, and started for the woods. The sun rose gloriously over the near horizon ; but whether to light me toward safety or capture, was entirely uncertain.

Without breakfast or dinner, I hastened on, having not even a glimpse of a human being, and avoiding every indication of his habitation. At two o’clock in the afternoon, when emerging from a clump of bushes, I came in full view of a man hauling timber. I could not retreat, and, changing the coat hanging on one arm to the other, I put my hand on my pocket, and stood in thinking posture. I saw that I had an Irishman to deal with, and not a remarkably bright specimen of his race.

With the air of one interested, I asked :

“ What is this timber for ?”

“ It’s fur the batthery down here, in course.”

This answer settled the question of the proximity of the Potomac, and also apprised me that fortifications and plenty of rebels were not far off. I walked along a stick of timber, measuring it by paces, and then said :

“ Tell these men they are getting this timber four feet too short, will you ?”

“ Yes, sur, I will sur. It’s only haulin, I am, meself.”

“ Well,” I replied, leaving him, “ tell them to cut it four feet longer, will you ? Tell them I say so.”

“ I will, sur.”

Into the woods again, and, making as good time as pos-

sible, I walked on two hours longer. Hunger began to gnaw, and create that desperation which disregards the cooler prudence of a full stomach. Striking a small creek or bayou, running into the Potomac, I resolved to follow it till it decided my fortunes for the night. No sign of anything in reach to appease hunger appeared, nor of a boat in which to get across the river. The very first sight of human existence was in a form to excite fear—a white tent, snugly pitched on the sloping point of a hill, by the water-side, and surrounded with bushes. I paused to watch for further intimations of what was there.

At length a soldier came up the bank with fish, and entered the tent. Soon after, with another man, he reappeared outside, and they sat down, lighted their pipes, and chatted, after the fashion of good-natured Dutchmen. The imperious demands of hunger urged me to join them, and, advancing, I accosted them. It turned out that they belonged to a battery on the hill above, and had moved to the bank to catch fish for the officers. I told them I lived up the creek, and had come down to see how things were getting on ; then inquired :

“Have you got anything to eat in the tent ?”

“We got not much here to eat.”

“Boys, I am very hungry. I hain’t had anything to eat since I came from home, and I’ll pay you for something.”

“Vell, dat ish tifferent matter. If you pays, dat ish tifferent matter.”

“Can’t you cook some fish ?”

“Oh, ersh, I spose we get you some fish.”

In a few minutes they set before me a supper simply of fish, cooked in their primitive style, and yet no luxury was ever so grateful to the taste. After it was finished, I asked for a pipe, and began to puff away, entirely at home ; but all the while revolving in my mind the chances and expedients for a final parting with my Dutch friends. Finally, my eye fell upon a small boat lying in the bushes below ; and the conviction followed the discovery, that it was my only hope of crossing the Potomac. Learning that the fishermen owned it, I said to them :

“I want to buy that boat. What will you take for it ?”

"I no sells dat poat," replied one.

"I'll give you twenty dollars for it, in gold."

"It's worth more as that to us. The Yankees ish break-ing up all poats on the Potomac."

There was an end to the prospect of a purchase; and a new plan must be devised. The sun sank behind the trees, and in the pleasant shade we smoked and talked away the hours. I found, in the course of conversation, that the battery was not over two hundred yards from us, and the Potomac a few rods below.

The evening advanced, and I begged the privilege of sleeping in the tent, as I was too tired to think of returning home before morning. Permission was reluctantly granted; and, spreading their blanket, they "turned in," while I continued without, smoking, till the moon rose. I had practical business on hand, which excluded contemplation of the romantic scene—the silver light tipping and then flooding the hills, and creeping down to the quiet spot of anxious wakefulness. For the illumination was to aid me in my design to escape. I could now watch the movements of my com-pa-nions in the tent sufficiently to see when they were apparently asleep, depending on the ear for the further evidence of the desirable fact. When all was still, indicating profound slumber, suddenly a change of position, a grunt, and a look outside, would dispel the illusion.

Toward midnight, I heard a shout:

"Hello, there! you come to ped to-night?"

"Yes, I am coming in."

Soon after entering the tent, I found that room for me had been left between the men, and the effort to get on an outer edge of the blanket was fruitless.

A suspicion evidently crossed the mind of the one who had just spoken to me, respecting the stranger, and there was a design to guard against any unpleasant results from the visit.

The day's fatigue made my own inclination to sleep al-most irresistible; but I watched anxiously for the favoring moment to leave the bed unobserved. Repeated trials found the distrustful soldier suffi-ciently wakeful to look after his guest. Overcome by the slumberous influences of fatigue,

my comfortable quarters, and the "stilly night," I sank into a restless repose. Scarcely an hour had passed, when I suddenly awoke, starting with alarm lest the opportunity to escape was lost. On the contrary, I found my companions were thoroughly asleep, their loud breathing the only sign of life. I carefully crawled from between them, till half my body was out of the tent. The suspicious man, with a sound of unrest, turned over. I remained perfectly still till he made another turn and stretched out his arm to see if all was right in the middle. I drew back to my old place, and he laid his hand upon me several times, before he seemed satisfied that I was there. Several attempts to leave the tent ended in a similar failure. Daylight began to steal into the tent, and the night of suspense must end in some decisive effort to secure the boat and cross the Potomac. The soldier-fishermen were sleeping quite as soundly as at any time before, and in another moment I stood before the door watching the effect of my movement. There was a little stir, and I stood mechanically poking the embers of our evening fire, as if looking out to see the breaking day; but with my pistol in one hand ready for service. Returning it to my pocket muzzle down, I hastened to the bank. To my great disappointment, there were no oars in the boat. Upon making search among the willows, I found a short one, partially decayed. Noiselessly as possible I launched the frail bark, fearing each sound on the sand or in the water would bring my Dutch friends down the bank. In a few moments, which suspense made oppressively long, I floated away into the stream, at this point, not over thirty feet in width. Taking the middle of the current, I pulled off my coat, and began to row for life. The tide favored me, and I was congratulating myself upon the prospect of an unmolested voyage, when a shout drew my attention to the vigilant Dutchman, whose gesticulations could not be misunderstood. He called loudly to his bedfellow: "Meyer! Meyer! the poat ish gone! the poat ish gone!"

He seized his musket and made for the bank, not more than a dozen feet from me, shouting:

"Come pack here! Come pack mit that poat!"

My only answer was a more vigorous use of the oar

Placing my right hand upon the pistol, and watching the soldier, I propelled the boat with my left.

"Come pack!" he continued, following me along the bank. He then paused, leveled his musket, and was about to fire. I did not want to kill "mine host," but the law of self-defense again demanded a sacrifice. With quick and sudden aim, I fired—with a cry of distress, he staggered and fell lifeless beside his musket. His comrade was running down the hill, when, seeing what had happened, he turned back to the tent. He soon returned with a double-barreled shot gun, and stole along cautiously, through the bushes, till within forty yards of the boat, and then fired. The shot fell around me, in the water. Catching a glimpse of my enemy in the thicket, I discharged my revolver. He ran away, evidently unhurt. The reports had given the alarm, and several soldiers soon came in sight. An instant later, a bullet whistled over my shoulder. I had reached the decisive moments of my last effort to get out of "Dixie." Again getting sight of the Dutchman in the bushes, I once more took deliberate aim and fired. He threw up one arm, gave a yell, and fell to the ground. In a moment he rose again, and, groaning, staggered away. Then two or three shots saluted me unceremoniously, striking and splintering the side of the boat. I was now at the mouth of the creek, and rapidly left the shore behind me. A squad of soldiers, by this time, stood on the brow and at the base of the hill, firing their muskets. The *chug* of the bullets in the water reminded me that my transit to loyal soil was not yet certain. Both hands were laid to the oar, and, striking the broad current of the Potomac, which was here four miles wide, I rapidly receded from musket range. A high wind swept the waters, and, while rounding a bluff, a sudden gust carried away my hat, and lifted my coat lying in the bow of the boat, dropping it into the river. But it was no time to look backward to those articles of apparel, floating between me and my foes, whose bullets still came unpleasantly near. Their shots continued until they fell far in the wake of my boat. The sun had risen above the horizon, warm and bright, while, for two hours and a half, I worked with a single oar, and, aided by the drifting tide, approached the Maryland shore. With an

inexpressible sense of relief, I heard the boat's bow touch the sand. I was near Chapel Point, ten miles below the creek on which I embarked, and so exhausted, that with difficulty I reached the bank. On its green carpet, and under the cooling shade of its trees, I laid down to rest, leaving the boat to which I owed my deliverance to the winds and waves of the Potomac.

## CHAPTER III.

### NORTHERN EXPERIENCES AS CONFEDERATE AGENT.

Hospitalities by the way—The Report to General Scott—Operations in Baltimore—The Janus-faced Unionist—A rich Development in Philadelphia—The Arrests—Amusing Prison Scene.

REFRESHED by an hour of rest sufficiently to renew my journey toward Washington, I soon came to a small and poor habitation, in whose door stood a coarse and dirty female. I asked her for something to eat.

"I have nothing to spare : can't give you a mouthful."

Whether meanness, destitution, or my dilapidated appearance were the exciting cause of her rudeness, I can not tell. But to my plea for a crust, or inquiries where I might find even a partial supply of the lost apparel, she closed the door in my face. I wandered on, a solitary country mocking my hunger. Toward noon a noble mansion, surrounded by a large plantation, arrested my eye, and on its porch an elderly woman sitting alone amid the rural quiet. Entering the gate, I approached her with a morning salutation. She returned it, with a suspicious glance at my unusual appearance. I inquired :

"Can I get a drink of water here, madam?"

"Certainly," calling a colored girl to bring it.

The roar of the cannon at Matthias Point, where the rebels were practicing with the battery, could be distinctly heard. I said :

"We are getting ready for the Yankees there pretty fast."

"Yes."

"They won't be able to sail up and down the river much more."

"No, that they won't."

The peculiar animation with which she made this reply

showed me that I had not mistaken her character. While I was drinking, she inquired from what place I had come.

I told her from Richmond, to see what the Yankees were doing, and report to Jeff. Davis and Beauregard. She then inquired how I lost my hat and coat. I told her they were blown off while crossing the river, and that I had just left the shore, with nothing to eat since the night before.

"Our dinner will be ready soon," she said, "and I shall be very glad to have you stay and dine with us."

The invitation was accepted, and extra preparation made for me. An excellent meal, many inquiries from my hostess concerning the progress of the "holy cause," and predictions of its speedy triumph followed. When I was ready to leave, she supplied me with a second-hand hat and coat, and, with a cordial good-bye, expressed the hope that I should be prospered in my good work, and do much for the independence of the South.

With no incidents of remarkable interest, I passed through the counties of Maryland, reaching Washington after an absence of three eventful weeks.

I at once reported to General Scott, giving him all the information desired respecting Manassas, Fredericksburg, and Richmond, the resources and plans of the rebel chiefs, and the blockade running of the Potomac.

He read, with a smile, the letters from the Confederate Government, when I expressed my design to use them in tracking northern traitors in their treasonable alliance with the South. Expressing his gratification, he recommended my name to Mr. Cameron for permanent service as a secret agent of the War Department.

I commenced, without delay, ferreting out these sympathizers with secession. Two brothers named A., one of them within the rebel lines, were engaged in supplying munitions of war to the Confederacy.

The apparently loyal man who lived in Baltimore had a contract to furnish the regiment of Col. ——, then on the Potomac, with forage. He owned a small vessel on the river, whose captain shared with him the profits of their secret treachery. Filling the hold with small-arms, ammunition, and other light *materiel* of war, they were covered with hay

and oats for the Union troops. Upon reaching Matthias Point, the captain signaled A., who was watching for him, and the contraband goods were landed, when the vessel proceeded to Washington with its light freight of forage. This shrewd operation had been carried on a considerable time, with no suspicion attaching to the Baltimore brother from his loyal neighbors, of the illegitimate traffic.

I proceeded to Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore, and dispatched a note to A., informing him that Mr. Munson, from Richmond, would like to see him, and designating a time for our interview. A. promptly called.

He entered the room, when the following conversation passed between us.

"This is Mr. A., I presume."

"Yes, sir."

"I am glad to see you, sir. Take a seat."

A. sat down.

"Mr. A., I am a man of very few words. I came here on business, and I want to get through with it as soon as I can conveniently. I am an agent of the Confederate Government. I understand that you are willing to help us, and have been doing so. I want to purchase goods, and I have the gold to pay for them."

A., who was a short, impulsive man, with a German accent, was thrown entirely off his guard.

"I'm your man. I'm just the person you ought to have come to. I help the South, and I make a little money out of the North. I'll show you how easy it is."

From his coat pocket he drew an envelope, containing two contracts—one of them to send goods to Richmond, and the other to furnish a Union regiment with certain supplies. His eye twinkled with delight, while he watched my perusal of the documents. The delivery of the goods was a subject of considerable discussion, and A. was very particular in his inquiries about the pay. I replied:—

"Mr. A., I do not come here to make money out of my government. I came here purely from patriotic motives. While I am willing to pay you a fair percentage on any goods you may buy, and a liberal allowance for your services, I of course can not submit to any extortion, or to any exor-

bitant charges. I am working for the interests of my people. I, myself, do not want to make a cent out of this business."

"That is all right—it is honorable and patriotic. But it is not safe to buy the goods here, because men in this trade have been detected, and the police watch us all the time. We can do better in Philadelphia, where I have friends to help us."

We agreed to start in the 4:20 train the same afternoon for Philadelphia. While standing in the depot waiting for the train, talking with A., I saw Senator McDougal, whom I had known in California, and George Wilkes, coming toward me. I tried in vain to avoid their recognition, but McDougal, taking my arm, exclaimed :

"Why, how d'ye do, Baker?"

With a look of strange surprise, I said :

"You've got the advantage of me, sir. I don't know you."

"Well, that's a good joke," replied McDougal, laughing.

"It may be, but I don't know you, sir. My name is Munson."

Suddenly McDougal seemed to fathom the mystery sufficiently to relieve me of farther embarrassment, by remarking, as he turned away :

"Well, upon my soul, I believe I am mistaken. Excuse me, sir ; you look very much like a friend of mine." The incident made but slight if any impression upon the mind of A., for he made no allusion to it during the ride to Philadelphia.

I stopped at the American Hotel, when A. left me to find B., who was connected with a large hardware house in the city, and bring him to the hotel. Meanwhile, by a circuitous route, I reached the headquarters of the police and had an interview with Ben. Franklin, the chief of the department. Acquainting him thoroughly with the business in hand, his assistance was secured to make the arrests at the proper time. He suggested that it might be well to have the conference with my disloyal friends. To this I assented, and, accompanying me to the hotel, he was concealed under the bed. Soon after A. and B. entered—the latter a tall, gaunt, shrewd, and taciturn man. A. opened the con-

versation, and talked on, while B. stroked his whiskers and said nothing. I repeated the assurance that my object was to serve the South and not speculation. I urged the risk of delay in completing my arrangements, as a reason for prompt action. In conclusion, I remarked to B. : "I learn from Mr. A. that you are friendly to our people and willing to assist us."

"Yes, sir, my sympathies are with the South, and possibly I may be able to aid you."

B. desired to know the kind of goods that were needed, and repeated the assurance that Philadelphia was a safer place than Baltimore or New York for the purchase of them. I then produced my letters, which B. read carefully and with evident satisfaction ; but preferred to defer any further negotiations for the present. As he rose to leave, he requested me to call at his place of business that afternoon. A. remained and suggested another gentleman, who would be glad to take hold of the business—a Mr. C., of Commerce Street. I gratefully accepted the proposal, and we left the room, releasing Franklin from his close confinement under the bed. We found C. in his office, but disinclined to talk. He inquired where I stopped, and I returned to the hotel. Shortly after, C. made his appearance and commenced conversation in a very confidential way. He went for the South, but did not like A., who, he affirmed, was simply a money-making Jew. I told him I knew nothing of A., but supposed him to be a reliable friend of our cause. The result of the interview was a plan to keep A. interested in the transaction, but ignorant of its most important particulars. In the afternoon I called upon Mr. B., whose confidence was now unreserved, and stated to him my conversation with C. He then said :

"Now, Mr. Munson, you and I are actuated by the same motives in this thing. These men, A. and C., are engaged in it simply for the percentage they can make. I think you had better get rid of them."

I replied, that this could not well be done, but that I might withhold any further information than was absolutely necessary.

The conversation closed with an invitation to dine with

him that afternoon. I expressed a fear that it would give offense to A., if I should go alone.

"Well," said B., "You had better bring him along."

I went with A., at the appointed hour, and sat down to a sumptuous dinner. Wine was abundant, and the health of Davis, Beauregard, and other leading rebels was not forgotten. B. became exhilarated, and his secession songs were sung so loudly that we were obliged to hint that possibly he might be heard in the streets. The party broke up at a late hour in fine spirits. I made arrangements with one of the banks by which I would appear to have plenty of money at my command. I went to a tinner's and had several canvas bags full of pieces of zinc cut the size of gold coin, and these were deposited in the vaults. I began to make my purchases. I bought two hundred thousand cannon-primers, two hundred Colt's revolvers, a million friction caps, and other similar goods. I also ascertained that these parties were carrying on systematically contraband trade with the South. Franklin, Chief of Police, was informed of my operations, and we concluded it was time to begin making arrests. On a subsequent day, having an invitation to dine with A. at the house of B., I told Franklin to watch us when we came away, and if, when we were opposite the City Hall, I raised my hand, he was to arrest them—otherwise to make no demonstration. As we stepped from the house into a street car, Franklin got on to the platform. When the designated point was reached, A. got off first, and I immediately gave the signal. Franklin, laying his hand upon A.'s shoulder, said :

"I want you, sir."

I was making off across the street, when Franklin shouted :

"Here, sir, I want you, too."

I, of course, returned, looking somewhat alarmed.

Said Franklin :

"You will have to come with me, gentlemen, I have a little private business with you."

A. and myself were soon in the station-house together. Franklin, turning to me, remarked :

"I've been looking after you, sir, for some time. Your

name is Munson, isn't it? You came here from the South to buy goods, didn't you? You were very bold about it; a little too bold, as you have just discovered. I've been looking after you, too, A. You're a Baltimorean, ain't you? You came here to get rebel supplies, too, didn't you? I shall have to search you both."

We were searched, and, of course, the two contracts to supply both the rebel and Union troops were found in A.'s possession.

"Take this man to the Sixth Precinct station-house, and lock him up by himself," said Franklin to an officer, "and then come back after this man," pointing to me.

"Now, Ben," I said, when A. had gone, "we must gobble up those other two men the best way we can, as soon as possible."

"All right," said Franklin.

I had an appointment to meet C. the next morning, to examine some caps which he had received from New York. When we met according to this arrangement, C. inquired for A.

I replied:

"He got a dispatch that his brother was in Baltimore, and he has gone on to see him. He will be back to-morrow."

The caps were satisfactory, but C. stated that he must go to New York, to get some telegraphic material, which he was to furnish—some small wires to wind the battery, and asked me if I could not advance money.

"I haven't any with me now, but, if you will meet me at the corner of Third and Market Streets, at half-past one, I can let you have some, and you will be in time then to get the two o'clock train for New York."

I left and went to Franklin's office, requesting him to arrest us when we met on the corner. C. and myself arrived a little before the time, and I made some preliminary conversation on that account. At the moment he was anticipating the transfer of the funds, Franklin came up, and suspended operations by saying:

"I am the chief of police here, and I want you two gentlemen."

C. laughed, and said :

"I guess you don't know who I am."

"Oh, yes, I do, and I know this other man, too. He's a blockade runner, from Richmond, and you're not much better."

We went to a station-house, and Franklin apparently searched me, while another officer attended to C. He was then taken to the Sixth Precinct station-house, and locked in a cell by himself.

B. only remained to be arrested. But he was the most important one of the number, and Marshal Milwood, of that district, was to assist in his arrest. I called on Mr. B., who said :

"I think we have both got about tired of A. and C., and I think you had better meet me to-morrow, and bring them with you, so that we can settle up with them, pay them their commission, and tell them that you have bought all you require. Then we can go into New York, to-morrow, in the two o'clock train, and make arrangements for all the goods you want, without the heavy commission you are obliged to pay them."

I promised to come to his office, at twelve o'clock, the next day. Franklin and Marshal Milwood were duly informed of this appointment.

Mr. B.'s store was in a long, narrow building, and in the rear were two or three small offices, with desks for writing. I was with Mr. B. in one of these.

After the usual salutations, B. asked :

"Where are A. and C.?"

"They are running about town, somewhere. I didn't want to bring them here. I will sit down and write them a letter, stating that my business is nearly done in Philadelphia, and that I am about to leave."

Mr. B. furnished me with paper, and I took a seat at one of the desks, to write. The time passed on, and I became restless, for Franklin and Milwood should already have arrived.

If they should fail me, I thought I should be in a very disagreeable dilemma, having promised to go with B. to New York

I was thus meditating, when I heard two men coming down the store from the front. In a moment more Marshal Milwood—a large, strong man, with a gold-headed cane and a gold badge—entered the next office, and said :

“ Is this Mr. B.?”

“ That is my name, sir,” responded B.

“ I am the United States marshal of this district, and I arrest you, sir.”

B. turned pale.

Meanwhile, Franklin, who had also entered, turned and said :

“ Here’s another man that we want. This is that man Munson.”

I tore off the paper I had written, and commenced rolling it up, as though secretly. Taking my black silk hat in my hand, I quietly put the paper under the leather lining inside, and placed the hat on my head. B. was watching me, and conjectured that I had written something in the letter which could criminate them. If he had any doubt before that I was what I represented myself to be, this action would have removed his suspicions.

“ I guess you are mistaken, gentlemen,” said I.

“ Oh, no, not at all,” said Franklin ; “ you can’t fool us. You are the man that came here from the South, to buy goods. Let me see the letter you were writing.”

“ I haven’t written any letter,” said I.

“ Oh, none of that !” said Franklin, knocking my hat from my head as roughly as though he had been in earnest. “ You thought I didn’t see that little sleight-of-hand performance, didn’t you ?” he continued, taking the paper from the hat. He read it, and handed it to Milwood

B. was walking up and down, stroking his beard, having regained his composure.

“ We want both of you,” said Milwood. “ Mr. Marshal,” said B., “ I think you are entirely too fast in this matter. I am an old citizen here, well known, and a partner in this house. This gentleman is from the South, it is true. He inquired me out and visited me, but I cannot believe he is here for any improper purpose. So far as I am concerned, I shall be able to show who and what I am very easily.”

B. was searched, and quite important papers for evidence were found on him. He was then sent to the Sixth Precinct station-house.

That evening Marshal Milwood, Ben. Franklin, and I, went down to see the prisoners, I keeping carefully out of their sight.

"Let us see what they will say to each other," said one of the party. An officer took A. into C.'s room.

"My G—d ! what are you doing here?" exclaimed A.

"Doing here?" answered C., angrily. "I'm arrested."

"Why, when were you arrested?"

"I was standing on the corner of Market and Third Streets with Munson, and Ben. Franklin took us both."

"My G—d, I was arrested with Munson," said A.

"You can't play that on me. You're a —— Jew, and it's you who have brought all this trouble on me."

A. was enraged at this, and conversation followed of the roughest sort.

When the excitement subsided, B. was put into the same room with them, Milwood, Franklin, and myself, still out of sight, listening.

"My G—d, B., you arrested too?" said A.

B. stroked his whiskers and looked sternly.

"I understand it all," said he. "You are two scoundrels, and one or the other of you either betrayed this matter or let it out by your cursed carelessness. I believe A., that that you came from Baltimore with Munson to beat him out of his money and get him arrested."

They abused each other for nearly an hour, and A. wanted to fight the rest. Each declared that he was arrested with Munson, and not one would believe a word the other said.

"Come, you're making too much noise," said the officer, finally. "We'll have to separate you again."

Early in the morning they were taken to a prison out of town, and in the afternoon Milwood and Franklin went with me to visit them again. I was put into a cell, and A. brought and locked in with me.

"Mein Got, Munson, what a troubles this is!" said A., his German accent more noticeable in his dejection. "Mein

Got, when we got out of that cars and that man Franklin came up, I thought I should have died. And B. and C. are arrested too."

"Well, we're all in the same boat," said I: "I suppose they'll hang me."

In a short time A. was told to come out and get his dinner, and B. was locked in with me; I putting on the aspect of chief mourner over our fate.

"Well, I'm sorry for you, Munson," said B. "I suppose my friends will have me out this afternoon or to-morrow, and if I can do any thing for you I shall be glad to. I never liked that Jew, and I am convinced that this is all his doing."

After a while B. was removed, and C. put in the cell. He came in with a knowing leer on his face. He had suspected the truth.

"I'm glad to see you, Munson," said he; "that was a splendid thing we played on them fellows, wasn't it? Oh, that's the way to catch them!"

"What do you mean?" said I.

"Why, I knew who you were all the time. You couldn't fool me; I wanted to help you catch the scoundrels."

"Who do you think I am?"

"You are a detective from Washington. I knew you well enough. I was just going up to Marshal Milwood, to tell him what we had done."

"C., it is too late to tell that story now. It won't do."

A statement of the cases was forwarded to Washington, and A., B., and C. were sent to Fort Warren. A., probably from the excitement and mortification attending his arrest and imprisonment, became insane, and was sent to Blackwell's Island, and afterward to the asylum near Baltimore, where he still remains. Before A. left, in a fit of passion, he struck C. in the face, breaking his nose. B. and C. were released on bail for trial.

A leading New York daily paper contained the very correct account of the case as quoted below:—

"The most important arrests that have been made during the rebellion came to light in this city to-day. Most of

those previously incarcerated in Fort Lafayette had been devoting their influences to treason; but the parties here arrested were contributing arms and munitions of war daily, bribing officers of the United States Army to further their designs, and had organized a system of treason so skillful and so complete, that only after the utmost vigilance, and when the detectives had tested all means to entrap and decoy them, the full proofs came to light.

"The names of these men are J. M. H., F. W., and W. G.—H. is a Baltimore Israelite, whose business is the making of military trimmings, epaulettes, sword-handles, &c. He had obtained a hay contract from the United States Government, to more effectually conceal his plans, and was armed with numerous letters from Federal functionaries, that he intended to produce in emergencies. This man conducted contraband trade from Baltimore until General Dix and the provost-marshall showed him up. He was first observed in this wise:—A package, containing several thousand friction tubes and cannon-primers, had been left at Adams's Express office in this city, addressed to a well-known firm in Baltimore. Being threatened with arrest, the latter firm confessed that they were the agents of J. M. H., and it was further educed that the same was shipped under a fictitious name by W. G.

"Detective Benjamin Franklin, a sagacious and fertile Philadelphia officer, now determined to seduce H. to this city; for which purpose he resorted to certain ingenious means, not now ripe for publication. Convinced that heavy orders awaited him here, and that Philadelphia was less under espionage than Baltimore, H. came on. A celebrated Lincoln detective now took part in the matter, and the means by which they inveigled all the parties constitute the richest item in the history of criminal surveillance. The Israelite was so played upon that he is not yet aware of the enemies who ruined him, and when the matter was ripe the whole party were taken up, their goods and papers seized, and they are now in Fort Lafayette, having gone forward on Sunday night.

"W. G. is a razor and cutlery importer, whose establishment is situated at Fifth and Commerce Streets. He

has never taken the oath of allegiance, being an Englishman. His game was to pretend himself a Federal agent until the worst came, when he was to claim the privileges of a British subject. In his establishment were found surgical instruments, caps, pistols, bowie-knives, &c., packed and directed to go southward. The property amounts to \$10,000 in value.

"F. W. is a Virginian, formerly in partnership with C. B. C., 205 North Water Street. He has always been a rabid traitor, and his wife has been six times to Richmond and back within as many weeks, taking each time trunks heavily filled with weapons and goods contraband. She passed our lines by bribing an officer of the army, who obtained passes for the purpose. Said officer has been arrested, and will probably be shot. At W.'s house an extensive correspondence with parties in the South was found, and his complicity with the rebels was proved by his papers, even in the absence of any other evidence. Among other articles seized, there was a pair of epaulettes, marked with the name of Captain R., an officer in the rebel army. There were also a photographic group of worthies, of which W. was the center. A gentleman, who is familiar with the likenesses, says that they represent Captain R., Captain J. A. C., Lieutenant C. D. F., of Georgia, and B., mayor of Savannah, all decided rebels.

"The hay contract in which H. was engaged was to have been worked to good advantage. Two vessels, one loaded with bales of hay, and the other with bales containing war munitions, were to have been dispatched up the Potomac, and at Aquia Creek, at a given signal, the bogus hay would have been run under the Rebel batteries. All this was proved by seized letters, and also the fact that the late captures of Federal sloops and small craft by the Rebels, off the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers, were the work of design and not of accident, the same containing contraband matters. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore merchants are thus implicated, and the proofs are too plain and startling to be set aside. These three men were leagued together, and among their several correspondence were lat-

letters from Rebel contractors, acknowledging the receipt of pistols and side-arms.

"After being arrested, they were shifted from station houses to prison, being one night taken out of town to stave off judicial decisions, writs of habeas corpus, &c. Finally, on Sunday, Marshals Jenkins and Steele drove them to the New York boat—W. defiant, G. cowed and sullen, and the Israelite trembling like a leaf.

"A part of the correspondence implicating them was obtained from the wife of a lieutenant in the Federal army, who had been rather delicately implicated with N. H. W., now in Fort Lafayette. She has been arrested in Newark, New Jersey, where she resides.

"The Government decoy who assisted detective Franklin in these labors is said to be a daring Californian, full of nerve and fertile in expedients, who has been twice in Charleston and thrice in Richmond since the battle of Bull Run. His manner of making the arrest cannot now be disclosed, although it rivals in interest and danger the exploits of the best Bow Street officers."

## CHAPTER IV.

### TREASON AND TRAITORS AT THE NORTH.

Baltimore—The Detective Service and the Arrest of the Maryland Legislature—The Refugee and the Spy—The Pursuit and the Capture—Traitors at Niagara Falls—Acquaintance with them—The Arrest—In Fort Lafayette.

Of all places north of Mason and Dixon's line, Baltimore had the pre-eminence in the early development of treason, and its defiant audacity. It is doubtful whether any other city furnished as largely and promptly for the rebel army the sons of aristocratic families. Here originated, practically, armed resistance to the Government.

The blood of the Massachusetts Sixth was the first martyr-blood of the war, and it stained the pavements of Baltimore. From that city was sent the first expedition to destroy a railroad—that to Gunpowder River.

Whatever Baltimore may have done since to redeem her name from treason's darkest hue, at the beginning of the civil conflict it was a hot-bed of crime, and its manifold products served well the garner of all its harvest—Richmond.

To make the most of the information obtained in Richmond, and of my letters from the authorities, I sought the acquaintance of leading secessionists, and was soon on excellent terms with them; indeed, I was admitted into their secret councils. This was more readily done at this time, when any representative of the South was cordially welcomed to the traitorous circles of that city. And my commission from the Confederate government gave me distinction among the friends of the revolt.

So determined and persistent were the people in their opposition to the Government, that a well-devised and deeply-laid plan was nearly consummated to carry the State out of the Union and to link its destinies with the South.

This was to be accomplished through the secret assembling of the Legislature of Maryland. So dark, disloyal, and unknown to the public had been the meetings of this Legislature, that none (or very few) of the most prominent rebels were apprised of its movements. As a confidential and trusted friend of the authorities at Richmond, there could be no objection to revealing to me the plot.

At many of the private meetings which I was invited to attend, I was shocked and amazed at the cool and deliberate manner in which they declared their intentions to meet at Frederick, pass the ordinance of secession, and by it make and proclaim Maryland a Confederate State. These facts, as fast as they were obtained, were forwarded to Washington.

The rebel legislators arrived in Frederick, in accordance with a previous understanding, at different times, and from various directions, to avoid suspicion in loyal minds as to their real object. This was about the middle of September, 1861. Those that did reach Frederick were quietly arrested, and others *en route*, or just ready to leave Baltimore to meet their fellow-conspirators, were taken with so little demonstration, scarcely any one of the number knew of the arrest of his fellow-traitor.

The prompt action taken by the Government and its importance, I believe, have never been appreciated by the people of the loyal States.

It is startling to contemplate for a moment the result which must have followed the vote of this body of treasonable men.

It would have been taken at once as the signal for the immediate organization of a large rebel force in the State; and, instead of Washington having been the capital of the Union in the civil war, it would have been the capital of the Confederacy.

Instead of the Potomac river being the picket line between the hostile armies, that line would probably have been somewhere on the borders of Pennsylvania.

Whatever may be the estimate put upon the military or civil *status* of Benjamin F. Butler, to his energy, courage, and executive power in an emergency, the country is indebted for the position which Maryland occupied during the war.

Had he faltered on his arrival in the State, or even hesitated a moment, Maryland would have been a Confederate State. Had he done nothing more, the country would have owed General Butler a lasting debt of gratitude.

September 28, 1861, while stopping at French's Hotel, in New York, I made the acquaintance of Mr. C., the book-keeper. Having had occasion to make inquiries of the character of his guests, I was compelled to disclose my office.

While conversing with him on one occasion about the hardships of the loyal people of the South, he called my attention to a man stopping there, who said he was a refugee from Mobile, and wished me to hear his story of wrongs.

I consented, and was introduced to an apparently respectable and honest mechanic, who stated that he was a Northern man, and had been South for some time, as locomotive engineer.

When the rebellion began, he inadvertently declared his sentiments, and the vigilance committee ordered him to go North.

He owned a small house, worth a few thousand dollars, and wished to stay long enough to sell it and take his family with him. But he was required to start at once, leaving his family behind.

An intimation to him by Mr. C. that I might influence the authorities at Washington and get a pass, induced him to apply to me for assistance.

I took a deep interest in the case, gave him my address in Washington, and asked him to call upon me there. Subsequently, when the incident had passed from my mind, one day my refugee friend came rushing into my apartment at Washington, and excitedly said :

"I have just met B. on the avenue, a young man from Montgomery, Alabama, where I was once employed, elegantly dressed in female attire, and accompanied by a man whom I do not know. I believe he is a spy."

"Why did you not follow him?"

"I was so much excited, I did not think of it."

My informant then gave me some account of B., when I requested him to go with one of my assistants through the principal streets in search of the mysterious strangers.

The search was continued for six days.

One morning he came with the haste of great excitement into my quarters again, saying :

"Well, I met B. and his friend just now, and followed them to the National Hotel."

I went there with my informant, procured two tickets for dinner, and we were soon seated at the table, where I found the couple. They were registered in the book as "Dr. McC. and wife, Harper's Ferry, Va." I did not lose sight of them again.

On Saturday they left Washington. I followed them to Philadelphia. They stopped at the Continental Hotel, registering their names "Dr. McC. and wife, Washington, D. C." Under their names I put my own as "John Brown." After some further disclosures, which we shall not here detail, on Sunday night they started for the West.

I was dressed in the garb of a farmer, and managed without suspicion to sit near them and hear much of their conversation ; all of which proved clearly their treasonable character.

Monday night we reached the Burnett House, Cincinnati, Ohio. I saw them safely domiciled in the fourth story, and waited until after one o'clock at night, when I knocked at the door. It was cautiously opened, when I said :

"Doctor, I want to see you privately a moment."

His wife was sitting with her feet on the mantel-piece, smoking a cigar, and her dress unhooked.

I said, "Doctor, I have followed you from Washington ; I know the character of this young man in female dress."

At this moment I noticed a revolver on the mantel-piece, and remarked :

"This might be dangerous in the hands of an ill-minded person ; I guess I will take possession of it."

The doctor was boisterous and threatening. I told him I did not wish to make him notorious there, and alarm the house ; that I knew all about them, and resistance would not help the matter. McC. commenced pulling on his boots, when I noticed the glitter of the handle of a bowie-knife which was thrust into a pocket in the side of his boot. I added, reaching out my hand :

"Doctor, I think I will take this also ; you might hurt yourself."

With a slight resistance on his part, I secured it. The search of his baggage revealed, drawn on tissue paper, elaborately prepared plans of the fortifications and number of troops in and around Washington, with a large number of letters of great importance to the Government.

All of these were put into the trunks, again locked up, and with the keys in my possession, at four o'clock A. M., I was on my way to Washington with the travelers and their precious freight. They were safely quartered in the Old Capitol prison, and the maps, &c., delivered to Mr. Seward.

As an evidence that the great rebellion had long been premeditated by the prominent politicians of the South, it is only necessary to observe how completely they seemed to have the machinery of their treason in operation. For, before the roar of the cannon around Sumter had ceased to echo in the bay of Charleston, the secret emissaries of the cause had received their instructions, and each knew distinctly the part he was to play in the great drama.

From Floyd to the lowest traitor, the certainty of success, and the matured plans, had so emboldened them, that but little discretion or concealment was deemed important. And while Breckinridge was daring the North in Congress to oppose the right of the South to secede, its traitorous agents were boasting in the streets of Washington what they intended to do.

With a view to the arrest of these rebel agents, October 18, 1861, I went to Canada, as the subjoined letter will show:

WASHINGTON, October 25, 1861.

Hon. SECRETARY OF STATE:

DEAR SIR—I returned from Canada this morning. I found at the Clifton House, Niagara Falls, a large number of prominent secessionists, who have just returned from Europe.

I would like an order for the arrest and conveyance to Fort Lafayette of S. W. A. and O. B. C., the first-named being a member of the so-called Confederate Congress at this time. These traitors are waiting an opportunity to go South. They have very important correspondence in their possession, some of which I have seen. I am confident I shall succeed in inducing them to visit our side of the river, which of course will be the only opportunity for arresting them.

Yours, very respectfully,

L. C. BAKER.

Having obtained the desired order from the Secretary of State, I immediately started for Niagara Falls. At Rochester I employed a colored servant, for I had determined to play the part of some prominent rebel from the South, and wrote three letters, all addressed to the name at the Clifton House which I had assumed.

One of these letters was mailed in New York, one in St. Louis, and the third in Washington. On my arrival at the Clifton House, where my secession friends alluded to were stopping, I registered my assumed name, and put on the airs of a Southern gentleman. I secured two of the most spacious rooms in the house.

The obliging landlord brought to me my letters, and in view of the honor conferred upon him he was more than ordinarily civil.

He remarked that he had often heard my name mentioned by his Southern friends. Upon my adding that I desired to live in perfect quiet, he said that it would be impossible for one so distinguished to do this; especially would my acquaintance be sought by fellow-exiles from the "sunny South."

I was allowed to pass that evening in seclusion; but early the next morning a servant handed me the card of S. W. Ashley, with his compliments, and expressing a desire to see me.

I graciously granted Mr. A.'s request, and told the servant to show him up.

I may here remark that the chances or risks so often taken of being detected in the assumed name by some acquaintance of the real person, sometimes do prove fatal to the plan; but even a defeat by the discovery of the real object by those I am seeking to entrap is only the failure of that particular plot, leaving a hundred others open for farther experiment.

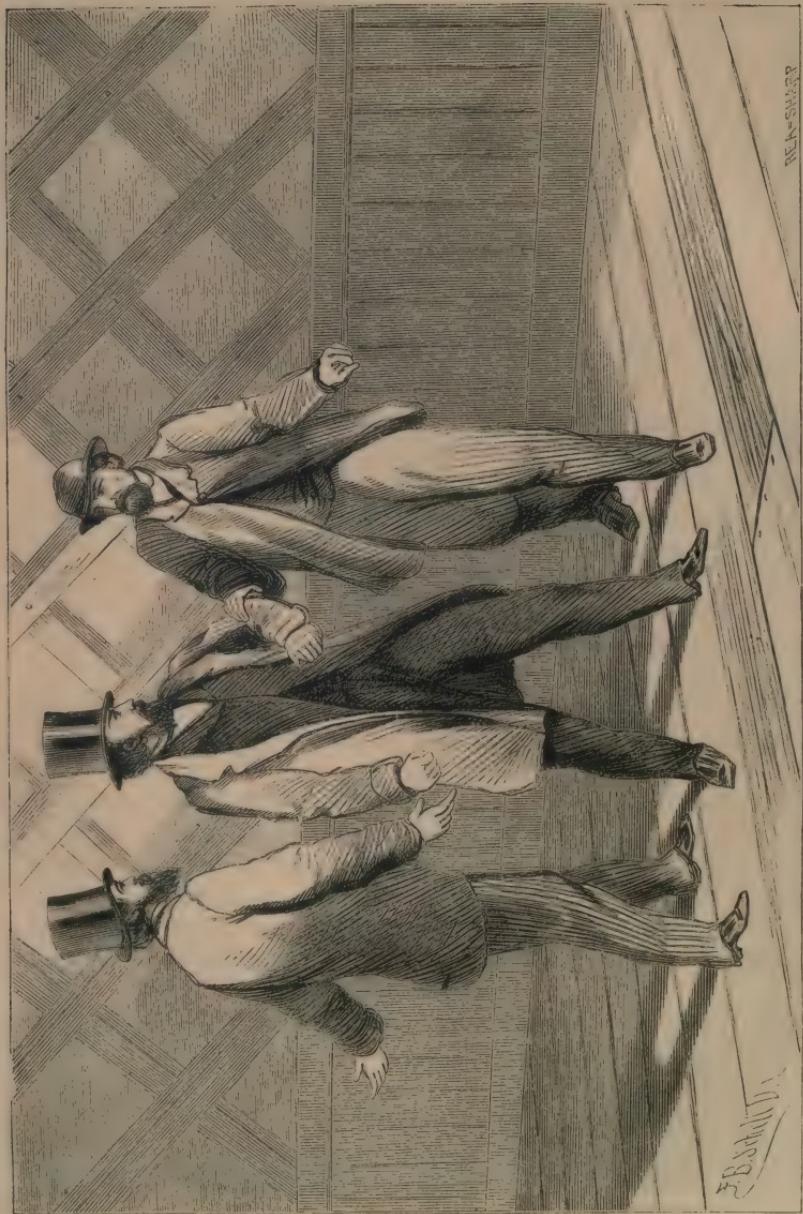
Fortune favored me, however, in this case, as Mr. A. had no personal acquaintance with the traitor whose name I had assumed.

Our aims and purposes apparently being alike, we were soon on the most familiar terms. We talked over the prospect of glorious successes by our gallant troops, and laughed



THE NEW YORKER

CAPTURE OF A REBEL CONGRESSMAN ON SUSPENSION BRIDGE AT NIAGARA FALLS.



at the absurdity of the attempt of the Yankees to resist the valor of the chivalric South.

Mr. A., having preceded me several days in the visit to the Falls, had become acquainted with the interesting localities, and politely invited me to accompany him on a tour of observation. I gladly accepted, and spent a day among the wonders of the great cataract.

The following morning he called again, to repeat the kind attention.

At my suggestion, we decided to visit that marvelous monument of engineering skill, the Suspension Bridge. I was enthusiastic in praise of the designer, and tried to explain how the first wires were thrown over the chasm; and, to have a farther inspection, proposed that we should buy tickets to cross, intimating to my friend that we had better not go over, but simply advance a sufficient distance to make an examination of the structure.

I entertained my friend with remarks upon the scenery, the cables, &c.; and, to go into the scientific observation of the different parts of the bridge, I went over the national line a hundred feet perhaps, toward the American shore. While deeply interested in conversation, we were suddenly accosted by a mild, gentlemanly man, who said to my friend, Mr. A.:

"Your name is A., sir? I have an order from the Secretary of State for your arrest. In your admiration of this structure, I think you have ventured a little too far. You will please accompany me with your friend."

I replied: "Sir, certainly you can not have an order for my arrest; if so, will you produce it?"

He then took from his pocket the order for the arrest of Philip Herbert, my assumed name.

I suggested to Mr. A. that we should accompany the officer, quite sure that, upon the proper explanation, we should be at once released.

Our protestations were of no avail. He said: "I have been watching this bridge for you three weeks; quite sure you could not resist the temptation to examine it. You must go with me." We started immediately for New York.

Mr. A. had been quite thoughtful and sombre on the way to Rochester, and there remarked to me that his mind

was not perfectly *clear* in regard to the part I was playing ; he had his suspicions that he had mistaken his man. Philip Herbert, it will be recollectcd, while in Congress, killed a waiter in Willard's Hotel, and after the date of this affair was himself killed in the war while colonel of a regiment.

We were taken from New York to Fort Lafayette, where I remained an hour and my less fortunate friend eight months

## CHAPTER V.

### A KNIGHT OF THE GOLDEN SQUARE.

P. H. F., *alias* Carlisle Murray, a Knight of the Golden Square—The Arrest—Release—Papers of F. examined—Secretary Seward's Order for a Second Arrest—On the Track—The Rural Retreat—Mr. Carlisle Murray a Reformer and Lover—The Official Writ—The Astonished Landlord and Landlady—A Scene-Report.

IT was during the month of November, 1861, that the existence of certain treasonable organizations, having for their object the overthrow of the Government, began to attract attention. October 17, 1861, a communication was received by the Hon. Secretary of State, purporting to give the history of a secret society in Texas, known as Knights of the Golden Circle. The particular objects of this organization were not, however, fully explained. A few days later, another letter was received at the State Department, giving similar information. On the 24th of October, Benjamin Franklin, Chief of the Philadelphia Police, arrested, on a telegraphic dispatch, a one-armed man, named Carlisle Murray, and confined him in the station-house of that city. On searching his person, mysterious papers were found, apparently containing the constitution and by-laws of the Knights of the Golden Square. Franklin sent a dispatch to me, informing me of the arrest.

I came to Philadelphia, compared the documents with the original records of the Knights of the Golden Circle in the State Department, and found them to agree—the two societies were clearly essentially one in character. In a further conversation with Murray, he claimed to be an intimate friend of a well-known merchant-prince of Boston, for whom he acted as agent. At this stage of the war so little was known of the Knights of the Golden Circle, no great importance was attached to Murray's papers, and he was released.

Before this, however, I recognized him as a somewhat distinguished individual. His name was P. H. F., who figured as Fillibuster Walker's minister from Nicaragua in 1848. A subsequent examination of the papers in Murray's possession, taken in connection with those before referred to, satisfied me that he was really a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle.

Clothed with the authority conferred by the following order, I entered upon the search after F. :—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, November 2, 1861. }

To L. C. BAKER, Esq., Washington, D. C.:—

You will please arrest P. H. F., *alias* Carlisle Murray, and convey him to Fort Warren, Boston, Massachusetts. Examine his person and baggage, and send all papers found in his possession to this Department.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) WILLIAM H. SEWARD,  
Secretary of State.

He had been released some weeks before his real character was discovered. To find him then seemed a hopeless task. By intercepted letters postmarked Branford, Conn., I was soon on his track. Assuming another name, he had selected this quiet town as his temporary residence. His assumed name there I did not know; consequently must devise some plan which would lead to the knowledge of his locality. Accompanied by Franklin, I proceeded to Branford. To avoid suspicion on the part of the citizens, it was necessary that Mr. Franklin and myself should appear under an assumed character. We represented ourselves to be gun manufacturers in behalf of the Government, seeking for an eligible spot and building in which to carry forward our business. An old machine shop, not then used, answered my purpose.

When it was known that two intelligent men were about establishing business for the loyal cause, the good people of course were very anxious to serve us. The only hotel in Branford was a quiet inn, kept by a venerable couple. Here we found ourselves, strangers to all and in pursuit of a stranger, with no tangible clew to his person or place of abode. To get on good terms with "mine host" and hostess

it was only necessary to state prospective plans, and that their house would be my headquarters. The old man talked freely of the facilities for my contemplated business, and of the moral and social condition of the people ; inviting Franklin and myself to dine with them. Up to this time we had made no inquiry for the object of our visit, trusting to circumstances for farther developments. We soon sat down to an excellent dinner. While at the table, the old lady inquired of her husband, "Is Mr. Jackson coming down to dinner ? You had better ask him." This question satisfied me that we had a distinguished guest. Who was that Mr. Jackson ? I immediately rose, giving Franklin the cue, and, to the astonishment of the honest pair presiding at the table, rushed up stairs to search the house. Hurrying from room to room, at length I found the strange boarder occupying the only bedroom and parlor in the house. I said, extending my hand :

"How are you, F?"

He arose, and, politely taking my hand, said :

"You have the advantage of me."

I replied : "I believe I have ; for I have a warrant for your arrest ; and I don't think you have one for me."

"Oh, yes," he replied ; "I recollect you now. You are from California ?"

And in the coolest and most off-hand manner said :

"Why, I am glad to see anybody from California. Here is some good brandy. Well, how are my friends, McDougal and Tillford ?"

He then added : "Why, Baker, this is a good joke. How did you find out where I was ? I thought I had got beyond the reach of detectives. Now, the people here think me a very good man. I have lectured on temperance and religion ; have a class in the Sabbath-school ; and am courting one of the prettiest girls in Connecticut. This is too bad."

By this time the landlord and his wife had entered the room, having learned from Franklin French's real character, when she said :

"Why, Mr. Jackson, how could you be so wicked ? These gentlemen say you are a rebel spy. To think that a

secessionist has even slept under our roof. I'll have to air the bed and purify the whole house."

Then, looking at her hands and crying bitterly, she added :

" And I have washed your clothes ! May the Lord forgive you, for I can't."

The scene was a mixture of the pathetic and comic rarely witnessed. The unsuspecting landlord, who had nearly reached his threescore and ten years, stood trembling with the palsy, and with a most woebegone expression, while his more demonstrative companion seemed beyond the reach of a comforting word. Then followed a hasty packing up of French's effects, and sending them down stairs, when he paid his weekly bill, and said to the landlady :

" I will return and explain this whole thing to you."

In less time than it has taken to tell the story, the news had spread through the village. The pastor whose pulpit French had occupied, the postmaster, and blacksmith were at the hotel. But one person could be found who objected to the proceedings, and he was a newly arrived M. D. from Texas, who at once declared his purpose to resist the order of arrest, and called upon the people to assist in rescuing the prisoner. The display of a six-shooter immediately quieted his rebellious spirit. F. was taken to New Haven, thence to Fort Warren. After a brief incarceration, he was paroled by Secretary Seward ; and so the matter ended. The disloyal order of the Knights of the Golden Circle was so vaguely understood that it was thought, after all, harmless to the Government.

The subjoined report to the Secretary of State will shed more light upon the character and career of F., and illustrate further the necessity of a detective police when traitors in arms and in the disguise of loyal citizens are plotting with unscrupulous hate against the Government :

WASHINGTON, November 17, 1861.

To the Hon. W. H. SEWARD :—

DEAR SIR--On the 2d of November, I received an order from the State Department to arrest and convey to Fort Warren one P. H. F., *alias* Carlisle Murray. From an intercepted letter found in the Philadelphia post-office, I had reason to believe that F. was at or near Branford, Connecticut. On

the 5th instant, I took officer Ben. Franklin, and proceeded to the above-named place. After some delay, I succeeded in finding F. at a small hotel, where he had been stopping for some months. I immediately placed him under arrest, searched his person and effects, and found a number of letters, most of which seem to be a correspondence between him (F.) and a distinguished merchant, relating to the sale of certain steamboats to the United States Government belonging to this merchant. F. had represented himself to the confiding gentleman as one Carlisle Murray, who had been driven out of the South because of his Union sentiments. He also exhibited what purported to be genuine letters from the Hon. Mr. Etheridge, Andrew Johnson, Parson Brownlow, and others, authorizing him to collect moneys from loyal people of the North, for the support of Parson Brownlow's paper (*the Knoxville Whig*). I have ascertained that he did collect, from the merchant already mentioned, and others, about four thousand dollars. A careful perusal of the correspondence between these parties shows that the latter did make an engagement with Mr. F. to sell two steamers to our Government, and that he was to receive a certain commission for the same. During the time he was trying to sell or negotiate for the steamboats, he visited the merchant at his country residence, was invited to spend the Sabbath, and dine with him (which invitation F. accepted), receiving letters of introduction to prominent and wealthy citizens of Boston, New York, Brooklyn, and other places. There can be no doubt but that F. is one of the most accomplished villains in America, nor that the merchant did *bona fide* enter into a contract or agreement with F. to sell certain steamboats to the United States; nor that his patron was informed of the true character of F. long before he took any steps for his arrest. The correspondence and all the facts in the case go to show: First, that F., by forged letters and misrepresentations, deceived his patron; second, that the merchant, finding F. a very shrewd, intelligent man, did employ him to sell the steamers; and third, that, when he learned the real character of F., the authorities were not immediately notified by him; and when said merchant ascertained that F. could not, or would not, make a sale of the boats, he telegraphed to the authorities in Philadelphia to arrest Carlisle Murray for swindling. These are, in my opinion, about the facts relating to the matter, as far as the merchant is concerned.

Among the papers found in F.'s possession, was a manuscript purporting to be the constitution and by-laws of a secret order or association, known as the Knights of the Golden Square. This document is copied almost verbatim from the constitution and by-laws of the Knights of the Golden Circle, an order that originated in Texas, some two years since, the object of which was, the overthrow of the United States Government. By an ingenious wording of these papers—that is, whenever the name and objects of the order occur—the terms have been used, evidently intending to convey the impression that it was a Union order, designed to be secret in its nature, but the object of which was to be the maintenance of the cause of the North.

I am satisfied that F. is a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle; that he has copied their constitution and by-laws; that the papers found in his possession have been altered or worded differently from the original, so

that, if he should at any time be suspected or arrested, these papers could not be used as evidence against him. All the letters and papers found in F.'s possession are forwarded to your Department.

Yours, very truly,

L. C. BAKER.

In the early stages of the war, before any police organization of the Government had been perfected or set in operation, and before blockade restrictions had been established, the whole North was flooded by a class of southern spies, correspondents, and incendiaries. That the spying and detective business was not confined to those who had made it a profession would seem to be indicated by the following letter. The writer of this precious document was an Episcopalian minister from the South, who had been employed by the rebel government to visit the North, with a view to ascertain the movements then on foot toward the organization of the army. It was written to Bishop General P. The "Joe" spoken of, was a sergeant in one of the Federal regiments, with whom an arrangement had been made by the writer to convey through the lines to the rebels any documents that might be forwarded to him for that purpose. "Joe" was ferreted out and arrested, and made a confession of the whole scheme which is referred to in the communication; to wit, the organization of a force in Philadelphia, New Jersey, and Delaware, to seize the Arsenal, Navy Yard, and public property at Philadelphia. The "friend Bob" spoken of was Bob B. (ex-senator B.), of Delaware. When the ringleaders of this conspiracy discovered that I was on their track, they immediately abandoned the scheme, or transferred their field of operations to the West, where an organization was perfected, but broken up by the arrest of Dr. D. at Indianapolis, in 1864.

PHILADELPHIA, December 26, 1861.

WORTHY SIR—Various good and sufficient reasons have detained me north of this point several days beyond the time specified in your instructions. First of these, I, in a room in Boston, was expatiating, as usual, upon the horrors and sin of slavery, as a matter of course, and misrepresenting, in a blundering way, its real condition. One of the chaps took up the cudgel in good earnest. He had sailed South, been in Southern ports, knew Southern people well, they were kind to the nigger, &c., &c. I invited talk, solicited conversation and

information—gained his confidence, finding how freely he let himself out. I had several interviews, and finally threw off the mask, and told my real object was to gain information, in which he aided me to the extent of his utmost ability. He is a man about sixty years of age, but strong and active; and although a native-born New Englander, he hates, with a perfect ferociousness, the name of New England. Several reasons conspire to produce this. First, he has been swindled by a pious deacon, his brother-in-law, who induced his wife to forsake him; then he has mingled, to a great extent, with our people South, and cherishes a fond recollection of many of our citizens. Oh, how he swears at the Yankees. I soon ascertained that I might place implicit reliance upon his word. My respect and confidence were confirmed by the opinions entertained and freely expressed here by all classes. They represent him as a bold, outspoken secessionist. Being a man of tried and sterling bravery, the people know well that it would never do to trifle with him; and, added to this, he is worth some twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars; being quite judiciously invested, enables him to realize an income of at least three or four thousand a year, at least three-fourths of which he gives away—not in the form of common charities altogether, but gifts in the shape of loans to deserving beginners. In this way his popularity among a great many is solid, not only with those whom he has benefited, but others, whose respect for such unostentatious nobleness is challenged and secured.

Well, he is the man we need. He will go into the scheme with heart and soul. His plan is, receive orders for a stanch, swift sea-steamer from a South American power, have her quietly and expeditiously built, manned with the right kind of a crew, give out that he is going with her, let her take in a cargo of just such articles as we need at present—boots, shoes, &c.—sail, and enter the first Southern port that looks clear. I would here remark, that his plan is to have three just such steamers under way at the same time. Either this, or he will buy—each, however, from different points. Marine signal No. 8 (eight) of the Confederate States of America will be used upon entrance of our port. This, you remember, is the plan agreed upon to deceive the blockade fleet.

The day after my arrival in this place I was accosted by a venerable old beggar, who stood at a corner soliciting alms. His touching tone of voice, coupled with his meek yet respectful appearance, although in rags, attracted and interested me. I gave him a dime, and asked him carelessly where he lived, with no intention, however, of paying him a visit, but hardly knowing what to say, and feeling I ought to say something.

He replied, "You aint got any Jeames River tobacky, I reckon, to give a fellow a chaw."

Imagine my surprise when my beggar friend proved to be our old Nebo. Cute as ever, he plies his artful game. He tells me that he was in Washington last week; says old — is drunk one-half his time. — and — are laying up big piles of United States money both for themselves and friends, though — is the sharpest in the way of money. That old stupid fool, —, is completely under the thumb of —, — ditto.

Nebo says that, unsuspectingly, he has been permitted to enter both the

civil and military department in Washington and Alexandria. As his means of communicating with head-quarters is so very expeditious and complete, I deem it both impolitic and unnecessary to detail, in this communication, the vast amount of useful information which he is enabled to pick up. One thing I must mention. He says that in less than three months we will have Philadelphia and Baltimore. He says that as soon as the advance is made upon the lines at W., a party here, now numbering over five thousand, in this city, together with thrice that number in the adjoining counties, will seize the Navy Yard, Arsenal, &c. His experience tallies with mine, that is, that New Jersey is sound to the back-bone for us: yes, far more so than Delaware, although a Southern State.

I am afraid to advise you to take *that* trip, for, notwithstanding the clerical out of my coat, I am watched very closely, as are all strangers, by the Government spies. The people are heartily sick and tired of this war, but are afraid to utter such sentiments, it being treason, or so ruled by that drunken thief, —.

Nebo says that whenever — needs money he sends ahead some startling telegraph communications, manufactured, as a matter of course. Soon the streets of Philadelphia and New York ring with the cry of extras: "Glorious news (in big letters). Fifty thousand secessionists routed by a Union force of only one hundred and fifty. We took thirty thousand prisoners, two hundred and seventy-five thousand stand of arms, one thousand four hundred cannon, and an immense stock of ammunition. The rebel general shot in the mouth by a Buck-tail, which would have proved fatal, but just as the ball hit him he spit out a quid of tobacco, which turned the ball aside. It, however, glanced from the quid and killed a colonel and eleven privates. Our loss (Union)—two killed, three wounded, one missing."

Such, my dear general, is the windy stuff which — uses to draw money out of the Wall Street kings. Verily, this is a bumbuggy age. To my mind it is past my comprehension how the two sections can ever meet together, even in ordinary intercourse. You can form no conception of the bitter feeling of hostility entertained by all classes here. An instance or two will suffice. An interesting *pious* family, whose *savory* discourse did my soul much good in its growth in grace, &c., &c., whose hospitality I often enjoyed, one day last week, in making a call, I found them much excited. Upon inquiring the cause, Miss Annie informed me that they had just learned that the bonnet-maker was a vile secessionist. I straightened my eye-brows, turned up my whites, and made an appropriate pious ejaculation, and inquired how she had made the discovery. By accident, sir. Well, to sift the testimony from their verbiage, Mrs. —, a poor widow, who makes a living for herself and children in the bonnet business, had been so imprudent as to say to my friend, "Well, I hope if they do liberate the negroes, they will make some provision for their support, for they will no longer have their owners to look to." Now, for this vile secession (!!!), my pious friends are determined not to pay their bonnet-bills until the war is over. Don't you admire their spunk? The other instance is this:—A pious elder in one of the Presbyterian churches here has a daughter married to a Southern elder, who is in the Southern army; and so bitter is his feeling, that neither daughter, child, nor husband is ever alluded

to, even [in] his prayers. Indeed, my dear sir, the spirit of the wolf, the hyena, ay, rattlesnake, and all vicious animals, are let loose in the hearts of this people. There is no language sufficiently strong to describe the malignity of their feelings. Ages hence will this feeling burn. I thought some of our Hotspurs went far in their expressions of hatred and contempt, but it don't begin to touch bottom with Philadelphians. But with all this, I understand that we have a goodly heritage in this city and its vicinity. Old Nebo tells me that there is now in process of completion a scheme to be inaugurated soon upon a grand scale. It contemplates the seizure of Philadelphia. He says there is over three millions of dollars invested. He could not make me acquainted with the particulars. They are called the "Regulators." He says that several prominent military men have it [in] charge. It embraces New Jersey and Delaware. I find, however, I am repeating what I have already written in this letter.

Dr. —'s church, during the week, is turned into a tailor shop. The Doctor is a strong coercionist in the pulpit; in the parlor he is a secessionist, or, I should say, an apologist for that *vile heresy*, Dr. —, ditto, Dr. —, ditto, and many others, who were converted during the days of terror last April, when our friend Bob escaped the halter in Philadelphia. Thousands here entertain earnest and anxious desires for peace, but dare not utter their thoughts even to their nearest kin. In my clerical capacity I say, that this people is given over not only to believe a lie, but lies. The truth is too tame and commonplace. They are confident that ten of their men can beat and put to rout one hundred of the South. I then ask them why their Army of the Potomac, which outnumbers the South, don't move, and crush Beauregard. They say, "Oh, that is the fault of politicians." As an Englishman, some avoid and wheedle me.

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS, the D. D.

I will be in Cleveland ten days from time first noted.

The following is a copy from a letter which accompanied the former, in similar handwriting:—

PHILADELPHIA, December 27, 1861.

DEAR PHIL—Joe tells me that you are about *Sin sin naughty*, as he drawls it out. I detained this to say a word about the M. and G. difficulty; but you see the papers—all bosh. Send word by this, if you choose, that it will end in smoke—a flash in the pan. You can read and remember as much of the inclosed as you can. Be sure to note the figures, as they mark the name of the Sea Dog. Burn the letter unless you can safely carry, and then get in your hole and skeet for Dixie. It ought to have gone before, but I was far away when F. was here, and did not see him. Oh, how these Northern papers lie about us. Joe is a sergeant in a company of one of the regiments here—will start for Washington soon. If he gets on picket duty he will communicate. Direct your letters to Rev. —, D. D. (be sure to put the D. D.), of Bath, England. Good-by, and G. B. Y.

TOM.

## CHAPTER VI.

### DISLOYALTY AMONG THE POSTMASTERS.

A Mystery—The Result of Cabinet Meetings in Washington known in Richmond—  
The Detectives learn the Reason—A Visit to Lower Maryland—Amusing Scenes  
—The Mysterious Box—The Reports—A Rebel Letter.

IT was a surprising fact during the first six or eight months after the war began, that the result of every Cabinet meeting at Washington was reported in Richmond within twenty-four hours after it was held. The secret was, that every postmaster in Lower Maryland, comprising the counties of St. Charles, St. George, and St. Mary's, with three exceptions, were disloyal. It had been taken for granted that the State was true to the Government, while rebel emissaries were constantly conveying information from Washington to the post-offices along the Potomac, from which it was transmitted to Fredericksburg by blockade-runners and spies, and thence telegraphed to Richmond. By this arrangement, uninterrupted and unrestrained communication was kept open between the rebels North and South until November 20, 1861, when I decided, if possible, to break up the treasonable correspondence. Accordingly, the Secretary of War directed that three companies, of one hundred men each, from the Third Indiana Cavalry, then in General Hooker's division at Budd's Ferry, be detached, and report to me for the purpose of visiting and, if necessary, permanently occupying Lower Maryland.

The first post-office upon which I called was at Chaptico, a small village at the head of a bay of the Potomac, bearing the same name, and about sixty miles from Washington. I reached the village late one afternoon, when an amusing incident occurred, illustrating the ignorance in the country generally, more profound, perhaps, in some portions of it

respecting military affairs, resulting from the peaceful pursuits of the people during a long period of declining martial spirit and demonstrations.

The first military seen in Chaptico was my advent with three hundred of "Uncle Sam's boys," which naturally created intense excitement among this rural people.

My force was composed principally of Germans, who became brave soldiers subsequently in the western battle-fields. They were addicted, of course, to the use of intoxicating drinks; hence it was necessary to encamp apart from places where liquors were sold. I entered the town with my orderly, to notify all vendors of strong drink to close their bars, and under no circumstances to sell to the soldiers under my command.

In the evening, to my surprise, when passing one of the drinking-houses, I found it full of troops who, with the landlord, were having a jolly time over their potations.

I immediately stepped in and inquired of the host:

"Did I not give you an order not to sell liquor to my men?"

"Why, Colonel," he said, "these ain't no soldiers; they are officers. They have got swords on."

Officers generally wearing swords, the cavalrymen thus armed deceived the benighted dealer in poor whisky and beer. He was sure that he was honored with men quite above common soldiering.

I proceeded to the post-office, and found the postmaster sick and all the family in about the same plight, excepting a bright little girl, twelve years of age.

I rapped at the door, when she raised the window and said:

"Father told me I must not let any of the Yankee soldiers in."

I replied: "I am not a Yankee soldier, but an agent of the Post-office Department."

I was then admitted; and asked where the office was kept. She pointed to a box of pigeon holes. While examining it, I accidentally observed a rough pine box with iron hasp and hinges and a United States mail lock. It was partitioned through the center, with a hole for letters in each

division. Over one part was "Southern Letters;" over the other, "Northern Letters."

I said : "What is this box for?"

She innocently answered, pointing to the inscriptions :

"Why, the letters put in that hole (the Southern) go to Richmond ; and those in the other go to Washington."

The postmaster, who was in bed, overhearing her, spoke somewhat excitedly :

"No, that ain't so ; why do you tell the gentleman such a story?"

I answered : "I guess the girl tells the truth."

Taking the box, which, upon examination, was found to contain letters from rebels on the way to the Confederacy, and those whose hearts, if not their faces, were toward rebellion, I placed it in the Post-office Department at Washington as a curiosity, where it still remains.

At L., the largest village in all that part of Lower Maryland, another amusing incident occurred. It had long been the residence of aristocratic families. A weekly newspaper was published there—a paper which was pre-eminent in fanning the fires of rebellion throughout that region.

Arriving within two miles of the town at evening, I encamped in a grove of pines. With a captain, sergeant, and two orderlies I rode into the village, and found the people had heard of our arrival. The principal men of the place waited upon me and protested in the most violent manner against Yankee troops disturbing their peace ; for they were "State-rights people, who only wished to be let alone." They made threats of personal violence if my soldiers were brought into Leonardtown.

I replied : "I am here under orders of the Secretary of War, on a peaceful investigation, and not as charged, to steal your slaves, to burn your houses and barns, or to molest the inhabitants. I have money to pay for forage and rations if you will sell them ; if not, shall take them."

By this time the editor of the paper had become boisterous in his condemnation of the Government and its officers. I quietly directed a guard to be placed around his printing-office. Selecting from my command Judge L., of

Cleveland, Ohio, an officer who had some experience as an editor, I directed him to write an article for the paper, in which the rebel editor was made to recant his secession heresy and declare for the Union, advising all his subscribers to do the same. The compositors were compelled to set it up, and then the pressmen reluctantly struck off the paper. The subscription book was consulted, and to each name a copy of the paper was mailed. The excitement and indignation which followed the distribution of the suddenly loyal sheet, and the discovery of the serious joke, made one of the most ludicrous incidents in my official experience. The further results of this expedition are presented in the subjoined note and reports:

WASHINGTON, November 25, 1861.

Brigadier-General HOOKER, Commanding at Budd's Ferry:

DEAR SIR—The expedition under my command to the lower coast of Maryland has proved successful. We captured four mounted traitors and one rebel *spy*. Mr. Seward is much gratified at the promptness with which you responded to the orders given to me. Also obtained many valuable letters and documents, from which important results will follow. To Captain Keister and Lieutenant Lemon, I am under many obligations; I found them very prompt and ready to act at all times. The men under their command conducted themselves with the greatest propriety. A detachment of sixteen men, as a guard, accompanied me by steamer *via* Baltimore to this city. I return them to their quarters to-day. Allow me to return you my thanks for your extreme kindness to me during my short stay at your headquarters.

Yours, truly,

L. C. BAKER.

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1861.

To the Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Secretary of State:

DEAR SIR—In compliance with orders issued from your Department, under date of November 18th, I repaired to the headquarters of Brigadier-General Hooker, at or near Budd's Ferry, and was promptly furnished with one hundred men from the Third Indiana Cavalry, under command of Captain Keister. The object of the expedition was to arrest parties suspected of rendering aid to Virginia rebels, to discover the channel through which contraband correspondence was being carried on, and, if necessary, to take into custody any persons found in arms against the United States Government. On my arrival at Port Tobacco, the headquarters of Colonel Graham's regiment, I found the inhabitants complaining bitterly at their alleged ill-treatment, and depredations committed by the soldiers under his command. In justice to Colonel G., however, I found, on inquiring, that the inhabitants

had been the first aggressors. There are residing at this place but four or five Union men—the balance either being sympathizers with secessionists, or open and avowed aiders and abettors of treason. The postmaster at this place is secretly doing all in his power to further the interests of the Confederacy. Eight miles from the above-named locality is a small town, known as Allen's Fresh. There are but two Union men at this place. I found in the post-office here five letters, addressed to fictitious names; on opening them, I discovered that they contained sealed letters, addressed to well-known secessionists in Virginia. The postmaster was one of those who assisted and contributed to organize and equip Confederate soldiers now in Virginia. At the Newport post-office, some two miles from Allen's Fresh, I found a package of thirty-four letters, post-marked "Newport P. O., Maryland," all ready to be forwarded to different localities at the North. On examining these letters, I found that they were all written in Virginia, and had all been dropped into the office by one person. At Chaptico, a place of about two or three hundred inhabitants, located at the head of a small inlet opening into the Potomac, I found but four Union men, the traitors at this point having threatened to hang and burn the property of any man who dares to avow Union sentiments. At this point, there has been carried on for months a regular communication with Virginia. The postmaster here openly declares himself a traitor; I should have placed him under arrest, but found him confined in his bed with chills and fever, besides having a large family depending on him for their daily support. I next stopped at Leonardtown. This is the largest and by far the most prosperous village in Lower Maryland. I do not consider it safe to say that there is one Union man in the town or vicinity, although many declare themselves *State Rights Men*, which is but a milder term for secessionists. At this place has been enlisted, equipped, and conveyed to Virginia, a very large number of men for the Confederate army. But very few hesitate to declare openly their secession sentiments; I think this is attributable almost wholly to the publication of a bitter and uncompromising secession paper, published in this place. I found in the post-office a large number of letters going to and coming from Virginia. The postmaster, a Mr. Yates, declared himself to me a good Union man; I, however, afterward obtained the most undeniable proof of his disloyalty to the Government and sympathy with the rebels. I think that Leonardtown should be at once placed under martial law, and a provost-marshal appointed, in order that the few Union men residing there may have some kind of protection against these traitors. From Leonardtown I went to Great Mills, a distance of twelve miles. There are but few inhabitants residing directly on the road, the population being mostly on the Potomac and Pawtuxent rivers. Daily steamboat communication from Baltimore to Millstone Landing (a point on the Pawtuxent river, near its mouth) has, in my opinion, made this the most important point in Lower Maryland. That you may more readily understand with what facilities correspondence and goods of all descriptions have and are being transported into Virginia by this route, I annex a map of the country. The distance from Millstone Landing, on the Pawtuxent, to Redmond's Landing, at the head of St. Mary's river (four miles from the Potomac), is but eight

miles, the road being excellent at all seasons of the year. There are but four or five Union men in this vicinity; most of those who have declared themselves as such have either been driven from the county, or dare not avow themselves in favor of the Government. A number are now residing in the neighborhood who hold commissions in the rebel army. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to arrest them; the approach of any considerable number of troops is a signal for these cheats to leave their houses, or secrete themselves, and it can only be accomplished by the most shrewd and well-laid plans. I made the following arrests, viz.: E. H. J., W. M. A., E. M. S., and R. L. H. These men were a part of an organization known as the Lower Maryland Vigilance Committee.

Mr. E. H. J. resides at what is known as the Old Factory, St. Mary's County, is engaged in merchandising, farming, &c. When the present difficulties broke out, J. went to Baltimore, and was there during the riot of April 19th. On his return hence, he brought not less than four hundred stands of arms from Baltimore, which afterward were sent to Virginia. He has had wagons for hauling contraband goods from the Potomac to the Patuxent, during the greater part of the summer and fall. He made his house the headquarters of secession spies, passing to and from Virginia; has enlisted, equipped, and forwarded a large number of men for the Confederacy; has notified Union men to leave the county; and has, on all occasions, cursed and abused the Government.

D. W. M. A. resides about one mile from J., openly defies the Government, was a co-operator with J. in all his treasonable operations; is said to be the secretary of the Vigilance Committee, and stated to me, after his arrest, that he would yet kill a Yankee for every day that he was imprisoned by the Government.

E. M. S. is a Confederate spy. He was indicted by the Baltimore grand jury for engaging in the riot of the 19th of April, but made his escape into Virginia, and, up to the time of his arrest, had kept out of the way. Some memorandums of importance were found in his possession.

The arrest of B. L. H. will prove of the greatest importance to the Government. H. resided at the landing on the Patuxent River, and made his hotel the rendezvous for all the secessionists in the county. At his house were held all their meetings and deliberations. He had two teams constantly running from the landing to the Potomac River. I have the most positive proof that, the night before his arrest, he took three hundred Colt revolvers to Virginia; I found two large boxes buried in the sand, about two hundred yards from his house, from which he took these revolvers. Mrs. H. informed me that she had frequently cautioned her husband that he would yet be caught and imprisoned by the Government, but he disregarded her advice, and told her that he was determined to make money in some way. Some letters were found in his possession of the strongest secession character, also Confederate envelopes, stamps, circulars, &c. H. was the master spirit, and the worst man in the county.

Much difficulty was experienced in making these arrests. The county is wild and unsettled; a complete set of signals had been established among

the inhabitants, and notice of our arrival had been given to the entire country, making it necessary to move only at night-time. I endeavored, stating that, as soon as the troops left, their building would be burned, and they themselves assassinated or hung by the Committee.

I am much indebted for my success to Brigadier-General Hooker, for his promptness in furnishing men; to Captain Keister, for the energy, patience, and promptness with which he aided me at all times; to A. G. Lawrence, Esq., who accompanied me from this city, for the very efficient aid and advice he gave at all times. Some small-arms, two kegs of rifle powder, secession flags, and other articles were seized.

Since my return, I have had some conversation with the Postmaster-General in relation to mail matters. When I go down again, he has authorized me to displace all disloyal postmasters, and if safe and reliable Union men can be found, to recommend them for appointment; if such can not be found, discontinue the offices altogether. This course, I have no doubt, will induce them to better regard and appreciate the favors they have and are still receiving from the Government. In order that the channels of communication with the South may be effectually broken up, and protection afforded to Union men in Charles and St. Mary's counties, I would most respectfully recommend that a military force be sent there at once. Two or three hundred men could subsist themselves and horses, without being compelled to transport forage. Should you deem it proper or advisable to send such a force, I would gladly go with them, and render all the assistance in my power. Asking pardon for this my lengthy communication,

I remain, dear Sir, most respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER.

WASHINGTON, January 14, 1862.

To the Honorable POSTMASTER-GENERAL:—

DEAR SIR—At your request, I herewith send report of the condition in which I found the several post-offices located in Charles and St. Mary's counties, Maryland. At Port Tobacco, numerous and repeated complaints have been forwarded to me by detective agents of the Government, concerning the loyalty of the postmaster at this place. Charges of the most grave and aggravated character have been made by the few Union men residing in this vicinity. On investigation, I found that he has, on three different occasions, received packages of letters, post-marked at Baltimore, and forwarded same to Virginia. On or about the 15th October, a Confederate spy mailed at this office one hundred and forty letters, which he (the spy) brought direct from Virginia. This was done with the full knowledge and consent of the postmaster. In addition to this, he has aided and advised a number of young men in the neighborhood to cross the river and join the Confederate army.

Allen's Fresh.—The postmaster at this place seldom if ever attends personally to the duties of the office, but leaves the business in the hands of a young boy, some twelve or fourteen years old. I found in this office nine

uncalled-for letters, having been addressed to fictitious names; on opening them, I found they were addressed to individuals in the so-called Confederate States. The postmaster in this place is disloyal and can not be trusted.

Newport.—In this office, I found a package of fifty-two letters, written by parties now residing in the rebel States, addressed to persons in Baltimore. The postmaster is a first-class rebel. In my opinion, this office could be discontinued, it being located but two miles from Allen's Fresh.

Charlotte's Hall.—But one contraband letter was found in this office. The postmaster assures me that he is a good Union man, and is doing all he can to assist and forward the interests of the Government. I think him a highly intelligent gentleman, but hardly *sound*.

Oakville.—This office is located in a thrifty, settled community, and is but of little importance; being some distance from the Potomac, has less facilities than other offices for conducting contraband mail matter. I consider the postmaster a loyal, good, and reliable man.

Chaptico.—From the peculiar location of this office (being situated at the head of Chaptico Bay), the postmaster has very superior facilities for conducting a large contraband business, which he has not failed to improve to a greater extent than any other officer in Lower Maryland. Indeed, he openly boasts that he holds two appointments as postmaster—one from Washington, and one from Richmond. A large number of contraband letters were found in his office. In addition to this, he is an habitual drunkard, neglecting the duties of his office; he has repeatedly neglected to lock the mail-bag; has often left the key in the bag, and often refused to open the mail at all. From the importance of this office, it could hardly be discontinued without a positive injury to a large number of good and loyal citizens.

Leonardtown.—This is the largest village or town in Lower Maryland. Charges of disloyalty have repeatedly been made against the postmaster of this place, many of which I have thoroughly investigated. He (Yates) styles himself a State Rights man, which is but a mild term for secession. A number of contraband letters were found in his office, but he positively denies knowing the writers, or the parties to whom they are addressed. The citizens generally speak in the highest terms of him, and, so far as I can judge, the office was well managed. Everything seems to be conducted with a great deal of system and regularity. As no better man could be induced to take the office, I should think a change not advisable at present.

Great Mills.—This is an office of some importance, being located midway between the Pawtuxent river and the head of St. Mary's, by opening directly into the Potomac. In September last, acting under an order from your department, I seized the entire contents of the office. About one-fourth of the mail was directed (under cover) to the Confederate States. I think, however, the postmaster is a loyal citizen, but has been very negligent in his duties. Not desiring to incur the hatred of the secession community in which he resided, he has allowed letters to be received at his office from the rebel States, addressed to well-known traitors, without reporting the same to the proper authorities. I think a change should be made at this office at once.

Saint Inagoes.—This office is of but little importance; but few letters received or mailed. I have heard no complaints against the postmaster here, hence I conclude he is loyal.

From the very meager amount realized, I have found it exceedingly difficult to find good, reliable, loyal men, who would accept the appointment of postmaster. Many who are competent will not devote the necessary time required to perform the duties of the office. I have, however, obtained the names and consent of loyal citizens who will accept an appointment at a number of the offices mentioned in this report, and, as soon as I can complete the list, I shall forward the same to your department. I consider it a matter of the greatest importance to the Government, at this time, that our postmasters should be loyal and true to the Union, particularly when their offices can by any possibility be used in any manner as a medium to convey information to the Confederate States. To discontinue altogether our mail facilities in Lower Maryland, at present time, would result in a great inconvenience and injury to the few loyal people residing in that section, as well as our military forces, which, at my suggestion, have been stationed along the Potomac, to break up the contraband trade so successfully carried on during the past summer.

I am, most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER.

Special Agent P. O. Depart., and Government Detective.

A letter which was intercepted about this time will reveal the demoniac spirit of the rebellion, which, I regret to know, exists still to an alarming extent in the conquered South:—

NANJEMOY, December 19, 1862.

Dr. HATLING:—

I expect to go from home soon, under another permit, to Nanjemoy, and want to make a good thing of it—*better than before*. What I say about the permit, is confidential; don't forget.

I suppose you have heard but little of the truth of the *little* skirmish before Fredericksburg. Abolition, with *Burnside* at its head, was somewhat scorched. At least thirty thousand were made to bite the dust. The *strangled* newspapers on this side *dare not* tell half the truth. I have my information from officers and men who were on the field, and in the battle. They say the slaughter can never be described or forgotten by those who saw it. They lay by thousands upon a single acre. The Southern blood was fully up; they spared nothing, but slew the *cringing, cowardly, wiglish Abolitionists* with an unsparing hand.

The Southern loss was comparatively small, it is thought not over fifteen hundred, though nothing can be definitely known, yet awhile, on the subject. It was doubtless the greatest slaughter ever made on this continent. But

wili it teach the *fools* at Washington wisdom? I hope so. Report reached here yesterday, that Burnside, Stanton, and Halleck have resigned. Lincoln, Seward, &c., ought to follow suit. And then commence and hang every Abolitionist and Black Republican, and the balance may have some peace. The sooner this is done the better.

Yours friend,

(Signed)

G. W. C.

## CHAPTER VII.

### FRAUDS—DISLOYALTY IN MARYLAND.

The Freighted Traveler—Treason and Frauds overlooked in the Rising Storm of Rebellion—The Bankers—The Pretty Smuggler—Reliable Character of the Detective Bureau—Disloyalty, and its Punishments in Lower Maryland—The Friends of Hon. Montgomery Blair and the Quinine Traffic—“Chunook” Telegrams.

THERE was about this time a rather marked illustration of a common means of transporting contraband goods across the lines. The extent to which such methods of deception were resorted to by both men and women shows the stringency of the blockade at which the rebels sneered for a while, and the mania for speculation amid the horrors of war.

I went to the wharf at Baltimore to watch the movements of a suspicious passenger who had gone just before me to embark.

He succeeded in passing the scrutiny of Provost-Marshal McPhail, and went on board the steamer bound South. I followed him, and became satisfied that I had tracked an old offender. I accordingly addressed him, when he denied any disloyal designs. His hat had a peculiar appearance—seemed heavier than it ought to be. Removing it, I saw that the interior was conical in form, the base fitting his head. I struck the top of the crown upon the rail of the boat, when a cloud of quinine dust rose in the air. The rogue stood disclosed; and my first business was to secure his weapons of defense, if he had any. A pistol was found and seized. This weapon and the knife are the universal means of protection, and used in ways unknown to any but villains and their captors. On one occasion a man had his Deringer in his pantaloons pocket, and with his hand was turning it to fire at me *through his pocket*, when I sprang upon him and took it.

The brief report, which will give further particulars in Wilson's case, alludes to the search for him in Maryland, where, to escape the detectives, he sprang from a window in the second story of a dwelling and got away :—

WASHINGTON, December 30, 1861.

To the Honorable SECRETARY OF STATE:—

DEAR SIR—On the morning of the 19th instant, I arrested, on board the steamer *Mary Washington*, in Baltimore, one William Wilson. Upon searching his person, I found concealed in his overcoat pocket a large druggist's jar, containing three ounces of quinine, a package of letters addressed to parties in Europe, and a number of photographs. I also found in Wilson's hat, very ingeniously concealed, twenty ounces of quinine. From reliable information received since the arrest, I am satisfied that Wilson is the notorious "Bill Wilson," of St. Mary's county, Maryland, and the individual for whose arrest the Government lately offered a large reward. Wilson had on his person British papers, showing that he had traveled in Europe as an Englishman.

He is now confined in Fort McHenry, awaiting the orders of the State Department.

I consider him a very dangerous man to be at large.

Yours, very respectfully,

L. C. BAKER.

The storm of civil war came so suddenly upon us, that how to meet it was the great, absorbing question. The Cabinet, Congress, and the loyal masses at the North were intensely aroused to the need of men and money to beat back the wanton assault of treason upon our nationality.

Consequently, scarcely a thought was given to the possibility of disloyalty and frauds at home. The eye was fixed upon the dark horizon of Southern revolt; while within our own brighter one were plots and robberies of the public treasury, whose disclosure was as startling as it was sickening to every patriotic heart.

An example of rebel perfidy and disregard of oaths in the highest class of capitalists was discovered toward the close of 1861. The house of J., Bros. & Co., bankers, in Baltimore, whose business previous to the rebellion was principally with Southern banks, applied to the Hon. Simon Cameron for a permit to visit friends at the South. Mr. Cameron had known the members of this firm to be of the first respectability, and gave the desired pass.

After this was used, another was obtained, until a large number had been obtained and had served well the purpose of the enterprising bankers.

I received information that one of the firm was engaged in conveying large amounts back and forth in connection with the banking house of P. M., Richmond; and that this means was resorted to for the transaction of business which months before had been pronounced contraband.

I determined to detect the offenders in the act, and expose their disloyalty.

Mr. J. was arrested at the Relay House, with his servant, and upon examination of his baggage a large amount of exchange and rebel correspondence was found.

When the pass taken from Mr. J. and all the facts were presented to Mr. Seward, he directed the seizure of the bank. It was decided to make a thorough examination of the vaults. The firm refusing to give up the keys of them, they were broken open, and revealed the shameful truth that the house had been for months acting contrary to a well-known order of the President prohibiting trade with the South.

The next day I was directed by Mr. Seward to visit the War Department by eleven o'clock A. M. I repaired accordingly to his office, and was ushered into the presence of President Lincoln, Secretaries Seward and Cameron, and Thomas A. Scott, and requested to identify the passes issued to J. I cannot pretend to say how far Mr. Cameron was imposed upon by his banking friends, or to what extent the disclosure subsequently influenced his course. Mr. J. was sent to Fort McHenry, and the bank remained for a long time closed.

Not far removed in date of occurrence, another form of fraudulent speculation, of which an instance among the male traitors has been recorded in the experience of "Billy Wilson," presented itself under a new and very amusing aspect.

I was standing on the steamboat wharf at the foot of Seventh Street, Washington, with some of my assistants, when a pretty and tastefully dressed woman stepped from a carriage

and cast a restless, inquiring glance upon the miscellaneous crowd around her. This little peculiarity attracted my attention. For, not unfrequently, the clew to a crime and its perpetrator is given by such signals, of both which only a detective of some experience would observe. An anxious look, a passing expression of the face, a confused manner or answer to a question, becomes the key to unlock a great and dark mystery of wrong.

I closely watched the fair traveler as she walked upon the narrow, *springy* plank to the boat, and saw that the footbridge yielded to her step quite too much for her natural weight. I was satisfied, upon a nearer observation, that under her light outer dress there was a heavier garment than anything in the usual contents of the female wardrobe.

I politely accosted her in the saloon, and said :

“ Madam, what have you concealed under your dress ?”

“ Nothing, sir,” she sharply replied, “ that I have not a right to carry.”

“ See here, my lady ; just step into that state-room, and relieve yourself of the contraband goods without further ceremony or trouble.”

She disappeared, and a moment later, from the partially-opened door spitefully threw a skirt, in which was quilted *forty pounds* of sewing silk, saying :

“ I suppose you think that you are very smart.”

I quietly replied : “ Smart enough for you, madam ;” rolled up the valuable garment, and left her to her own reflections.

In the introduction to this volume, I said that it was the aim, and to some extent a successful one, I think, to give to the Detective Bureau a character second to no other part of the national service in reliability. No man, however successful in his particular work, was allowed to remain in my employment if found to be wanting in integrity. I quote one case from several on this point.

Mr. M., in accordance with the subjoined order, was arrested and confined in the Old Capitol Prison :

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1862.

To the Honorable P. H. WATSON, Assistant Secretary of War :

DEAR SIR—In compliance with your order of the 8th, I herewith forward

report in the case of S. M. M., a detective agent of the United States Government, charged by John Evans, John Bradshaw, and others, captains of schooners engaged on the Potomac, with having at sundry times blackmailed or extorted money illegally from them.

1st. Mr. S. M. M. is not, nor has been at any time, in my employ. On or about the 12th of January, 1862, Mr. M. was appointed by the State Department as a detective agent, and was ordered to report to me. I immediately sent him to Alexandria, Virginia, for the purpose of watching all suspected persons; giving him no authority to arrest or seize property of any description without first obtaining, through me, the proper order from the State Department.

On the 10th instant, I applied to Mr. Allen, before and by whom the affidavits forwarded to your department were acknowledged, and ascertained that the charges were *true*, except as to date, and some other minor discrepancies, which do not in any manner alter the charges or affect the matter. So far as Mr. M. is concerned, I consider the charges made in the affidavits proved, and deeply regret that any officer with whom I have had any connection should be guilty of such conduct.

If any class of men in the employ of the Government at this time should be honest and trustworthy, it is its confidential agents.

I respectfully suggest that you order me officially to discharge Mr. S. M. M. immediately.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Government Detective, War Department.

Several weeks before the occurrences which will soon be narrated, information had been conveyed to the War Department, from Lower Maryland, of treasonable designs and operations of the people residing there. The loyal few entered their complaint in words which I shall quote:—

GREAT MILLS P. O.,  
ST. MARY'S COUNTY, November 18, 1861. }

Hon. SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War:—

DEAR SIR—Being a loyal citizen of Maryland, I regard it an imperative duty to inform the Government of some facts which I hope the Government may recognize.

There is a set of men here who have done, and are still doing, all in their power to aid the rebel army. They have used the most treasonable language toward the Government; they have harbored, fed, and equipped, in every sense of the word, a great many men, and then have conveyed them to Virginia. I also firmly believe they have arms buried in a churchyard, ready to use upon the Union people here, should the opportunity offer. These men have done much against the Union cause here. At the recent election, they tried to have men vote who acknowledged they had been to Virginia to bear

arms against the Government, and did finally succeed in regard to some who had been to the rebels, in the face of all I could do. We polled many more votes than they anticipated, and they now threaten our lives and property, and say they will drive us from our homes.

They organized a vigilance committee, and waited upon many Union men, and even forced one citizen to leave the county; this, sir, would be confirmed by all the Union men in the district. I shall take here the liberty to append the names of these men. As I have said before, if the chance offers itself, our lives and property are in danger. Since the election, their hatred has become bitter, since they see the majority in the State for the Government.

I now beg to say a few words in regard to the gentlemen who have been elected by the disunionists to serve in the Legislature. They have publicly said they owe no allegiance to the Government, and they further say they are not citizens of the United States, and also say they had rather see the Government sink to hell, than to see the Southern Confederacy lose the slightest victory.

These, sir, are the men elected as our guardians in the two branches of the Legislature. We, the Union men of St. Mary's county, do solemnly protest against these men, and contend, as the true and loyal citizens of Maryland, they do in no wise represent our views, and believe that these men will not defend our rights, and redress our grievances in the both Houses. We, sir, believe that a Camanche has as much right, and would as soon recognize one, as *the* men forced upon us by the rebels. We beg protection in our county, and in the Legislature, by the *removal* of these men from our midst. They are still carrying a great many goods, and I believe some ammunition and arms to the rebels.

Captain Gray, of one the cutters in the Potomac, I much fear will have trouble by his gentlemanly conduct and courtesy toward the rebels here. I heard from them that they intended a party of them, sufficient in number, to go aboard to *dine* or exchange courtesies, and seize the vessel and crew, and run them into Virginia. This is from these men whom I shall give the names of. We beg that these men may be taken out of our midst, and sent away from us. They threaten us in the most unmeasured terms. I beg to know if we are recognized, that I may appease the fears of our people here. Many of them are much frightened, as the rebels are largely in the ascendency, and they threaten desolation. Take the men whose names I here append, and all will be well with us—as loyal people.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN R. BISCOE,

Great Mills P. O.,

St. Mary's County, Maryland.

To Hon. SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

Those elected to the Legislature: for Senate, L. B.; House delegates, B. G. Harris, Esq., J. F. D.; Aiders and abettors: H. J. C. and son, J. D. F. and son, B. K., B. H., Dr. F. S., Dr. A. L., I. A., and J. A., E. H. J., S. H., M. H.,

F. C., T. S., J. G., Dr. A., W. C. A., B. H., and in fact every rebel here, have done something to contribute to the rebel forces.

Yours,

J. B.

The paper had this indorsement:—

Hon. WILLIAM H. SEWARD:—

Inclosed is a list of candidates that I think are fair subjects for Fort Warren.

THOMAS A. SCOTT, Asst. Sec. of War.

Before leaving Washington, I was directed by Mr. Seward to exercise my own judgment and discretion as to the arrest of these persons, furnished with the following order:—

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, November 19, 1861. }

To Brigadier-General DANIEL E. SICKLES, &c., &c., &c., or General HOOKER:—

GENERAL—The bearer of this is Mr. L. C. Baker, a detective in the employ of this department, whom I have requested to look after some disloyal persons in St. Mary's county, Maryland. I will thank you to render him any assistance in the discharge of his duty that he may require.

I am, General, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

F. W. SEWARD,

Assistant Secretary.

Further facts, in addition to those already in my possession, determined my action in this matter.

I selected the names of eight persons to be arrested; among them, one H., residing on Patuxent river, near its mouth, at a place called Millstone Landing.

H., aside from his secession heresy, was a man of notoriously bad character, and the terror of his neighborhood. An old resident, he had become familiar with all the streams, bays, inlets, &c., of that region, including the Potomac and Patuxent rivers, and Chesapeake bay. The character of the man, and this knowledge of the country, made him a fit tool, and valuable member of the band of blockade runners and spies, who resorted to his house as their place of rendezvous.

For ten days before I was on his track, he had slept in the woods, from fear of being taken.

As an evidence of rebel zeal, they had arranged a system

of signals, to give the alarm whenever a detective or Government agent appeared in the vicinity.

During the day, strips of white cotton cloth were carelessly suspended from the windows of their residences, or from a tree or shrub, to give notice of the arrival. In the night, the signal was the blowing of tin horns.

In view of these facts, and to accomplish the purpose of arresting the traitors, the greatest caution was necessary.

I therefore divided my force of a hundred men into eight or ten parties, giving each officer a minute description of the residence of the man to be arrested. Aware that the arrest of any one of the band before the others would immediately alarm them, these squads all left camp at the same time, with the understanding that, whether the arrests were made or not, the whole company should rendezvous at a certain point the next morning at eight o'clock. A more inclement and a wilder night I have rarely known.

The streams were swollen by rains, and the darkness great, which tended to make the expedition very uncertain and uncomfortable.

With the thirteen men who accompanied me, at two o'clock A. M., I surrounded the house of H. On knocking at the door, I gained no response. Forcing my entrance into the house, I was confronted by H. with a loaded pistol who desired to know my errand. I replied :

"H., your house is surrounded, and I have come to take you prisoner. Give me that pistol." He did so reluctantly.

Upon searching the house, I found six notorious blockade-runners in the upper story. Two were on their way to "Dixie" with mail, and four returning, and conveying letters of more or less importance North.

Naturally enough, the company were greatly disconcerted.

I put these under arrest, and, while searching outhouses, found the "intelligent contraband." Upon questioning him, I learned where a large number of pistols and sabers, which he had *carted* to their place of interment, on their way South, were buried. From him I also ascertained that a large square box, containing Sharp's rifles, was buried in a Catholic church-yard three miles from the river.

Upon application to the Rev. Mr. ——, pastor of the flock worshiping there, he treated my statements with ridicule, and refused to let me desecrate the "hallowed ground," pronouncing the act wanton sacrilege. He denounced the Government for permitting it.

I proceeded to the burial-place with the contraband, who pointed out the grave. When my men commenced throwing out the dirt, the priest approached, and with uplifted hands exclaimed: "Is it possible that, in this enlightened age, men can be found who will willfully desecrate the resting-place of the dead!"

I continued the work of exhuming the treasure until a new and large pine box was found and raised to the surface. It contained fifty-six Sharp's rifles, with fifty rounds of ammunition each.

My clerical friend exclaimed, with apparent surprise, "I wonder how those arms could have got there!"

It may be well to state here, that one of the fondest dreams of the people of Lower Maryland was, that at some future day the rebel army would cross the Potomac, and have on the nearer shore to Washington a base of operations against the capital. Therefore these people had long been secreting arms and ammunition, to be ready for this grand movement.

My plan, which has been before referred to, but partially succeeded, owing to the fact that the arrival of the military was known.

Dr. S., a prominent rebel, had left his home on the first intimation of our approach. His house was visited the next day, but he was not at home.

My squad were hungry, and asked for dinner. The women at once began to prepare it. Among the inviting dishes was a roasted opossum. We all ate heartily, and, besides paying liberally for the meal, we kindly thanked our fair hostess for the satisfactory repast.

Upon reaching camp we were taken ill, and in a few hours three out of the five were in a dangerous condition.

A physician was called, who said: "These men have been poisoned. What have they been eating?"

No explanation could be then given; but it was after-

ward ascertained that the opossum had *extra dressing* for our special benefit.

H., with seven of his companions, was confined in Fort Lafayette a year.

The name will again appear in the record of a later period, in a light no more flattering.

I learned about this time that persons connected with distinguished politicians were engaged in suspicious business in Washington. The names were Mrs. T., Miss L. B. B., and M. B. B., a Baptist minister.

I also learned that Mrs. T. was the mother of Miss B., the sister-in-law of Hon. Montgomery Blair, Postmaster-General, and that Mrs. T. and her friends resided in Fauquier County, Virginia. The passes had been procured on the recommendation of Postmaster Blair, to give these persons the opportunity to get a few of the "necessaries of life."

An espionage of the visitors disclosed a traffic in quinine of considerable extent.

They had visited three drug stores, and purchased *six hundred* ounces. This was taken to the house of Mr. Gallagher, brother of Miss B. To ascertain in what way the quinine was to be conveyed, resort was had again to the contraband.

A negro servant at Mr. Gallagher's house soon reported that Miss B. was engaged in making a skirt formed of sections, or long pockets, lined with oiled silk.

The smugglers were so closely watched that every movement in the purchase was known within half an hour after it occurred.

I had decided not to arrest them until they were over our lines. After they left Washington, I called on the Hon. Mr. Blair, and told him the particulars in regard to his friends; when and where the medicine was obtained; the manufacture of the skirt for its transportation, &c. I further apprised him that they had that morning started for home. Mr. Blair listened to my story, and then pleasantly remarked: "Why, Baker, those persons are as loyal as you are, and I loaned them the money."

Then taking his bank book from his drawer, he added:

"See ; I have just had my note for five hundred dollars discounted to help these poor people."

I replied : "Mr. Blair, I cannot be mistaken about this."

Exhibiting much impatience at my positiveness, he said : "Well, arrest them ; and if you find the quinine, put them in the Old Capitol."

Three miles over the lines, I stopped the travelers, and informed Miss B. that I wanted to examine the skirt. She immediately went into a farm-house, took off the garment, and threw it down indignantly, saying : "So this is the way you treat Southern ladies."

The whole party were then escorted to Washington.

Miss B. and Mr. B. were lodged in the Old Capitol prison. Upon reporting the facts to the Secretary of War, he directed me turn the quinine over to the medical director, the horse and wagon to the quartermaster, and the groceries to the hospitals.

The next morning the Hon. Montgomery Blair and Miss B. called, and demanded the restoration of the property.

I informed them of its disposal.

On the afternoon of that day, Mr. Blair came back with written order from Mr. Lincoln to deliver up the goods.

I told him that this was impossible, for it had already been handed over to the Government by authority of the Secretary of War.

He then demanded my removal from office.

Mr. Lincoln did not see that I had disobeyed any order, and failed to appreciate his Postmaster's regard for law and his Southern friends.

The parties were kept in prison several weeks, and then paroled.

We add Mr. B.'s statement, made under oath :—

M. B. B. makes the following statement :—

I was born in Loudon County, Virginia. Aged twenty-three years. Reside in Fauquier County, Virginia. On or about the 27th of October, 1862, Mrs. T., her daughter (Miss L. B. B.), and myself, came to Washington city, in a buggy or carriage, which was owned by Mrs. T.—the horse belonged to me. Mrs. T. also had in her employ a wagon and team, which, I believe,

were the property of the driver, and which were engaged by her to convey groceries to her home, for family use.

My visit to Washington, at the time referred to, was at the written request of Mrs. T., desiring me to accompany her to Washington. After making her purchases, she (Mrs. T.) obtained the necessary passes for our return; we started for home, and arrived in Alexandria, Virginia. The weather being rainy, Miss B. and myself commenced the preliminaries for taking medicines through the lines, on a speculation. After the agreement to do so, I ordered some of the medicines in Alexandria, when our party (Mrs. T., Miss B., and myself) concluded to return to Washington, D. C.; but Mrs. T., to my knowledge, knew nothing of the contraband arrangement between Miss B. and myself.

The purchases were all made by me, both in Alexandria and in Washington. Miss B. and myself jointly expended about five hundred dollars in the enterprise.

Miss B.'s arrangements for the conveyance were completed at Mr. Gallagher's residence on Fifteenth Street; mine were completed in Alexandria. After taking every precaution for success, we started for home in the same conveyance that brought us, and the same parties, viz.: Mrs. T., Miss B., and myself.

We proceeded homeward until stopped by the pickets, near Chantilly, and were then taken to Centreville, Fairfax County, Virginia, where we were searched, and the contraband medicines found and taken from us. I had but two letters, which were taken from me when arrested—one was given me by Miss B. H. (who, I believe, boards on Four-and-a-Half Street), remarking at the time, that it was from her mother to her sister; Mr. McV., of Alexandria, handed me the other, requesting me to send it to his father, remarking that there was nothing treasonable in it.

I did not know of any letters on the person of Miss B., previous to our arrest. When arrested, Miss B. and myself regretted the cause thereof, as we imagined Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair might be censured for aiding and assisting us in obtaining passes, our actions, as detected, having the appearance of disloyalty. It is but justice to that gentleman to say, that he knew nothing of the matter between Miss B. and myself.

Besides the contraband medicines taken from me, I had two carpet-bags, which contained my clothing. I also hold a receipt from detective officer Lee, for "forty dollars in treasury notes, thirty dollars in Virginia State notes, twenty-four dollars in Confederate notes, and two dollars on broken bank," together with my horse, which was in the buggy when arrested. I believe all these are in the possession of Mr. L. C. Baker, Provost-Marshal of the War Department, and, being my individual property, I respectfully ask their return on the disposal of my case.

Having thus truthfully stated my case, and my lady companion (Miss B.) having been discharged, I presume that justice and punishment should be administered without partiality. I, therefore, respectfully ask my discharge from confinement on the same conditions and privileges as were conceded to

Miss L. B. B., my companion in the unfortunate matter which caused my arrest and confinement.

M. B. B.

Personally appeared before me, this eleventh day of December, A. D. 1862, the above-named Marcus B. B., and, being sworn according to law, declares the above statement to be true.

L. C. TURNER,  
Judge-Advocate.

Witness my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid.

The telegraph lines were especially guarded after the war commenced. Great failures in army movements were caused by the improper use of the telegraph.

When battles were impending, guards and censors to watch it were sent by the Government to the offices, for two reasons: first, to prevent intelligence from reaching the enemy; secondly, to keep it out of the hands of unscrupulous persons, who would use it for speculation. Two millions of dollars were made in Wall Street in an hour by a single telegram. The business of that money market was governed by the army movements. Various tricks and expedients were resorted to for the concealment of the traffic in blood and gold.

Very few exceptions, however, were made to this general rule. The commanding general, chief quartermaster, and a few others, were permitted to send dispatches not subject to the usual censorship. A prominent officer attached to headquarters, who had spent his early life in Oregon, with the army, had become familiar with an Indian jargon called *Chunook*, introduced by cast-away sailors, seventy-five years ago. No trade but that of whale-ships was then carried on along that coast. The sailors taught the Indians certain expressions, pretending them to be English, which remain in use among them.

A prominent Oregon politician, then in Washington—a friend of the army officer before referred to—had also learned this “*Chunook*.” Presuming that the knowledge of this jargon was confined to themselves at the East, they had arranged a system of telegrams, to speculate in gold.

December 12, 1862, after a temporary repulse of the Union Army, I was sent for by the Secretary of War, who said:

"Colonel, can you tell me what this means?" handing me a telegram, which I recognized at once as Chunook. The dispatch was signed "\_\_\_\_," and sent to \_\_\_\_

I replied: "Oregon Indian jargon."

He added: "What is jargon?"

I explained.

He asked me to write out a translation of it.

The Secretary did not seem fully to appreciate my knowledge of the language.

He inquired if there were others who understood it.

I replied: "Yes, several."

Retaining the telegram, he sent for Mr. D., clerk in the Department of the Interior, who had also been in Oregon.

He translated it substantially as I had done. The Secretary, still incredulous, sent for General —, who is a fine linguist.

He said: "Mr. Secretary, why, this is Hungarian:" a reply which was for some time a standing joke at the general's expense.

The dispatches continued to arrive that and the next day. They were altered, transposed, &c., then forwarded, to the great wonder and bewilderment of the recipients.

We copy the original telegrams with the two translations, intimating that the Chunook system of telegraphing was rejected by the Government.

The expressions, apparently so disconnected, had each a significance well understood by the army speculators:—

NESIKA ISCUM FREDERICKSBURG.

Hin nesika pooh cononay okok sun copa hin hias guns. Wake hin tilicum mameloos. Tomolloh tenas sun nesika puck puck copa musket pe cononay pire ictas. Nahnitka clunas silcum nesika mameleos kata wake chaco ole nez.

Where is S. Where H. S. Come here to-day. My soldiers come as you told me. Now tell me, old N., suppose you want to see one big firing. All well, you make haste here now. News why mad, yes, to-morrow.

Where is S. Tell H. S. to come here to-day. The soldiers come as you told me. Now tell old N., suppose he wants to see one big firing, all right, make haste here. They will be mad to-morrow.

UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., December 12, 1862.

Wake siyah cultus mitlike nesika conoway okok sun nika tumtum claska rebels puck puck nesika tomallah kagna pilitin divils klash nanitch conoway sun tomallah klark aiyum mika.

We have come to Fredericksburg. A great many we shoot all this day, with a great many big guns. A great many of your people are killed. To-morrow morning we shoot with muskets and all fire-arms. Yes, probabiy half of us will be dead. Why don't you come.

We have come to Fredericksburg. We have killed a great many to-day, with big guns. A great many of their people are killed. To-morrow morning we shoot with muskets, and all kinds of fire-arms. Probably half of us will be dead. Why don't old N. come.

It appears to patriotic "outsiders" incredible that such a morbid spirit of speculation could exist amid the tragedies of civil war; but those who escaped the contamination in the arena of tempting opportunities were the select and incorruptible few, at whose head was Abraham Lincoln.

## CHAPTER VIII.

### OFFICIAL SERVICES AND EMBARRASSMENTS—NEW ORDER OF THINGS.

The Bureau transferred to the War Department—Dr. H., and the Perilous Adventure of which he was the occasion—Report of the Case—Arrest of the Leader of a great secret Southern Organization—Documents and Letters—Rebel Poetry.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
WASHINGTON, February 15, 1862. }

Sir—Permit me to introduce Mr. L. C. Baker, who has been employed by the State Department in the detective service, and who, so far as known, has discharged his duties in a manner entirely acceptable. In consequence of Executive Order No. 1, dated February 14, this department has no further use of his services. He is commended to your consideration as a capable and efficient officer.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

W. H. SEWARD.

Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

Some interesting adventures soon after followed.

Dr. G. H. was from Leesburg, Va. ; graduated in the Medical College of Philadelphia, and became engaged, while attending lectures, to the daughter of a prominent citizen, and subsequently married her.

Immediately after the rebellion broke out, he took sides with the South, and became so obnoxious to the people of Germantown, by the declaration of his secession sentiments, that a committee waited upon him requesting him to leave, which he refused to do. This so exasperated the citizens, that they warned him to take a peaceful farewell of the community. He decided, at length, to go South. Removing to Baltimore, with others of similar character, among them Captain Wardell, of the *Shenandoah*, he entered into the exciting but lucrative business of blockade-running. In the selection of his associates, as will appear, he took one of my detectives, and gave the details of the plan, dates of intended operations, and the kind of goods to be sold. The schooner chartered by them was the *James Buchanan*—a fitting name.

Having learned all the facts, I provided a tug, and was lying off Annapolis two days and nights, expecting every moment the appearance of the schooner; whose departure was delayed by a terrible snow-storm.

And here I was obliged to resort to one of the subterfuges which were employed afterward so successfully by my assistants.

Putting on the old oily clothes of an engineer, and with an oil can in my hand, I went to the store where the excursionists were getting supplies.

While there, I found the entire company engaged in the purchase.

I was in no hurry to leave the place, but managed to get close to one of the company who belonged to my force, and was admitted to the circle in disguise, trying, by nudging him and pulling his coat, to let him know who I was. It was all in vain: so complete was my transformation into a common and greasy engineer.

Captain Wardell asked me on what boat I was engineer I said of a tug-boat.

Wardell, then turning to one of his companions, remarked: "Why, here's a man who can tow us out." Then again addressing me, he inquired:

"What will you ask to tow a small schooner out into the bay?"

I replied: "On moderate terms. If you are all ready, for ten dollars. Where is your schooner?"

"At the wharf."

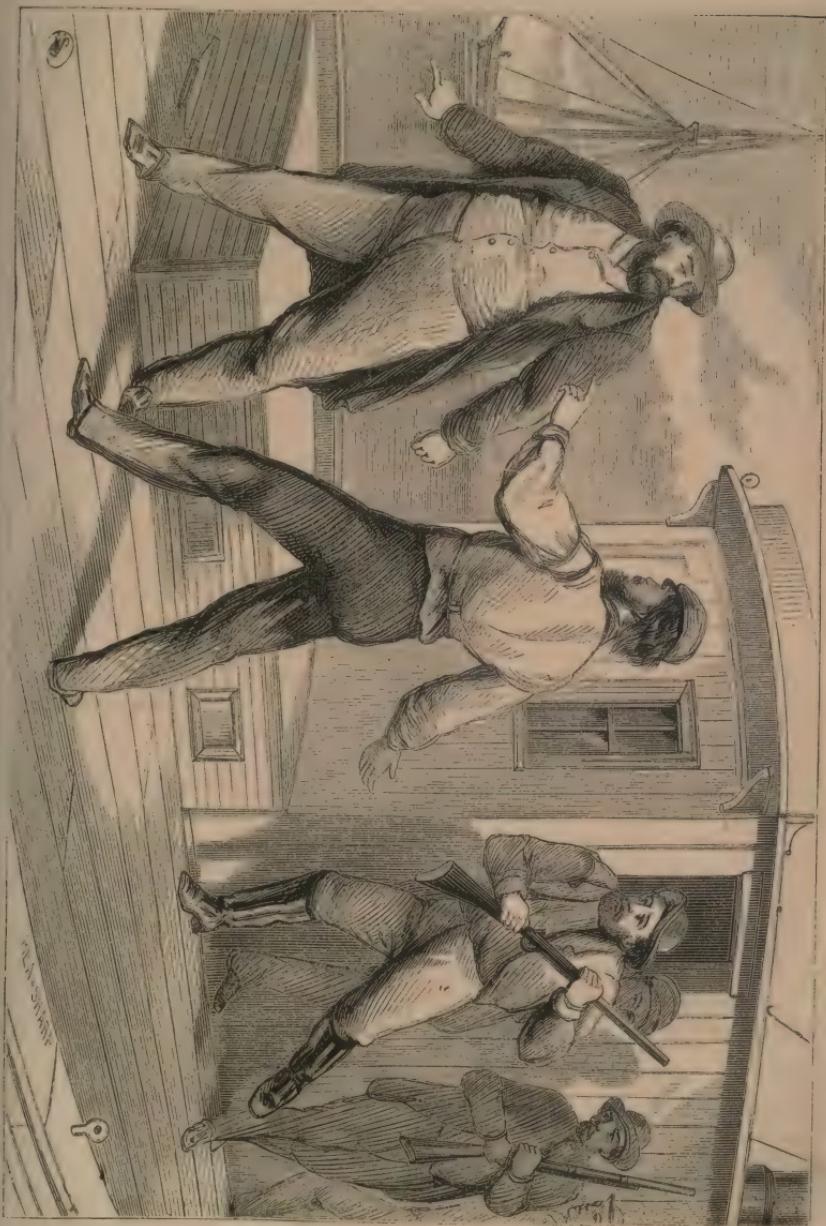
"Well, if you are ready in an hour I'll do the job. My tug is at the end of the pier."

I went on board and told my twelve assistants to go into a small cabin aft, and not to show themselves till signaled by me.

Soon after the blockade-runners came down, stepped aboard the schooner, threw me a line, bade adieu to their friends on shore, and we started down the bay.

Their vessel being small, with little room under the deck, they remained above.

Six miles from Annapolis, where they could sail their vessel, they hailed me, and told me to cast off the line.



CAPTURE OF A REBEL BLOCKADE RUNNER.



I invited them on the tug to take a glass of good cheer before leaving. They came on board, and, while gathered around the bottle, I gave the signal ; my men rushed up the hatchway. I told my guests who I was, and that they were my prisoners. Among them was one of my detectives, who, to be distinguished readily, wore a red shirt and black belt. He had been three weeks with these blockade-runners. A little warlike demonstration was soon quieted by the display of a carbine. I took them to Fort McHenry, in a snow-storm of great severity ; and, having let my subordinates return with the boat while I adjusted business details, found the walk of nearly three miles, in the night, no pleasure walk after the excitement and fatigue of the day.

My report recounts the official course of events partially narrated :—

WASHINGTON, February 24, 1862.

To the Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :—

DEAR SIR—Herewith please find my report in the case of Dr. H. H., arrested at Annapolis, on the 18th instant. The doctor is a resident of Germantown, Pennsylvania. During the excitement last summer, the doctor made himself particularly obnoxious to the Union people in his vicinity by his open denunciations of the Government and his avowed sympathy with the so-called Confederate States; so distasteful had he become, at one time, that the police authorities in Philadelphia were compelled to interfere to protect his person and property. Dr. H. was, until the last two years, a resident of Winchester, Virginia; he married the daughter of F. B., Esq., of Philadelphia (a good Union man and a worthy citizen). On or about the first of the present month, the Doctor began making arrangements for going South, for the purpose of joining the Confederate army as a surgeon. He came on to Baltimore, Maryland, mingled freely with the secession element in that city. On the 10th instant, an organization or party of rebels, in Baltimore (of which the Doctor was one), chartered the sloop *James Buchanan* to carry them to Virginia. Being advised of their intended movements, I chartered (by order of Major-General Dix) a steam tug, with a view to intercept them, it being understood that the party, consisting of thirteen persons, were to embark at Annapolis. The day fixed upon for their departure being very stormy, the sloop did not leave Baltimore. I, however, went to Annapolis on Tuesday last, and found the expedition ready to sail. Having no boat at my disposal, I immediately arrested Dr. H. I searched his baggage, and found letters which settle the question as to his guilt and intentions to join the Confederates. A quantity of gold coin and Confederate bank-bills were found in his possession, also pistols, rubber blankets, ready-made clothing, &c., &c. The prisoner, with the letters,

papers, money, and all other effects belonging to him, were turned over to General Dix, at Baltimore. The prisoner is now confined in Fort McHenry, subject to the disposal of your Department.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER.

Alexandria, notwithstanding its proximity to Washington, became headquarters of secession councils. This state of things culminated, early in the struggle, in the death of Ellsworth.

At Baltimore, while I was apparently in sympathy with the rebels, I learned of a secret organization at Alexandria. It was formed ostensibly for the benefit of the families of both Union and Confederate soldiers. This will account for the connection of Mr. Louis McKenzie with its proceedings. He became a member, unaware of its real character; and when its disloyal spirit was apparent, he absented himself from the meetings of the society. The seizure of the records put me in possession of its entire history. There was "a wheel within a wheel" in this organized benevolence, designed to bring out all the sympathy available for the cause of treason. The Peel correspondence will be found especially rich in expressions of feeling; while the rebel poetry, which graced one of the meetings of the association, presents very forcibly its ruling animus. In this report, as in other narratives I shall quote, sometimes uninteresting details occur, because inseparable from the record:—

WASHINGTON, March 4, 1862.

To the Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

Sir—I have the honor herewith to transmit my report in the following cases, arrested at Alexandria by myself and assistants, February 26th and 27th, 1862. Accompanying this report are two books—one containing the proceedings of a secret organization, or society, for the benefit of the families of soldiers now in the Confederate army, also the manufacture of uniforms, clothing, &c., which have from time to time been forwarded to the so-called Confederate States. This association was organized in June last, and, as appears from the minutes of their proceedings, the Ladies' Relief Association, composed of the wives and daughters of its members, were admitted, in order, as it is alleged, to extend the usefulness of their operations.

Repeated complaints have been made to me, during the past fall and winter, concerning the meetings and treasonable transactions of this society.

Owing to the high social standing and position of these traitors, and the extreme secrecy with which all their operations were carried on, I found it very difficult to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, their places of meeting, their number, or the names of the parties comprising the organization.

During the past four months, large numbers of cards were picked up in the streets and bar-rooms at Alexandria, on which were printed words and sentences, disconnected, which (since the arrests were made) I have ascertained were intended as a notice to the members of the society to meet at a certain time and place. So dark and secret were all their proceedings, that it was with the utmost difficulty, and after months of patient and constant surveillance, that this board of secret plotters against the Government were brought to light.

The book containing the minutes of these meetings was found in the possession of Henry Peel, who, at the time of the arrests, was secretary of the association. This book, fortunately, contained the names of all the officers, which subsequently led to their arrest. The book marked "Dangerfield" was found in his (Dangerfield's) possession. It contains a statement of the object of the association, the names of its contributors, names of subscribers, amount subscribed, and how disbursed.

There can be no question as to the real object of this association. Letters, papers, and memorandums, found in possession of nearly all the parties arrested, show most conclusively that these individuals were engaged in a treasonable conspiracy to levy war against the United States Government, and all have refused to take the oath of allegiance. Much of the proof on which I rely to convict, under the act of 1861, is verbal conversations with and between these rebels, which have been overheard by many of the most reliable citizens of Alexandria, and, I am satisfied, will convince any jury in the land of their guilt.

On or about the 4th of March, 1861, Mr. Louis McKenzie (now Mayor of Alexandria) was called upon for consultation with J. B. Dangerfield, W. F. Booth, W. H. Taylor, W. H. Marburg, General Johnston (now in the Confederate army), James Green, and J. W. Burke, for the purpose of devising some plan for the seizure of Washington, the seizure of steamers running on the Potomac, and destroying the buoys marking the channel up the Potomac. They also gave information and personally assisted in the seizure of the steamer *Paige*, now in possession of the Confederates. All the facts causing this meeting can be proved by a number of reliable witnesses now residing in Alexandria. All the above-named parties (except the rebel General Johnston) are now confined at the Old Capitol prison.

Owing to the recent arrests, and seizure of contraband correspondence, but few letters directly implicating the parties were found.

#### HENRY PEEL.

The following letter was written to Henry Peel by his brother now in Richmond:—

*RICHMOND, November 30, 1861.*

MY DEAR BROTHER—You can not imagine the source of pleasure your letter gave us. It was the first line I had received from Alexandria since I left. The letter you wrote me in answer to mine I have never received, but hope it may come along in time. Since I came to Richmond I have been busily engaged selling off the goods I shipped to the country, and have been operating in other articles out of my usual line, and have succeeded very well so far. The truth is, almost anything you could buy can be sold at a profit and for cash. Money is more abundant than I ever knew in all my business life. Richmond is the center of trade; it is the point from which the army draw most of their supplies. The supplies are abundant and coming in from every quarter. The noble sons of the South have just laid down their all upon the altar of patriotism, determining to maintain their rights against such a nation of Yankee myrmidons, as are in fact the Northern States. When the South determined to separate from so vile a community, they have to confess that they did not know that they were so much like land pirates as they have shown themselves to be in their effort to crush the Southern people. Of all civilized nations known, a more brutal, despicable crusade against the South is not recorded. They (the South) now fully know with whom they are dealing, and will act accordingly—an eye for an eye—and all prepare to meet them any and everywhere. Whenever a contest has taken place, the Southern soldiers have proven successful. This is true; their papers to the contrary. The whole purpose is to deceive the people, and their papers are under such surveillance that they can not dare to give any other report. The actual loss in the Leesburg fight, say prisoners, killed, wounded, drowned, and missing, was thirty-three hundred. Your papers state no such result. Every few days a large batch of prisoners are brought here. Yesterday, twenty-three cavalry were brought down; their horses and all captured. Sent off two hundred and fifty to Alabama on Wednesday; about fifteen hundred still remain here. If they attempt to hang those taken as privateers, their rank will be hung here. Already lots have been drawn, and each unhappy man is confined in the cell for criminals prepared for the condemned. In no way can the North get ahead of the South. Plenty of stout hearts, abundance of provisions, full supply of ammunition, army well equipped. The finest long-range rifle cannon and columbiad, that strikes terror whenever fired. The whole South, with a united voice and solemn resolve, have willed to be free from the North or perish in the effort. All feel hopeful and sanguine of success, willing to endure any and all privations, even to life itself. If the North could only know how vain their efforts to conquer the South, or subdue the rebels, they would give it up. If they do know the fact, their acts are only to damage the South, to gratify an intense hatred for losing so good a customer as the South has been; but in carrying on the war, every blow they give strikes back with redoubled force, in loss of life and building up a debt which they will never see paid. As for the Union must be preserved, it is all a farce; the old Union is broken, never again to be united. This is a fixed fact. Every day the blockade lasts only tends to make the South more independent of the North,

as every variety of manufacture is springing up. Just think of it: a few months since there was no Government whatever here; now it is fully organized, and every department is in successful operation. A large army has been organized and well sustained, and can whip three times their weight in Yankee flesh or foreigners either. The crops have been abundant, money is plentiful, and confidence between man and man, all standing shoulder to shoulder, determined to undergo extermination before subjugation. The women and children uniting in the one common effort, besides the slaves all at home laboring to sustain our army with provisions to repel the common foe against us. To conquer such a people, relying upon the God of battles to sustain them, is simply ridiculous. In all our struggles, the hand of the Almighty is plainly visible; for our many sins we may be scourged and have to suffer much, but putting our trust in Him, though many be slain, yet He intends all for our good. It is a source of no little gratification to feel that God is with us in this struggle, and to expect some reverses is natural enough, but the result is only a question of time: the longer we are persecuted, the greater loss of life and money the North will sustain, and accomplish nothing at last. In one thing the Yankees have been mistaken: that was, to incite the negroes to insurrection; but be it said to their advantage when the struggle is over, that where one black face with a true heart has turned against us, ten white faces with black and false hearts have done so; and I regret so many in Alexandria are of that class, but most of foreign-born or Yankees, who never had any sympathy with the institutions of the South. Amidst all the horrors of the war, Richmond is increasing in population and realizing great and unparalleled prosperity. Nearly every branch of business is a success. Manufactories are doing well. We have a very large number of Alexandrians here, and most of them have profitable employment. John McC. J. is here in office at one thousand dollars salary; Wells A. Lockwood is in a bank at one thousand dollars salary. I could extend the list of friends here. Mr. E. K. Witmer and child arrived safely; all of them will keep house together. Tell H. P. I received a letter from his partner, S., and he sent me a letter for H., which I will forward with this, hoping it may reach him, as I trust all our letters, safely. As you all have both piano and melodeon, we would like for Lu. to send round and get F.'s piano and melodeon and take care of it for me, using both as much as they please. If not inconvenient, we would like them to send and get them. I have never heard one word from Mr. B. since I left. I hope he will be able to get along without trouble and meet with no reverses. It is a sad state of things that friends should thus be separated, and for no fault of ours, the fault being at the door of demagogues and politicians. Awful will be the account to settle at the Day of Judgment for so much cruelty wantonly inflicted upon innocent men, women, and children. Surely their cup is fast filling up, and vengeance will overtake them. We have been disappointed in sending this as I expected, but now have a chance in a day or two. Our General Assembly met in Augusta, Georgia, last Wednesday, to organize anew for the South. They expect to get along without large boards to manage their affairs—only a small committee responsible to the Assembly. Theress

goes over to Petersburg next Thursday, to spend a week or so. Our Congress and Legislature are in session. The State Convention has adjourned. We have seen Lincoln's message—a poor thing. How vastly he is mistaken about Tennessee and North Carolina. He will find both Kentucky and Missouri going with the South. He may well recommend the fortifying of Northern cities, fearing European intervention or aid from that quarter. It is all for no purpose this detestable land-pirate war is carried on; they never can conquer the South. We are getting stronger every day. Men enlisting and implements of warfare increasing weekly. Some new engines of warfare have been invented that will be used in the next battle, that will carry death and destruction to any army coming in contact with it. Of this I can not speak further; but only an opportunity offer to use them, and they will rue the day they ever thought of subjugating a free and enlightened people. We all unite in affectionate love to you all, praying a merciful Providence may watch over and keep you.

I am, affectionately, your brother,

S.

Copy of letter written by John M. Stearns, now in the Confederate Army, to Henry Peel:

CAMP PICKENS, June 27, 1861.

MY DEAR PEEL—I have just seen Brown, and was very glad to hear that you were still in the land of the living. I find a letter here for Mr. Peel which I inclose. Everything is in such confusion here that I've only time to say that we are well and are staying at Bloomfield. I wrote to you from Middleburg. If you can send a letter to me here by some one coming up, directed to me at Ivy Depot, Robinson will send it to me. He (George W. Robinson) is postmaster here now. I can't say anything about our forces here, as the letter might be intercepted. Suffice it to say, that we are prepared for any number of men that Lincoln may send. Our men are in fine spirits and anxious for a fight. I often think of you with deep sympathy. Love to Mr. Peel.

In haste, yours, truly,

(Signed)

JOHN M. STEVENS.

I inclose two copies of letters found at Peel's house. There are, however, on file in my office about forty or fifty letters from officers and soldiers in the Confederate army, showing conclusively that he (Peel) has kept up a constant correspondence, which must have passed through our lines. In some of these letters to his brother he instructs him how and when to pass our pickets.

JOHN B. DANGERFIELD.

From the high social position occupied by Mr. D. (being a man of eminence, wealth, and extensive business acquaintance throughout the South), he has done more to keep alive an uncompromising hostility to our Government than any other man in Northern Virginia. It appears from the books of the association, mentioned in this report, that he has contributed more largely for the benefit of the rebel soldiers than any other individual whose name appears

on the list as a subscriber. At his house were held, from time to time, the secret meetings of the organization. In March last, a number of the leading spirits in these treasonable operations assembled at the house of Dangerfield, and devised and wrote out a plan for the capture of Washington, stating minutely the unprotected, defenseless condition of this city, the number of our forces, &c. This communication or statement was signed by Dangerfield, and forwarded by General Johnston to Governor Letcher, at Richmond. When called upon, I can procure the witnesses to this transaction.

Since the 21st day of June last, Dangerfield has shipped from Alexandria to Baltimore, and from thence to Europe, not less than two hundred thousand dollars' worth of sugar, cotton, and tobacco, all the property of merchants who had fled from Alexandria when our forces took possession of that place, in April last. The proceeds of these sales have, from time to time, been forwarded to the owners of the property, now in arms against the Government. The invoices and bills of lading are in my possession, also letters from the consignees in Baltimore and Europe, clearly showing the whole transaction. By no possibility could this property have belonged to Dangerfield, as he some time since retired from active business pursuits, and lived on an income derived from his large estates.

The following are the proceedings of a meeting held at the house of John B. Dangerfield, June 21, 1861, and written in a book found in Dangerfield's possession:—

ALEXANDEIA, VIRGINIA, *June 21, 1861.*

At a meeting of gentlemen, held this day, to devise means for the further support of those needing assistance, and to provide for the families of our volunteers, there were present, Messrs. J. B. Dangerfield, Robert S. Ashly, B. H. Lambert, Robert Jamieson, W. Arthur Taylor, and J. Louis Kinzer. Mr. Sylvester Scott submitted a statement that the number of families who are now receiving aid from the supply-room was upward of three hundred, embracing nearly one thousand persons, and that the expense amounted to about two hundred dollars per week. He briefly explained the plan he had adopted in the distribution of provisions, which was approved, with entire confidence in the management of Mr. Scott. Mr. Kinzer reported that he had canvassed the city several times; and that, while the subscriptions had been prompt and liberal, it would, under existing circumstances, be impossible to raise from the citizens now in town the means necessary to continue the aid which had been afforded, and that, unless means could be raised from other sources, the support of the families of our volunteers, as well as the poor generally, must be immediately abandoned. The absence of many of our most liberal citizens, the immediate and pressing wants of the poor, and the consequent results to our houses and property, should the supplies be cut off, and the feeling of our volunteers, if informed that their families were starving for food, while they were standing up in defense of the State, were duly considered. The meeting unanimously believed that our absent friends would cheerfully contribute if they were here, and, relying on their devotion to our common cause, and their entire willingness to share with their fellow-citizens the burdens imposed upon this city, determined, upon the faith in the liberality of

those who were absent, to raise by loan a sum of money sufficient for a month or six weeks' supply, and to rely on the liberality of the absent citizens to make up the amount by contributions, on their return. As a means of arriving at the amount which would thus be contributed, the meeting estimated, and confidently believed, that the following persons would cheerfully give the several amounts set opposite their names, as follows, viz.:

As a loan.....	
Henry Dangerfield.....	\$200 00
Mr. Fitzhugh .....	100 00
Mr. Beverley .....	50 00
Wm. N. McVeigh .....	100 00
J. H. McVeigh .....	50 00
Francis L. Smith .....	50 00
J. McD. Goldsboro .....	25 00
F. B. Robertson .....	50 00
D. F. Hove .....	50 00
Rev. J. F. Johnston .....	50 00
Thirty-one other parties.....	755 00
	_____
	\$1,480 00
Contributions from 168 parties, in different amounts, from 25 cents up to \$50 .....	802 85
	_____
Total.....	\$2,282 85

## COPY.

Memorandum found in the house of J. B. Dangerfield, showing the names  
of the officers of the Ladies' Relief Association:

## MANAGER:

MRS. J. B. DANGERFIELD.

## COMMITTEE:

## 1st Ward.

Miss Mary Wilson,	Mrs. George H. Smoot,
Mrs. Louis Hooff,	Miss Mary McKenzie.

## 2d Ward.

Mrs. Robert Jamieson,	Miss Mary Stuart,
Mr. H. Pell,	Mrs. J. H. Parrott.

## 3d Ward.

Miss V. Gordon,	Miss Kincaid,
Mrs. Dr. French,	Mrs. Monroe Newton.

## 4th Ward.

Mrs. J. W. Stewart,	Miss Vandegrift,
Miss Eliza Dangerfield,	Miss Hughes.

Meeting every Tuesday and Friday, at 10 o'clock.

The following is a copy of a letter written by Henry Dangerfield, now a major in the Confederate army, to his brother, J. B. Dangerfield, showing conclusively, that J. B. Dangerfield was in constant correspondence with the officers of the Confederate army; also that he was acting as agent for the disposal of their property, the proceeds of which were forwarded South. The bills of lading for the cotton and tobacco spoken of are now in my office

RICHMOND, 18th November, 1861.

DEAR JOHN—It has been a long time since I have been able to communicate with you, and have just heard of a reliable opportunity. You have no doubt heard of our crushing affliction in the death of our lovely little Lewis. All the trials of the war never broke my spirits; but my head drooped, and my heart sunk when the sad blow was struck. Oh! he was too lovely, and sent to be taken from us. He was the idol of the whole family. I went down to Bazel's, where Mary was so ill, and was under serious apprehensions you and Rebecca were to be afflicted as we have been. She was too ill for me to see her. I am happy to know she has recovered, and have reason to believe that she is now probably with you. Poor Willy was very happy with us at Charlottesville. I have everything provided for him, through Mrs. Taylor, and paid all her bills, and the advance to Mr. Ambler for six months, or the entrance fee, as it is called. He wrote me, a short time ago, for five dollars, which I will forward the first chance. You may feel assured that Willy is well placed, though he writes that he would like to be with us again. I feel very anxious to hear from you, and if you will inclose a letter to Dr. F. Donaldson, 34 Franklin Street, Baltimore, requesting him to forward it to me here, I will probably receive it in a few days. This goes to him. I sent you a message, early in the month, that another of the one hundred and fifty dollar interest notes was due on the 11th instant, and that I wished you to arrange it with Robert H. Miller to have it paid through his house in St. Louis, or in some other way. I have conversed with some of the most respectable and intelligent men of that city, and they recommend by all means to have it paid, that the property will be valuable, under any circumstances, &c. It is Edward Hale's note, payable to Evans Rogers, due 11th instant, for one hundred and fifty dollars (probably in Merchants' Bank). Do tell me what has happened at the Island Farm. What became of the wheat, hay, corn, servants, &c.? I hope you have the wheat and hay sold; if not, please do it. I feel very anxious to hear from my cotton and tobacco shipments. Open any of my letters, either in your hands or Mr. Mardary's, and tell me the result. Tobacco is as high here as before the blockade. New crop short and inferior. Do tell me all about yourselves, Lurz and all, and those about the Taylor family. I have felt deeply for them. I hope Mrs. Taylor has drawn the interest on Virginia stock. You had better authorize me to collect the money due you from the railroad on account. The coupons would all be paid now, if you can get them to me. The road is quite flush. May God bless you all. With my fervent prayers for your welfare, and love and kisses to Rebecca, &c., &c., I am, in great haste,

Your devoted brother,

(Signed)

HENRY.

Let me hear from the Philliss McQuinn, or of them, and the state .. things Mrs. Whitmore gives a favorable account. Do you hear of any of my runaways from the farms?

#### H. O. CLAUGHTON.

This individual is a practicing attorney. From the breaking out of the present rebellion, Claughton has, on all occasions, openly denounced the Government and its policy toward the South. At the time the Union forces first entered Alexandria, large numbers of prominent rebel merchants and others took a hasty flight, leaving behind unsettled business of every kind. Stores were left open and unprotected; bank accounts unsettled, &c., &c., &c. Claughton has been acting as agent for these traitors, in collecting and forwarding all moneys so collected. From letters found in Claughton's possession, it seems he has kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with the Confederate States.

Copy of a letter written by F. A. Reed, formerly a merchant in Alexandria, now a captain in the Second Virginia Cavalry, to H. O. Claughton.

WASHINGTON, April 22, 1861.

H. O. CLAUGHTON, Esq.:—

DEAR FRIEND—I left Alexandria this evening, very unexpectedly to myself. I was anxious to get Mrs. Reed on, and found, when I went to dinner, that by coming at half-past four I could connect here in the morning with the train to Baltimore. I feared to delay longer, not knowing what a day might bring forth. Will you do me the favor to take charge of my books and papers, which you will find in the counting-room. Please say to Ned, my clerk, that I have left money with Mr. Baker, to pay him, and am very sorry to part with him.

I thought best to leave quietly, as there was such a tremendous excitement on, and I did not know what I might encounter if I let it be generally known. Please say to old Mr. Jamieson that I am sorry I was so hurried I could not call upon him for the letter I was to take for him. Now, my friend, do not judge me harshly, as I felt it my duty to do as I have done. I leave with *deep regret, I assure*, and was it not for my wife and mother, I never would have left old Virginia, but would have thrown in my lot with you for better or worse. God grant, if we never meet again in this life, we may meet in that better land where partings are no more, and where the evil passions of men shall no more disturb us. Remember me particularly to all my friends. Much love to Mr. Liftnich. If the mails are ever again resumed, you will possibly hear from me. Much love from Mrs. R. and myself to your wife. Please take charge of the books and papers for me. Ned will give them to you. I may be back in the course of ten days.

Yours, truly, but sadly,

(Signed)

F. A. REED.

Copy of letter written by R. B. Smith, one of the frightened rebels, now a commissary in the Confederate army:

H. O. CLAUGHTON, Esq.:

May 10, 1861.

DEAR SIR—I left Alexandria this day week, very hastily, in company with many Alexandrians, who seemed to think only of "Escape for thy life, look not behind thee." A week's reflection has, however, enabled me to recollect that starving would as certainly destroy me as the Yankees could, and, in order to prevent that contingency, it is absolutely necessary for me to collect money due me in your city. I write now to ask you if you would act for me as agent, and attend, during my absence, to some business. As there is no difficulty about it, and will not occupy much of your time, I hope it may suit your convenience to attend to it. When I hear from you, I will state all the particulars. At present, I am writing in a room full, and all talking around me, which will account for my miserable writing. Direct to care of Doctor J. Gray.

Respectfully,

R. B. SMITH.

(Signed)

MIDDLEBURG, Va.

Copy of a letter written by H. O. Claughton, in answer to the preceding letter, addressed to the wife of R. B. Smith:

Mrs. R. B. SMITH:

ALEXANDRIA, VA.

RESPECTED MADAM—I wrote you a few days since, via Fortress Monroe. I informed you that Mr. W. N. Buckley declined to pay any portion of the rent, but that belonging to you, without more explicit authority to me to collect. If you have power of attorney from your daughters, say so in your next letter, and authorize me to collect for you, as their agent. If Hesseline wishes to have me collect for him, let him so instruct me. There is to your credit, in the Bank of the Old Dominion, one hundred and forty-six dollars and fifty cents, in Virginia funds. I think Mr. B. ought to have paid in part funds for rent due since 1st July. Your dwelling-house is now occupied as a beer saloon and eating-house, the front room subdivided as a store. I do not know who is attending to it. Some one informed me that Mr. R. G. Violette was. If you desire me to take charge of that property also, state that fact clearly in your next letter. I must apologize for not responding to your first letter. It was received when everything was in the greatest excitement, and entirely overlooked. I found it among my papers after the receipt of your last, and could but regret that I had forgotten all about it. They are trying to ruin me, but I think I shall be able to ride the storm through.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

H. O. CLAUGHTON.

The following is a poetic effusion by H. O. Claughton, published in the Richmond *Enquirer*:

## REBELS.

“Rebels!” ’Tis a holy name!  
The name our fathers bore  
When battling in the cause of Right,  
Against the tyrant in his might,  
In the dark days of yore.

“Rebels!” ’Tis our family name!  
Our father, Washington,  
Was the arch rebel in the fight,  
And gave the name to us—a right  
Of father unto son.

“Rebels!” ’Tis our given name!  
Our mother, Liberty,  
Received the title with her fame.  
In days of grief, of fear, and shame,  
When at her breast were we.

“Rebels!” ’Tis our sealed name!  
A baptism of blood!  
The war—ay, and the arm of strife—  
The fearful contest—life for life—  
The mingled crimson flood.

“Rebels!” ’Tis a patriot’s name;  
In struggles it was given.  
We bore it then when tyrants raved,  
And though their curses, ’twas engraved  
On the doomsday book of heaven.

“Rebels!” ’Tis our dying name!  
For although life is dear,  
Yet freemen born and freemen bred  
Would rather lie one freeman dead,  
Than live in slavish fear.

Then call us Rebels if you will—  
We glory in the name—  
For bending under unjust laws,  
And swearing faith to an unjust cause,  
We count a greater shame.

## CHAPTER IX.

### AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO MANASSAS—THE WASTE OF WAR.

The Evacuation of Manassas by the Rebel Army—The Order to Visit the Deserted Battle-field—The Survey of it—Report to the Secretary of War—Waste of Government Property.

THE evacuation of Manassas by the rebels placed in possession of the Union forces a large portion of northern Virginia. The abandonment of this region, the hasty flight of the troops, and the limited facilities for transportation, compelled these rebel legions of the "Old Dominion" to leave behind them a great amount of valuable property. The torch lighting the scene of desolation at night, as before stated, was the large warehouse in flames. In the lurid glare that fell upon the track of ruthless war, lay army wagons, cars, and all the variety of the *materiel* of war, with the implements and products of agriculture, scattered over the ground on every hand.

March 12th, by the direction of the Secretary of War, I went to Manassas to survey the field of desolation, and of military occupation by the Union forces. The result of my examination of this interesting and important theater of the conflict, is stated in a report to the Secretary of War:—

WASHINGTON, March 17, 1862.

To the Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

DEAR SIR—In compliance with your order of the 12th instant, I went to Centreville and Manassas, and other points in its immediate vicinity. I arrived at Centreville on the morning of the 13th. After a general survey of the enemy's deserted posts at that point, I proceeded to Manassas Junction. None of our forces had arrived at 2 p. m., except a large number of straggling soldiers belonging to General Sumner's division, then encamped at Union Mills, four miles from Manassas Junction, on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad. These troops were engaged in searching the smoking ruins for

relics and such abandoned property as had not been destroyed by the retreating rebels.

At 4 p. m. General French arrived, with portions of four regiments, and took possession of the enemy's deserted quarters, some distance from the railroad junction.

At 6 p. m. General Stoneman arrived, with two regiments of cavalry and one of infantry, and encamped in the immediate vicinity of General French's brigade.

On the 14th I made a thorough investigation of the rebel fortifications and intrenchments, a map of which accompanies this report.

I have ascertained the following facts from a Mr. Crockett, now lying sick at his father-in-law's house, near Manassas Junction.

Mr. Crockett was an engineer on the road from Manassas to Richmond, and under his supervision was conveyed nearly all the troops, guns, and munitions of war.

He informs me that the first intimation he had of the intended evacuation was on or about the 27th of February, when he was ordered to concentrate at Manassas Junction as many cars as possible, which he at once proceeded to do.

On Friday, the 8th of March, he arrived from Richmond at about four o'clock, p. m., and was informed that he must return immediately to Richmond, with his train, for the purpose of conveying troops. From the 8th until the following Sunday evening, the 10th, every locomotive and car was brought into requisition.

But few troops left Manassas by railroad, as it required nearly all the transportation for conveying commissary stores, ammunition, &c.

After the most careful and thorough inquiries as to the enemy's forces at Centreville and Manassas, I learned the following facts. Previous to December 2, 1861, their total numbers were as follows: Virginia had sixty-seven regiments in the field, numbering in all, including privates, teamsters, and officers, about forty-two thousand men. South Carolina had twenty-three regiments (about one-half of which were full), numbering in all about eighteen thousand men. North Carolina had fifty-seven regiments (most of which were full), numbering about fifty-two thousand men. Georgia had twenty-eight regiments (nearly all full), numbering about twenty-six thousand men. Louisiana had twenty-two regiments (not all full), numbering about nineteen thousand men, including officers and teamsters. Mississippi had thirty-one regiments (nearly full) and seven independent companies, numbering in all about twenty-nine thousand men. Alabama had nineteen regiments (nearly full), numbering about eighteen thousand men. Tennessee had eight regiments (not full), in all about six thousand nine hundred men. Kentucky had eleven regiments (nearly full), numbering in all about seven thousand four hundred men. Maryland had eight regiments and two battalions of artillery, amounting in all to about seven thousand men. Arkansas had five regiments, of about four thousand five hundred and fifty men. These statistics have been gathered from various sources. A partial list of these regiments was found among documents at Manassas. In addition to these I have obtained, what

in my opinion is very reliable information, from persons residing at Manassas and other points now deserted by the rebel army.

This estimate includes the entire Confederate force, which I think is as near correct as can possibly be arrived at without an official list. From the muster-rolls I beg leave to submit the following statement as to the enemy's force at Centreville, Manassas, and vicinity. During the months of August, September, October, and November, from the best information I can gather, there were encamped at Centreville and immediate vicinity seventeen regiments, viz.: Virginia, four, with four full batteries of eight guns each; North Carolina, three; South Carolina, three; Alabama, two, with one field battery; Maryland, one, and one battery of four field-pieces; Georgia, two; Mississippi, one; and Tennessee, one.

The forts, fortifications, and intrenchments at Centreville were of the most extensive and defensible character, the main defenses being situated on an eminence, from which nearly every foot of ground within one mile, at least, can be seen. On this ridge or high land, stretching to the right of the Little River or Warrenton Turnpike, a distance of one thousand two hundred yards, is an intrenchment, thrown up for the protection of infantry and field artillery. To the left, and lying directly on the turnpike, is a fortification intended to mount eight guns, well protected on the north by a high embankment, evidently anticipating an attack from that direction. In this fort was found the Quaker or wooden gun. To the left of the road, distant about a quarter of a mile, is situated another fortification, of inferior dimensions, constructed for four guns. All the quarters at this point were well constructed, being made of logs, and mudded in and out. To the left of the road, leading to Bull Run or Manassas Junction, about two miles from Centreville, were located houses sufficient to quarter about three thousand men. These were occupied by two Virginia regiments and a portion of a regiment from North Carolina, under command of General Bonham. After crossing Bull Run, to the left of the main road or turnpike are very extensive quarters, in the vicinity of which was General Beauregard's headquarters. Here were encamped most of the extreme Southern troops, consisting of regiments from Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. From the most reliable information I could obtain, there were about fourteen regiments, of about eight or nine hundred men each—probably twelve to thirteen thousand men, with but few pieces of artillery, and no forts, fortifications, or intrenchments.

From this point, on the road leading to Manassas Junction, I found some quarters, but no forts or intrenchments of any kind. At the Junction the defenses were of a very inferior character. One large fort, situated on the left of the railroad, was formidable and well constructed, but no guns had ever been placed in position, it having but very recently been completed.

After making thorough and careful inquiries from persons living at this place, I learn that only about eighteen pieces of heavy ordnance were at any time in position at Manassas Junction, which, when added to the eight in the large fort at Centreville, makes twenty-six. This comprises the sum total of all the heavy forts or large guns of the entire Confederate Army of the Potowmack, except those at Leesburg and on the Lower Potomac. For a better

description, as to the strength and location of these works, I respectfully refer to a map accompanying this report. To the left of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, between the Junction and Union Mills, are a very large number of log quarters, sufficient to hold, conveniently, not less than fifteen thousand troops. I learned, however, that only about twelve thousand troops occupied these quarters, comprising regiments from Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Mississippi, with four batteries of light artillery.

In the vicinity of Union Mills, four miles from Manassas, lying directly on the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, were encamped three or four regiments. This comprises, so far as I can learn, all the encampments at Centreville, Manassas, and vicinity. I have no means of ascertaining the number and location of the Confederate forces on their extreme right or left. It is said, however, to have been large. It is evident, from the great destruction of commissary stores, gun-carriages, tents, and other property at Manassas Junction, that the rebels did not intend to abandon their position entirely for some days. Many of the few remaining inhabitants in the vicinity of Manassas are Northern people, professing the strongest attachment to the Union. Had the military authorities acted with promptness, on their arrival at Manassas, a large amount of military stores and provisions could have been saved. The conduct of our own troops is a disgrace to the cause for which they are fighting. Hundreds from General Sumner's division were allowed to roam around among the defenseless inhabitants. The most gross and disgraceful acts were committed by these soldiers. They entered private dwellings, insulted ladies, killed and carried off chickens, turkeys, pigs, and searched for valuables, &c. In justice, however, to Brigadier-General French, I would state that, as far as I could learn, no depredations were committed by soldiers under his command. General F. rendered me every assistance in his power for the successful prosecution of my duties, while General Stoneman entirely ignored and set aside the order furnished me by the honorable Secretary of War, refusing to furnish an escort, or even rations for the few men under my command.

I succeeded in securing some valuable documents, viz.: official reports and orders from brigade and division commanders to General Beauregard, and letters from individuals, many of which have thrown much light upon the number, location, and condition of the rebel army. All of which were handed over to the honorable Committee on the Conduct of the War.

In closing this report, I beg leave to state that I have not attempted to give the number of the entire rebel force opposite Washington; indeed this would be impossible without an official list, obtained from their muster and pay-rolls.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,  
Detective Agent War Department.

Unsolicited on my part, a few days later, I received the following order:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, March 30, 1862.

*Ordered*, That L. C. Baker be, and he is hereby, appointed Special Agent of this Department to take possession of all abandoned rebel property in the territory lately occupied by the rebel forces around Washington, and that he take an account thereof and safely keep the same and turn it over to the Commissary or Quartermaster's Department, taking a receipt for the same from the officer to whom it is turned over and filing it in this Department. All officers and persons in the Government service are directed to afford him necessary assistance and protection, and all persons in the Quartermaster or Commissary Department are directed to afford him necessary transportation. He is directed to make special report of his proceedings from time to time to this Department.

By order of the Secretary of War:

(Signed)

L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General.

It will always be an historical fact, over which the loyal heart will sadly wonder, that, while the cause of treason was rarely betrayed by its professed friends, the most threatening danger at the North was the treachery of those who lived under and even hurrahed for the old flag.

No future historian of the civil war will probably ever attempt, nor will the records of the quartermasters' department ever show the vast amount of public stores and other property wantonly abandoned and destroyed by its faithless servants.

All over the boundless arena of conflict were scattered the best *materiel* of war—its most abundant supplies—in fragments and decaying masses; a spectacle not beheld, and therefore unappreciated, by the people at home.

It is, however, no new thing under the sun, and peculiar to no party in power.

The Mexican war was, perhaps, never surpassed in this aspect of national conflicts. The speculations were so remote from the great commercial centers of the country, the people knew but little of the manifold and lawless speculations.

The late war offered opportunities of every possible sort for unprincipled traffic; some of them lawful, and many more unmitigated robbery. "Uncle Sam" was the victim of this sharp practice, and therefore it flourished with the air of respectability and comparative impunity.

In one instance, a telegraph operator retained important official messages, and even charged for Government dis-

patches. Death itself has no barrier to the mercenary trade. The embalming of the dead, and the transportation of the bodies to friends at a distance, were occasions for unblushing extortion.

As we have suggested, the atmosphere of war is petrifying to the moral sensibilities of men who yield to its demoralizing influence, and they will do deeds in the presence of death, and with their own threatened every moment, which, in the purer, calmer air of their domestic and social life, would be utterly repulsive and unthought of by them.

## CHAPTER X.

### FRAUDS BY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AND OTHERS.

False Returns—Restitution—Attempts to escape Arrest—Threats to intimidate in the Performance of Official Duty—Prison Life a Recommendation to Special Favor—Removal of a Subordinate.

CLERKS and employees of the Government, whose business it was to make returns of the amount of forage and supplies received from the contractors, it was found were bribed by the latter to make false entries, and thus increase the weight fraudulently, to a greater or less figure. My investigation of the transactions disclosed the astounding fact that these employees had increased the amount of supplies furnished by sixteen contractors to the amount in money of over two hundred thousand dollars ; which, in compliance with my suggestion, was deducted from the sum to be paid the contractors, on their final settlement with the Government.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, November 30, 1862. }

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :—

SIR—I have the honor herewith to transmit the names of contractors who have *sworn* to having paid at different times sums of money, from ten to two thousand dollars each, to clerks and employees of the Government. These sworn statements of contractors are fully corroborated by the voluntary sworn depositions of the clerks themselves. These amounts were in nearly every instance paid to employees, with the express understanding and agreement, between contractors and employees, that they, the employees, should make false and fraudulent entries to the Government of the amount of forage or other property being delivered by said contractors to the Government. I find these facts fully sustained by the investigations now being made in the different departments in which the clerks referred to have been employed.

I would respectfully suggest, that the assistant quartermasters at Washington and Baltimore be at once notified and instructed to withhold the payment of any and all amounts that may now be due to the list of contractors whose names are given below.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

All means were resorted to, by men who attracted the notice of the bureau, to escape arrest. When bribery and coaxing failed, threats were used, to secure their immunity from merited exposure and punishment. I was not unfrequently cautioned by a member of the Cabinet, against exposure to personal violence and even assassination. The letter copied below refers to a communication of an attorney. A German, named Volk, who had in his possession a large number of horses, nearly all of which belonged to the Government, was arrested, and the horses taken from him. As usual in similar cases, Volk employed an attorney. After a full and patient hearing of the case, I returned to Volk nine of the horses, which could not be proved to belong to the Government. The attorney, after exhausting legal argument to get the rest of the animals, wrote a letter, in which he intimated that he had possession of certain papers reflecting unfavorably upon my private and official character, and that their presentation to the President would make my immediate dismissal from the service certain. But, if I would recommend the Quartermaster-General to restore the horses, and appoint a friend of his on my police force, he would forward me the papers, and spare me the disgraceful exposure by Mr. Lincoln. In reply, I wrote as follows:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, {  
WASHINGTON, December 15, 1862. }

To F. B., Attorney and Counselor at Law,  
Washington, D. C.:—

SIR—Your note of this date is received. Previous to my giving you any order for the payment of the nine horses, I took much pains in investigating the case, and satisfied myself that Volk was entitled to the pay for the said nine horses, *and no more*. I have, as yet, seen no proof or facts that would warrant me in recommending the Quartermaster's Department to pay for any more horses on Volk's account.

If you can produce any satisfactory proof that any person or persons in my employ extorted money from Volk, I will not only cause the amount to be refunded, but will immediately discharge and arrest such person or persons. In relation to certain papers you refer to, which you say you will furnish me with, that might be used greatly to my annoyance, I beg leave to reply, that I am not in the market as a purchaser of any such documents.

The *parties* you speak of as being on my track, and whom you say you will exercise your skill to keep off, I have no fears of; therefore you are at liberty (so far as I am concerned) to let them loose as soon as you may think proper.

If, after conversing with your friend Maloney, I find him a capable and trustworthy man in every respect, I may employ him.

(Signed)

Respectfully yours,  
L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

In the latter part of 1862, I was sent for by Mr. Lincoln to make an investigation respecting the brutal treatment of slaves in Lower Maryland. This whole section had been visited by the Union troops, and, as a natural consequence, the slaves were escaping. There seemed to be something so fascinating to the ignorant bondmen, that they would follow them, as if charmed by the glittering bayonet and blue uniform, which never failed to awaken a strange longing for liberty. It is not military ambition, but an inspiration, which seizes them. They are ready to fall in and keep step to the martial airs of freedom.

An illustration of the interesting peculiarity of the race came under my observation during one of the well-known raids by General Kurtz, from Suffolk, on the Weldon railroad. The First District Cavalry, a regiment I had raised, and of which further mention will be made, was divided into front and rear guard. The advance of the forces was the first appearance of Union troops among these patient "servants" of the region. To be informed that we were "Yankees," was enough, without the slightest hint of our plans or destination, to stir the most stupid toiler like a trumpet-call. The hoe was dropped, the plow and cart abandoned. Even the women, moved by the same wild impulse, deserted their cabins, and all together rushed to the rear of the army, and stepped to the music of the march for days, and sometimes for weeks. They dreaded more than death the return to their owners, or recapture by them.

When it became necessary to leave several hundred at Reams's Station, in our hurried movement backward, they lingered about instead of going forward, and their frantic agony was heart-rending.

A very cruel instance of the welcome given to a captured slave, occurs to me in this connection. One Carpenter, a notorious secessionist, was a ruffian and a terror to all Union men. To frighten the slaves, and prevent them from

running away, he tied a captured man to a tree, in a nude condition, whipped him with a board till exhausted, then set his slaves at work. When this master and fiend was rested, he returned to the beating, until death closed the scene. There was a formal arrest, but the majority of his "fellow-citizens" were in sympathy with him, and he was soon at liberty. Subsequently, however, he was arrested for treason, and confined in the Old Capitol prison.

It is a matter of history, that at this period of the National struggle for existence, the *cause* of the war was ignored by the North. Not so with the South; there, the "corner-stone" was brought forth to the world's admiring view, and the flag of treason waved proudly over it. There *was then* some excuse for England's sneer at our unbroken loyalty to the South in her defense of the aristocratic claim of superiority over all other American races.

I have never had the honor of being called a reformer, or an "*abolitionist*," but I do not deny that my sense of justice, and my sympathies, have been with the injured and oppressed, irrespective of color, or position in society. I have, therefore, during the entire period my bureau has served the loyal cause, unhesitatingly given the whole power of the department to the protection of the defenseless negro, whenever he was the victim of prejudice or passion.

In common with thousands who were brought to face the practical effect of the slave system during the war, I have seen the soul of tyranny in it, whose lust of power spared not the blood-bought Union, but longed to crack the whip over the hated "Yankee."

Necessarily "behind the scenes," I saw the *demon* disguised by the bland expression of the "chivalry," and learned that the "kind, Christian masters" were so *in spite* of the system which they sustained—they were naturally magnanimous men, or governed by genuine religious principle, modified by a wrong education to the approval of gigantic wrong.

I could fill pages with the narratives of fiendish scorn of the "nigger," while he was docile and unresisting as the lamb led to the slaughter. Nor has the *spirit* of the

peculiar institution died with the formal existence of slavery and the defeat of its sworn friends—a fact the country may realize when the retributive storm evoked by the countless mounds of starved prisoners of the loyal North, and the nameless graves of the murdered bondmen, shall again, though in a new aspect, bewilder with darkest fears our wisest statesmen.

## CHAPTER XI.

### STEALING—SMUGGLING LIQUORS INTO THE ARMY.

Horse-Stealing—Why many Officers disliked the Detective Bureau—The Spirit of War in Time of Peace—The Soldiers' Thirst for Strong Drink.

ALLUSION has been made to the effect of war in weakening the sense of honor and right; no one development of this is more striking than the small importance attached to offenses against the Government in the various forms of fraudulent speculations. It was scarcely a disgrace to spend a few days, or weeks, or months even, in the Old Capitol; indeed, this fact was sometimes the occasion of special effort by friends to secure an appointment to a former, or a new official position.

A very clear instance we cite. The man referred to was caught in the act of committing the crime. He was superintendent of a Government corral, and as such had the authority to take to the hospital any of the animals which were sick. I suspected he was speculating, and sent an assistant to test his honesty. For six nights in succession, the detective purchased a horse taken from the corral, apparently for the hospital, but to sell, while the Superintendent pocketed the money received.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, January 20, 1863. }

C. H. Snow, Superintendent of Transportation:—

SIR—Mr. A. W. J. has called on me for a certificate or letter to you, requesting that he (J.) be reinstated in his former position. After carefully reading his statement, or confession, I must respectfully decline giving such certificate. From conversation had with him (J.), since his release, I am inclined to the opinion that he would not repeat his former acts. He seems to feel his present unpleasant position keenly. It is not my *province*, however, to recommend any man to a position that he has once dishonored.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshals War Department.

Aware of the suspicion abroad, too well founded, in regard to many who have been employed as detectives, both in time of peace and war, it was my purpose to establish a character above just reproach in the National department of this service. In this, I was favored by the fact that my assistants were generally recommended to my notice by members of the Cabinet, Congressmen, or other prominent citizens. I was not, however, beyond imposition in this matter, as will appear in the communication which follows:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, January 26, 1863.

GILBERT LOWE:—

SIR—Positive and reliable information has been received at this office that on Friday evening last you entered a gambling house in this city without orders; that you engaged in the game then being played, and won fifty dollars.

Having confidence in your integrity and ability, and the recommendation brought by you from the Hon. Simeon Draper, I was induced to appoint you.

Inasmuch as you have admitted the charges to be true, no further investigations are necessary. You are therefore discharged from this Department. You will deliver your badge and pistol to Deputy Assistant Quartermaster Lawrence.

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

Although some explanation has been made of the unwillingness of military officers to have detectives come within their respective commands, the narrative of army frauds which will now be given will not only shed further light on this matter, but be a full and unpleasant disclosure of the corruption which festered under cover of a "little brief authority." And whatever may have been the honorable purpose of upright officers, the trial and conviction of an offender in any of the departments of service in the field almost never occurred. Such was the indifference, if not connivance, in respect to the petty robberies and speculations, common as the camp and march, and more so than the battle, throughout the war. Officers did feel jealous of their rights in the field, and many of them intended to mete out justice; but more were too deeply interested in dishonorable transactions to consent to a thorough investigation.

An additional consideration on this point, is the disgraceful but well-known prevalence of intemperance in the army. Many officers, whose bravery and achievements have won the admiring plaudits of the people, have dimmed and almost eclipsed with total darkness the glory of their military career by the thirst for strong drink. There is nothing a soldier, who has learned to love the intoxicating bowl, will not sacrifice for its excitement. I have seen him barter to the sutler a whole month's pay for a pint of whisky. I have seen him sell his last shirt to a comrade to obtain money with which to buy a single glass.

Could the people have seen what I have known, that important battles have been lost to the Union cause, and ranks of heroic men slain, through the maddening or stupefying effect of liquors, they would cease to wonder that defeat not unfrequently saddened their hearts, when victory was confidently and justly anticipated. On fields covered with our slain, might have been thrown out the black flag of intemperance, the single sign of the useless slaughter. To mention the names of some, who were conquered by the rebels because first overcome by the demon who enslaves soul and body, would thrill and grieve every loyal heart.

Nothing in the conduct of the war pained more deeply, even to tears, our departed President, than this very practice. He once remarked, in my hearing, to the Secretary of War, of a great commander: "Of General \_\_\_\_\_, I have but a single fear. I look upon him as the best fighting officer we have in the army to-day. If he can restrain his appetite for intoxicating drinks, he is bound to succeed." We could fill pages upon this melancholy topic.

To no member of the Cabinet was this condition of things better known and understood than to the Secretary of War; and no single subject in his department received more careful thought, to reach the evil, and the adoption of some plan to prevent the shipment of the fire-water to the army.

In his official orders, the severest penalties were imposed on their violation. Notwithstanding, the great demand for liquors in the army, and their high prices, were a powerful inducement for the traffic.

The position of sutler or purveyor at headquarters is

one of peculiar influence with the officers. He caters to their appetites, and supplies all their wants; placing them under obligations which they do not refuse to recognize.

It will, therefore, be readily understood, that any endeavor to interfere with the itinerant saloon or bar of the sutler would awaken the hostility of every drinking officer in the army. I made the attempt, however, to suppress the enormous traffic, by seizing all liquors not conveyed in accordance with orders. I was not disappointed, consequently, in receiving the following protest, in which, as in all the army communications, the phrases "private property" and "private stores," that are used, mean simply whisky, or other liquors. Let this be distinctly borne in mind when perusing the indignant effusions of the injured parties.

HEADQUARTERS 3D BRIGADE, 2D DIVISION, 3D CORPS, }  
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., January 3, 1863. }

**COLONEL**—On the 28th ultimo, some cases containing liquors and wines for my private use, marked to the address of Brigadier-General Revere, and in charge of our private steward, furnished with your pass, were taken from him, at the office of the Government steamer, foot of Seventh Street, Washington, seized and "confiscated," by one Captain Robinson, or his subordinates. As said steward was bringing these stores to us, in violation of no order, that I am aware of, attempting no concealment or disguise, I certainly look upon it as an outrage, and an invasion of my rights as a general officer.

I respectfully request that said steward may be furnished with such a pass as will enable him to recover said property, and that he may not meet with the same difficulty again.

Excuse me for troubling you with private grievances, but I know of no other method of removing them than an appeal to the Major-General commanding.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

G. MOTT,

Brigadier-General, U. S. V.

To Lieutenant-Colonel DICKINSON, Assistant Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,

CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., January 19, 1863.

Official: LEWIS RICHMOND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS EXCELSIOR BRIGADE, 2D DIVISION, 3D CORPS, }  
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, VA., January 1, 1863. }

**COLONEL**—On the 28th ultimo, some cases, containing liquors and wines for my private use, marked with my official address to this camp, and in charge of my private steward, who was furnished with your pass, were prob-

ably taken from him at the office of the Government steamer, foot of Seventh Street, Washington, seized and "confiscated" by one Captain Robinson, or his subordinates. As my steward was bringing these stores to me, together with others, in violation of no general (or other) order, that I am aware of, without concealment or disguise, I can not help looking upon it as a high-handed outrage and unwarrantable invasion of my rights, and, in fact, a theft of my property.

I have also respectfully to say, that it has been reported to me that the employees of the transportation service are in the habit of charging fees and taking bribes from officers who have goods and stores to bring down with them; and this evil is so great that it is almost impossible to carry stores to this army, even in charge of a commissioned officer, without submitting to their extortions.

I would respectfully request that my steward may be furnished with such a pass and order from the proper authority, that I may be enabled to receive my property, and that the person who took it may be punished.

I regret, Colonel, to be obliged to trouble you with private grievances, but in this case there seems to be no other mode of obtaining redress, save in a respectful appeal to the Major-General commanding, who I doubt not will grant it, and also resent an indignity offered to a general officer of his command.

I am, Colonel, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

W. H. REVERE,

Brigadier-General Commanding.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, January 19, 1863.

Official: LEWIS RICHMOND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS FIRST CAVALRY MASSACHUSETTS VOL., }  
FIRST CAVALRY BRIGADE, C. G. D., A. O. P., }  
POTOMAC CREEK, January 11, 1863. }

Colonel LEWIS RICHMOND, Assistant Adjutant-General,

Headquarters Army U. S.:—

COLONEL.—It is stated that, by a general order, provost-marshals are empowered to examine the private luggage of officers and remove certain articles.

It is certain that many packages addressed to officers do not reach their owners, and others bear evidence of the roughest hands.

I have the honor to ask the favor of an official copy of this order, if it exists; and I would also beg permission to inquire if any channel of transmission, safe from this unscrupulous scrutiny, would be permitted, upon any certificate of character, to a commissioned officer intrusted with the command of a cavalry regiment.

I have the honor to be,

very respectfully, Colonel,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

HORACE BINNEY SARGENT,

Colonel First Cavalry, Mass. Vol.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, Va., January 19, 1863.

Official: LEWIS RICHMOND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE,  
SIXTH STREET WHARF,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 14, 1863. }

Colonel D. H. RUCKER, Quartermaster, U. S. A.:—

COLONEL—I have received and read the communications relative to the seizures of liquors from Brigadier-General M. R. Patrick, Provost-Marshal Army of the Potomac, and, in answer, can only say, that no liquors have ever been seized by me, or by my order, at any time since I have been in charge of transportation at this wharf.

The seizures, if any, have been made by the "Provost-Marshal's Detective force," under Colonel L. C. Baker, and over whom I have no control.

As to the charge, "that employees of the transportation service are in the habit of charging fees," &c., I know of but one instance which has any relation to the subject, and this was, that one of my laborers asked an officer to pay him for carrying his trunk from the carriage to the boat, and as soon as it reached my ears I immediately discharged him, and have notified all the remaining employees that they will be similarly disposed of if it again occurs.

I have refused to give transportation for *liquors*, according to your instructions.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) J. M. ROBINSON,  
Captain and Assistant Quartermaster.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
CAMP NEAR FALMOUTH, January 19, 1863.

Official: LEWIS RICHMOND, Assistant Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC, }  
January 19, 1863. }

Brigadier-General L. THOMAS, Adjutant-General U. S. Army,  
Washington, D. C.:—

GENERAL—By direction of the Commanding General, I have the honor to forward for your information copies of a correspondence in relation to the seizures of officers' private stores, and to respectfully request that these headquarters be furnished with a copy of the order under which these seizures are made.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
LEWIS RICHMOND,  
Assistant Adjutant-General.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
OFFICE OF THE PROVOST-MARSHAL-GENERAL, }  
January 23, 1863. }

SIR—On the 16th instant, I forwarded, through the headquarters Army of the Potomac, certain papers relating to seizures of property belonging to officers of this army, *en route* from Washington.

It is believed to have been taken by persons claiming to have authority from the War Department; but, from information received through Major

Haller, Seventh U. S. Infantry, attached to these headquarters, it appears probable that the seizures were made without any proper authority whatever.

As there is a great deal of ill feeling throughout this army, in consequence of the confiscation of officers' property, I respectfully urge upon the Department an investigation of the whole matter of seizures at the wharf in Washington, and on the boats by detectives.

On the 19th instant, some two or three of these detectives were arrested, to be held until some action is had in these cases. An attempt was made by these persons to exercise authority at the landings occupied by this army, where officers of my own department have charge, and who have instructions to allow no such persons to land or exercise any authority whatever, at any place within the lines of this army.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

M. R. PATRICK,  
Provost-Marshal-General.

Lieutenant-Colonel MCKEEVER, Assistant Adjutant-General.

The above communications, having been forwarded to the War Department in the form of complaints and charges against my bureau, were referred to me for a reply.

It may be proper to add, that General Patrick took occasion in some of his communications to attack my private character, the object of which I shall endeavor to show in the progress of these annals. The answer to the attacks upon my service here in question follows:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, January 28, 1863. }

Brigadier-General M. C. MEIGS, Quartermaster-General U. S. A.:—

SIR.—The communication addressed to Colonel Rufus Ingalls, Chief Quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, by Captain F. E. Hall, quartermaster at Aquia Creek, referring to the arrest of Captain Hall's agents by my order, and the reference made thereon by Colonel Ingalls to the Quartermaster-General, and by the Quartermaster-General referred to me, is received.

In reply, I beg leave respectfully to submit the following statement:—

About the first of December last, complaints and charges were brought to this office by numerous persons, that large sums of money were being paid by sutlers to certain officials at Aquia Creek for ferrying such sutlers, with their goods, across the Potomac, from Liverpool Point to Aquia Creek, on Government transports.

So notorious and universal had this practice become, that I deemed an investigation necessary, in order to determine by whose authority these things were being done. When my investigations proceeded sufficiently far to prove, beyond a possibility of doubt, that certain persons then in the employ of Quartermaster Hall had been guilty, for weeks and months, of receiving from these sutlers various sums of money, of which no return or account had been made to any one, I applied to the Secretary of War as to what course

it was best to pursue; under the circumstances, he directed me to make a thorough and impartial investigation into the matter at once.

In pursuance with these instructions, I applied to Captain C. B. Fergerson, who furnished me the steam-tug *Sawtell*. I immediately dispatched on board this tug four of my detectives, with written instructions to bring to this city the following-named persons, who I was positive could give the desired information concerning the transportation of sutlers, &c., Messrs. B., M., E., and C., the latter being harbor-master at Aquia Creek; all but E. were found at the Creek, and were put on board the tug and brought to Washington.

The detectives learning that E. was at Mill Point, one of them (Mr. William Speer) went to that place, and, on the following morning, found him (E.), and returned to the Creek, intending to take the morning boat for this city; but, on going on board with E., the provost-marshall at Aquia Creek arrested both the detective and E., and put them on board the prison-ship in the harbor.

E. is still there, Mr. Speer was released by order of the Secretary of War on the 25th instant.

On the arrival of M., C., and B., at my office, I immediately examined them, as to what they knew concerning sutlers crossing the Potomac; their statements were taken in writing, and were in my opinion important, particularly that of C., in which he admitted, under oath, of having received large sums of money from sutlers and others as *bribes*, while acting as harbor-master, under Captain Hall's orders.

On submitting these sworn statements to the Secretary of War, he committed C. to the Old Capitol prison.

Colonel Ingalls, in referring Captain Hall's communication to you, states that he certainly feels competent and willing to detect and punish all employees for any neglect of duty or abuse of regulations. We had the machinery of military government perfect here, and I claim that the persons should be tried here. If any one had discovered collusion between quartermasters' agents and sutlers, he should have reported the matter to Captain Hall, the assistant quartermaster, or to Captain Forsyth, the provost-marshall, or to me.

In reply to the above remarks of Colonel Ingalls, claiming that he is competent and willing to ferret out and punish the class of persons referred to, I would respectfully state, that the most glaring and outrageous practices have been resorted to by persons employed in the quartermaster's department connected with the Army of the Potomac, in receiving bribes from sutlers and others, granting permits to sell goods at Aquia Creek, allowing seized or stolen property to pass to this city on Government transports, allowing, and even granting, permits to persons (not sutlers) to bring to Aquia Creek large quantities of merchandise, to be hawked and sold to soldiers and persons in the employ of the Government.

These facts, no doubt, never came directly to the notice of the Chief Quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac, or I am satisfied this evil would have been remedied at once.

From the laborious and incessant duties devolving upon Colonel Ingalls, I am convinced that he could not give the matter the personal attention that it demands, hence I must conclude that Colonel Ingalls overestimates his ability in this particular branch of business, viz., *catching rogues*.

I will further state, that in arresting and bringing to justice persons engaged in defrauding the Government, as well as discharging my various other duties, I would appreciate and most gladly receive the co-operation of the military authorities.

The peculiar nature of my duties often makes it impracticable to make known to the employees, subordinate officers, and soldiers of the army, my real business and intentions, particularly when I am making investigations concerning these very officers, soldiers, and employees.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL, WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, February 8, 1868. }

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—In compliance with your order of the 5th instant, directing me to furnish reports in relation to seizure of liquors, alleged to be the private property of officers attached to the Army of the Potomac, I beg leave to submit the following:

Accompanying the order from the War Department directing me to report, &c., are eight communications, written by officers, who represent that the detectives attached to and acting under the orders of the Provost-Marshal of the War Department have, without authority, seized, stolen, and confiscated the private property of officers attached to the Army of the Potomac.

In the prosecution of my various duties, I have repeatedly called the attention of the proper authorities to the large amount of liquors and other contraband property being transported on Government transports.

Immediately after the steamers *Nelly Baker* and *Wilson Small* were chartered by the Government to run between this city and Aquia Creek, I received instructions from Colonel D. F. Rucker to place on board these boats detective officers, for the purpose of preventing the passage to the Army of the Potomac of all liquors not being transported in accordance with the rules and regulations of the quartermaster's department. I next applied to the Quartermaster-General for information as to what passes or orders for transportation of liquors were to be respected. He (the Q. M. G.) informed me that no permits to carry liquor were granted by his authority.

Subsequently, however, orders were given by the military governor and Major-General Heintzelman, to recognize the orders of all commissioned officers of the Army of the Potomac.

About this time, Colonel Rucker instructed Captain Robinson, assistant quartermaster, at Sixth Street wharf, to give transportation on the orders of these commanding officers. In consequence of the issuing of these orders, I deemed it advisable to take the detectives from the Government transports

and wharf, for the reason that it was impossible, under these orders, to prevent the indiscriminate and wholesale shipment of liquors. Immediately on the withdrawal of the detectives from the transports and wharf, I addressed a communication to the Quartermaster-General, briefly stating the difficulty under which I labored, and asking that my letter be referred to the Secretary of War. To this communication I received the following reply:—

QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, December 26, 1862. }

Respectfully referred to the Secretary of War.

I am of the opinion that the detectives detect and prevent much abuse which officers would not be able to control.

The followers of an army are ingenious, enterprising, often unscrupulous, and it requires police officers of much experience to detect attempts to smuggle improper articles and persons within the lines.

(Signed)

M. C. MEIGS, Quartermaster-General.

QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, January 12, 1863. }

Colonel L. C. BAKER, Provost-Marshal War Department:—

COLONEL—Your letter of 5th of January is received. Your letter of 22d December was referred to the War Department, with the above indorsement.

I shall regret the removal of the detectives from the Government transports between this city and Aquia Creek, for I believe that they can much more effectually put a stop to contraband trade than any inspection which it is possible for the overburdened officers of the assistant quartermaster's department to enforce. The detective policemen, however, are not subject to the orders of the quartermaster's department, nor does the quartermaster's department decide what may or may not be carried as legitimate or contraband.

This is decided by the regulations concerning trade with the disloyal territory, issued by the Secretary of the Treasury, by the general and special orders of the War Department, and of the commanders of troops and of districts or departments, and by the laws and regulations governing the sutlers' trade.

Wines and liquors, private stores for officers, are much desired by the officers, and instructions have been given to the Chief Quartermaster at this post to permit such private stores, really the property of the officers of the Army of the Potomac, to go down upon the transports, upon proper passes from the provost-marshal, or other sufficient authority.

If your detectives are withdrawn, I fear that the passage of improper persons to Aquia Creek, which was so great an evil last spring, will be again resumed, and I advise, therefore, that you apply to the officer of the War Department, under whose directions you act, for instructions.

I sent a copy of this letter to the War Department, with your letter of the 5th of January, in order to make my views known to the authorities.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

M. C. MEIGS, Quartermaster-General

In compliance with the recommendation of the Quartermaster-General, the Secretary of War directed me to put detectives on board all Government transports plying between this city and Aquia Creek; also, to continue the services of the detectives stationed at Sixth Street wharf.

I detailed the detectives, as ordered. The following is a copy of the written instructions from me:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, January 17, 1863.

To J. J. CAMP.—

SIR—On receipt of this, you will go on board the Government transport *Zephyr*, running between this city and Aquia Creek, for the purpose of preventing the passage to and from of all persons not furnished with proper passes and transportation. You will also thoroughly inform yourself as to what passes and orders are to be respected on board your boat.

In the exercise of your duties, you will observe the strictest decorum and politeness toward all officers and citizens with whom you may be brought in contact. You will report to this office daily.

By order of the Secretary of War:

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

These detectives were only allowed to discharge their duties for a few days, when they were arrested, by order of General Patrick, and placed on board the prison-ship at Aquia Creek.

In order to show that my detectives were authorized by the Quartermaster-General to inspect what officers call their private stores, I submit the copy of a letter forwarded to me by Colonel D. H. Rucker:—

QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, December 20, 1862.

Colonel D. H. RUCKER, Chief Quartermaster and A. D. C.:—

COLONEL—This department, at your request, repeats in writing an authority heretofore verbally given to you, to allow transportation upon the public transports between this place and Aquia Creek for proper private stores, the property of officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, so far as it can be done without interfering with the public service and delaying the supplies of the army.

All such supplies should be open to the inspection of the agent of the provost-marshal, to prevent improper or contraband articles going forward without your knowledge.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

M. C. MEIGS, Quartermaster-General.

In reply to the communication of Captain A. G. Morrison, assistant quartermaster, addressed to General Patrick, concerning the seizure of his hand-trunk, I beg leave to report, that I was on Sixth Street wharf on the morning of December 28th, and took from a Mr. Wheeler (mail agent) a small, new hand-trunk containing twenty-four bottles of whisky. Said trunk was not marked or addressed to any one. Wheeler did not inform me that it belonged to an officer attached to General Burnside's staff. There was neither a pass or transportation for said trunk; neither has there ever been an application made to me for said trunk or whisky, both of which are now stored in the Government warehouse, on F Street, under the superintendence of Captain E. L. Hartz, assistant quartermaster.

The following is from my report in answer to the communication addressed to Colonel D. H. Rucker, by Brigadier-General G. Mott, concerning the seizure of private stores or supplies alleged to have been seized by order of Captain Robinson, at Sixth Street wharf:—

"In order to enable the detective, whose duty it was to examine the contents of the package going on board the transports, I requested Captain Robinson, who had charge of the wharf, to post up notices requiring officers and others to bring their freight to the wharf one day previous to the sailing of the steamers, in order that said freight might be examined. This suggestion was made to prevent confusion on the wharf on the morning of the sailing of the steamers.

"On the morning of the 28th of December, some ten or fifteen minutes before the steamer left the wharf, a person not dressed in uniform applied with a pass (for himself only), stating that he wished to take those boxes down, at the same time pointing them out. I asked him to show his pass and transportation for the boxes. He replied that he would do so; that his friend had them, and that he would get them. The boat left the wharf in a few moments, and I have never seen the person since. I am satisfied that it was an attempt to smuggle the liquors on board the boat, and accordingly ordered them sent to the warehouse.

"It is proper to remark that there was no address or direction on these boxes, which were all filled with liquors, except one which was marked to General Mott's headquarters.

"In answer to the charge made by Brigadier-General Reeve, concerning the seizure of some cases of liquors, which he alleges were being forwarded to his address, I can only say that no passes or transportation, as required by the orders of the military governor of this District, or Colonel Rucker, who alone was authorized to give transportation, was ever presented to me or my detect-

ives, so far as I have any knowledge of the matter. I am informed, however, by Detective Lee and Captain Robinson's clerk, that some boxes or cases, marked as General Reeve states, were brought to the wharf by some person to them unknown, and desired to have said boxes forwarded; but as no transportation for the liquors had been obtained, the detective, of course, refused to allow them to go on board. The person who brought these boxes to the wharf did not call for them, and on the following day they were sent to the Government warehouse, no application having been made to me for them.

"The above are all the cases referred to in the communications forwarded to me on the 5th instant. The liquors or goods seized by detectives acting under my orders are turned over to Captain E. L. Hartz, assistant quartermaster, whose receipts for the same are now on file in my office."

The unjust and unkind charges preferred against me, by General Patrick and Colonel Ingalls, compelled me, from regard to personal honor and self-respect, to add the following, to the Secretary of War:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, March 2, 1863. }

Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—Feeling that I cannot longer, in justice to myself and friends, rest quietly under the serious charges made against me by Brigadier-General Patrick, Provost-Marshal-General of the Army of the Potomac, I beg leave respectfully to submit the following:—

In my communication to the Secretary of War of the 8th ultimo, I did not seek to vindicate my personal character against the charges made by General Patrick and other officers of the Army of the Potomac, but simply endeavored to explain where certain property had been seized, why seized, and the disposition made of it.

It cannot be possible that General Patrick could place so low an estimate upon the intelligence and business sagacity of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of War as to think, for one moment, that, with a knowledge of the fact, they would employ, or even tolerate, an officer whose character and antecedents are what General Patrick represents mine to be. In looking for a cause or reason why these unfounded charges have been made against me, I am compelled to believe that they were instigated and represented as true to high officers in the army, by others who feared exposure of certain delinquencies, thefts, and frauds, practiced by men wearing the uniform, and calling themselves officers of the United States army.

In an official communication, written by General Patrick to the Secretary of War, he (General Patrick) asserts most positively that he has made a thorough investigation concerning the seizure of certain private property belonging to officers of the Army of the Potomac, and could not trace said property beyond the detectives who seized it. I beg leave to state—

First—That General Patrick, neither verbally nor in writing, has at any time made application to me for the return of any property whatever, seized

by my order; and that, if he had done so, all proper information would have been afforded him.

Second—I am not informed that General Patrick has, either verbally or in writing, ever applied for or made application to any proper officer, or made any investigations whatever, concerning the losses of what he terms the private property of officers, other than such inquiries as he might have made from the officers themselves.

It would be but an act of justice to me to require General Patrick to state officially who made the investigations referred to, and to what department or office application was made for information, so far as it has a bearing upon my official conduct, in order to determine whether his statements are justifiable on the evidence before him.

I informed General Patrick, myself, while he was acting provost-marshal at Fredericksburg (I think in August last), that I was acting under the direct orders of the Secretary of War, and exhibited to him my authority.

If, in General Patrick's opinion, I was guilty, as is alleged by him, of stealing private property, his duty was to have reported the facts to the Secretary of War forthwith. This was not done until some time after his alleged investigation concerning the seizure of property by my detectives, and after my investigations into the frauds at Aquia had begun.

As Provost-Marshal-General of the Army of the Potomac, General Patrick is at the head of the police department of the army, and many of his inspectors and other staff officers are detective police officers under another name, and there certainly never was a wider field for the display of detective ability than that of his operations.

Not having succeeded in preventing the wholesale plunder and pillage of private houses, of the poor, defenseless, and panic-stricken inhabitants of Fredericksburg, he ought not to harass or embarrass me in the performance of the duty assigned to me by the order of the Secretary of War.

Immediately after the battle of Fredericksburg, information was received at this office that a large quantity of pillaged or stolen property was being sent forward by officers and soldiers of the Army of the Potomac, to their families and friends residing in the North. Acting upon this information, I detailed two detective officers to remain at the express offices, for the purpose of intercepting this plunder. It is shown, by my monthly property return to the Quartermaster-General, that no household family property or relic was exempt or safe from the sacrilegious hands of these ruthless army thieves. Ladies' wearing apparel, such as silk dresses, velvet cloaks, toilet articles, silver and china-ware, surgical and dental instruments, sheets, pillow-cases, bed-spreads, damask window-curtains (torn from their fastenings), portions of the library of the Young Men's Christian Association, ladies' bonnets, medical and literary works of great value, knives and forks, silver spoons with the initials of the owners marked on them, a large bronze horse, weighing nearly two hundred pounds, and a great variety of other property pillaged or stolen from Fredericksburg.

General Patrick and Colonel Ingalls assert and maintain they have the machinery of military law in complete working order in the Army of

the Potomac, and that they are fully competent to arrest and punish all offenders.

It is due alike to their own honor and that of the Government, whose commissions they hold, that they should explain why it is that pillage and robbery so extensive have been permitted by them, and what honorable or justifiable motive has led them to interpose all manner of obstacles to my ferreting out and exposing that and other villanies.

During the past six months, I have repeatedly called the attention of the Quartermaster-General, in official communications, to the fact that the most gross and outrageous frauds are being perpetrated by the employees of the quartermaster's department at Aquia Creek. So public and notorious had these facts become, that I determined, if possible, to break it up. I accordingly sent an able, honest, and faithful officer, William Speer, to Aquia Creek, with instructions to bring to this city a number of witnesses, who, as I had been reliably informed, would give important information.

The officer found two of the witnesses, and forwarded them to this city; and went after another, a Mr. Evans. While the officer was about going on board the steamer for this city, accompanied by Mr. Evans, they were both arrested by order of General Patrick, treated with great indignity, and sent on board the prison-ship lying in the harbor, and confined below decks. Mr. Speer remained on board five days, when he was released by order of the Secretary of War. Mr. Evans remained over a month, and was released, as I am informed, by order of General Patrick.

It seems impossible to conceive this act to be any thing else than a pre-meditated and deliberate attempt to stifle an investigation already begun by me, which was likely to result in the detection of fraudulent practices, and the disgrace of high officers of the Army of the Potomac.

At Aquia Creek, on the day previous to the arrest of William Speer, Mr. J. J. Camp—another of my detectives, detailed by order of the Secretary of War to make daily trips from this city to Aquia Creek, on board the Government transport—was arrested by order of General Patrick, placed on board the prison-ship, with the officer first mentioned. On the day after the arrest of Mr. Camp, Thomas C. Speers was arrested while in the discharge of his duties at Aquia Creek. He also was placed on the prison-ship, where he remained five days, confined in the hold, and not allowed even the necessities of life.

From the fact that these detectives, acting under my orders, had, owing to certain investigations which they were then making, incurred the displeasure of certain officers connected with the Army of the Potomac and quartermaster department at Aquia Creek, and in consequence of an anticipated exposure of the frauds and peculations, my detectives were arrested, thrown into a loathsome den, with negroes and rebels, by the order of General Patrick. If such treatment would not stifle and put an end to investigation into frauds, nothing short of taking our lives could do so.

Whatever odium or discredit may have been cast upon me, my officers, or my position, by General Patrick in his official communications, those who have known me through life, I am confident, will bear me out in asserting,

that I am unstained by crime, and neither in morality nor honor, nor in any thing save military rank, inferior to General Patrick.

In closing this communication, I must respectfully, but earnestly, require that Brigadier-General Patrick and Colonel Ingalls be called upon officially by the Secretary of War to furnish proofs of the various charges made against myself and officers acting under my orders, or to retract those charges, and thus relieve me from accusations as cruel as they are unfounded.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

It is hardly necessary to add, that such impeachment was not attempted ; but the matter was very quietly dropped by those who began the attack upon my own official character, and that of my assistants.

The alarming increase of intemperance, the stupendous frauds and bank robberies of late, never so bold and startling in this country as since the rebellion, are a legitimate outgrowth in time of peace of those loose principles and practices which, during the conflict, were common in the highest places of power and responsibility ; and were to a great extent, as already intimated, the natural effects of the demoralizing influences of war.

## CHAPTER XII.

### CARDS—TREASURES—FEMALE SPY.

Colonel Stuart's Contraband Trade—Corrupt Literature and Art—Captured Treasure  
—Miss A. F.—Cavalry Stuart's Commission—The Arrest and Imprisonment.

WE have seen that whisky was a great staple in our army, and it was no less so in the rebel field. Next to it, playing-cards were in demand, and afforded to the importers from the North large profit, and were consequently an article of extensive blockade-running transportation. The demoralizing effect of gaming will appear in another connection.

The case of Colonel Stuart, reported here, will afford an interesting view of this traffic, and present some new aspects of disloyalty in official quarters. The rebel trader, when taken to my office, sang a secession song in defiance of the Government and its officers.

*February 16, 1863.*

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—On the 18th instant, two of my detectives arrested a Colonel W. A. S., on the Little River Turnpike, between Alexandria and Fairfax Court-House, on his way to Warrenton, having in his possession four large trunks, containing four thousand packs of playing-cards; one box, containing tea, sugar, coffee, boots and shoes, dress goods, &c.

It appears that Colonel S. came to Alexandria about one week since, and, with the postmaster at Alexandria, went to New York, purchased the goods, returned on Friday last, and applied to Colonel Tate, provost-marshal, for a pass to take his goods to his house. Colonel Tate made the examination, and gave S. the necessary passes, certifying that the articles were not contraband, and permitting them to pass. In S.'s pockets were found a large number of letters addressed to persons in Charlottesville, Culpepper, Richmond, and various other points in the Confederate States. From these letters it appears that S. has recently come from Richmond, for the purpose of purchasing these identical goods. Colonel Tate could not certainly have given this pass innocently, as he examined the goods in person. So large an amount of playing-cards purchased, and being transported at one time through our lines, would be, in my opinion, a very suspicious circumstance.

Colonel S. informed the detectives that, had he succeeded in getting through the lines with his contraband articles, he could have made five thousand dollars easily by the operation.

In view of certain facts recently brought to my notice, concerning the transportation of large quantities of contraband goods from Alexandria through our lines, I am satisfied that there is collusion in this matter between the military authorities and the blockade-runners, and would respectfully ask that some stringent order be issued to put a stop to this illegal traffic.

Colonel S. is in the Old Capitol prison, and his goods are in my possession.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Provost-Marshal War Department.

I shall introduce here statements made at this date, in defense of the Detective Bureau against unjust suspicions of dishonesty, arising from the very secrecy and consequent mystery of its movements. Because publicity was not and could not be given to all its operations, there were many persons who were sure that darkness was preferred to light, because its deeds were evil. Especially was this true respecting the disposal of captured money and other valuable property, in regard to which it was more than hinted that these had strangely disappeared. Without selecting a rare and solitary case, I shall present one of many reports on such reprisals, which will vindicate the fidelity of the bureau to its trust.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, March 4, 1863. }

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—I have the honor to submit the following report of facts and proceedings relative to the arrest and detention of the following-named persons, charged with being blockade-runners, viz.: Solomon Adler, Jacoma Bacigutpe, Reuben Simon, Joel Mann, August J. Erickson, A. J. M. Tiller, M. Witholtz, Ange Apere, Jaroma Cuttabona, Charles Maureback, Leon. Bersey, M. Wolfe. All of these persons were arrested near Leesburg, Va., on the 18th, 19th, and 20th days of February, 1863, by Officers Sherman, Trail, and J. L. Baker. The property found on the persons and in the possession of these men consisted of the following items, viz.:—

Southern bank notes.....	\$8,688 90
United States Treasury notes .....	460 00
Maryland and Eastern bank notes.....	183 00
Confederate notes.....	4,586 00
Gold .....	4,859 50
Silver.....	211 65
	<hr/>
	\$18,989 05

Three gold watches, a small package, containing silk handkerchiefs, knives, spool cotton, &c.

Passes, issued by the Confederate authorities at Richmond, were found in the possession of each of the prisoners above named, and, in addition to this conclusive evidence of guilt, I may add that several of these parties are known to the military authorities at Berlin as active and successful participants in the business of smuggling goods and property through our lines. From the character of the arrested parties, and the peculiar nature of the property, &c., found in their possession, I would not entertain a doubt as to the fact of their being engaged in an unlawful and treasonable attempt to smuggle property and goods through our lines.

I have, therefore, ordered the goods and property above described to be detained, subject to the order of the Secretary of War, and have placed the parties arrested in confinement in the Old Capitol prison.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

Fairfax Court-House was for two years within our lines, and occupied as an outpost by our army. Here liyed a citizen by the name of F., with whom boarded several of the staff officers. His daughter, Miss F., was a young and decidedly good-looking woman, with pleasing, insinuating manners. She discoursed fluently, and with enthusiasm, of the Union cause, impressing her admiring guests with her loyalty and intelligence. Meanwhile, she carried her commission as a rebel spy. This document, in its original form, was found through the confidence reposed by Miss F. in a female subordinate in my bureau, who played the part of a Southern lady going to her friends. Miss F. opened her heart to the young adventurer, and also her bed, in which, between the mattress and its nether companion, was concealed the prized and useful paper. It was found there when the fair spy was arrested by my order.

The public have not forgotten the capture of General Stoughton and staff, at Fairfax Court-House, by Moseby, which drew from Mr. Lincoln the remark, when he was told that a hundred horses were captured with the officer: "Well, I am sorry for that—for I can make brigadier-generals, but can't make horses."

It turned out that Miss F. was accustomed to go out at night and meet Moseby, the famous guerrilla, and impart whatever information might be of service to the enemy.

Indeed, one day she was invited by a staff officer to take a horseback ride into the country, and met Moseby, whom she introduced to her escort under an assumed name, and passed along, with loyal words upon her traitorous lips.

The story of her career, until safely lodged in the Old Capitol, is related in my report to the Secretary of War.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, March 17, 1863. }

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the arrest of Miss F., on the charge that, while holding a commission in the Confederate army, and performing active service under such commission as an aid-de-camp to Brigadier-General J. E. B. Stuart, now commanding a brigade in said army, the said Miss F. came within the Union lines as a spy, for the purpose of obtaining and communicating to officers in the Confederate army information of the movements, localities, and purposes of the Union forces, and that the said Miss F. did secretly and perfidiously obtain such information and treasonably communicate the same to officers and others in the Confederate service.

In order more clearly to indicate the character and purposes of the said Miss F., and the positive commission by her of the treasonable acts with which she is charged, I am compelled to refer to certain military events of recent occurrence at and in the vicinity of Fairfax Court-House, Va. On the night of the 10th instant, the pickets and outposts of the United States forces stationed at Fairfax Court-House were disgracefully surprised and captured by an attacking party of Confederate cavalry, under command of Captain Moseby; following up this success, the rebel force penetrated our lines, surprised and captured the commanding officer, Colonel Stoughton, in his quarters, and succeeded in carrying away with them a large amount of valuable Government property, including over one hundred horses. The time, circumstances, and mode of this attack and surprise, the positive and accurate knowledge in possession of the rebel leader, of the numbers and position of our forces, of the exact localities of officers' quarters, and depots of Government property, all pointed unmistakably to the existence of traitors and spies within our lines, and their recent communication with Confederate officers.

Acting upon this conclusion, I ordered a female detective belonging to this office, in whose discretion and abilities I had great confidence, to proceed at once to Fairfax Court-House, and, under color of attachment to the secession cause, place herself in contact with and obtain the confidence of the person suspected.

In compliance with such order, the detective mentioned visited Fairfax Court-House, and in the assumed character of a friend and agent of the Confederates, asking advice and assistance in efforts to reach Warrenton and find a refuge within the Confederate lines, met with a warm reception, and

was rewarded for her pretended devotion to secession by confidential disclosures not less valuable than interesting.

The person visited by my detective, and to whom suspicion had already pointed as an active and unscrupulous Confederate agent, was Miss F. In the exercise of a credulous simplicity and sympathy scarcely to be expected from a staff officer of the rebel army, Miss F. displayed to the anxious gaze of the detective a military commission, of which the following is a copy:—

TO ALL WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—

KNOW YE: That reposing special confidence in the patriotism, fidelity, and ability of Miss F., I, James E. B. Stuart, by virtue of the power vested in me, as brigadier-general in the Provisional Army of the Confederate States of America, do hereby appoint and commission her my honorary aid-de-camp, to rank as such from this date.

She will be obeyed, respected, and admired by all the lovers of a noble nature.

Given under my hand and seal, at the headquarters Cavalry Brigade, at Camp Beverly, the seventh day of October, A. D. 1861, and the first year of our independence.

(Signed)

J. E. B. STUART. [SEAL.]

By the General: L. TIEMAN, Assistant Adjutant-General.

This document, undoubtedly authentic, and bearing the genuine signature and private seal of General J. E. B. Stuart, is in my possession, and is of itself strong evidence of the appreciation in which Miss F.'s treasonable services, as a spy and informer, were held by her rebel employers. The proof of Miss F.'s former employment in the rebel service may be considered indisputable; that of her more recent services, and especially in connection with the late attack upon our outposts at Fairfax Court-House, is not less conclusive: that proof consists in the voluntary acknowledgment and declaration by Miss F. that she made herself acquainted, while a resident within our lines at Fairfax Court-House, of all the particulars relating to the number of our forces there and in the neighborhood, the location of our camps, the places where officers' quarters were established, the precise points where our pickets were stationed, the strength of the outposts, the names of officers in command, the nature of general orders, and all other information valuable to the rebel leaders; that such information had been communicated by her to Captain Moseby, of the Confederate army, immediately before the attack on our outposts before mentioned; and that it was in consequence of the precision and correctness of such information that Captain Moseby had been enabled successfully to attack and surprise the pickets and outposts of our forces, to find without delay or difficulty the quarters of Colonel Stoughton and other United States officers, to capture that officer and a large amount of Government property, and effect a safe return within the Confederate lines.

Miss F. also stated to my informant that Captain Moseby had, but a short time before the rebel raid at Fairfax, visited and been a guest at her (Miss F.'s) house at that place; that he had remained there three days and three

nights, disguised in citizen's dress, and that during such visit she had given to him (Moseby) all the information and details which afterward enabled him successfully to attack our force.

Miss F. also stated, that on an occasion while she was taking a ride on horseback, accompanied by a member of Colonel Stoughton's staff, they were met by Captain Moseby, also on horseback, but in citizen's dress, and that she (Miss F.) and Captain Moseby recognized and saluted each other.

The suspicions which had heretofore attached to Miss F. being fully confirmed by her voluntary statements, she was forthwith arrested by Officer Odell, of my force, and conveyed to this city. Upon the person and in the possession of Miss F. were found a number of private letters from officers and others in the rebel service, eighty-seven dollars in Southern bank-bills and Confederate notes, and Miss F.'s commission as aid-de-camp to General Stuart. Officer Odell also discovered and seized at the same time, at the residence of Miss F. at Fairfax Court-House, a large quantity of Southern and Confederate money and evidences of debt, amounting in the whole to the sum of five thousand seven hundred and sixty-five dollars. The property so seized I hold in my possession, subject to the order of the Secretary of War.

I have ordered Miss F. to be placed in confinement in the Old Capitol prison.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE BUREAU IN CANADA—IN THE ARMY.

Tricks of False Correspondence—Mr. Delisle and the “Secret Secession Legation”—Disreputable Women in the Army—Collision with Major-General ——— on their Account.

THE operations of the bureau were embarrassed unavoidably by the transmission of false intelligence through unreliable persons for mercenary ends, of the gravest importance to this or some other department of the Government. Bogus correspondence was sometimes thrown into my hands to mislead me, and secure to the writers some personal advantages.

For illustration: Early in 1863, a man, who signed himself “C. M. Delisle,” wrote to the State Department, expressing an earnest desire to forward important information, dating from Prescott, Canada East, but post-marked at Ogdensburg, New York. Delisle claimed to be the agent of the “Secret Secession Legation, Canada,” through whose hands passed all the correspondence between the province and Richmond. The letter below is from this gentleman:—

OGDENSBURG, May 4, 1863.

To the Honorable W. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State, Washington:—

SIR—Certain facts having of late come to my knowledge, of the existence of a secret Southern society, the object of which is most detrimental to the Federal Government of the United States; and although a British subject, and residing in the States but for a few months, I deem it my duty to inform you of the fact. Having myself been engaged, in 1837 and '38, in quelling the Canadian rebellion, when I had the honor of holding a commission in a British troop of cavalry, besides having since held several commissions and appointments under the Canadian Government, I can understand the very great injury caused by it to a well-constituted Government as yours. However, I am one of those who are strongly in favor of the Union, and would consider it a very great misfortune if such a promising republic should ever be broken up. Being unwilling that it should be known that I have addressed you on this subject, I trust that the confidence reposed by me in you will be strictly

private and confidential; and should your Government think proper to furnish me the means of going to Washington, I shall then be most happy to substantiate my assertions by undeniable evidence. Had I had the means at my disposal, I should certainly have lost no time in seeing you personally. As to my character, it is beyond censure, and with regard to my family connections, they are of the highest standing in Canada, where I was born and brought up. As it might occur to you that this is a ruse to obtain money, I can assure you that it is not so; and I am confident that when I shall have made you acquainted with the whole of the facts connected with my information, it will put you in a position to discover and reap invaluable information for the good of your Government. I may also state that I shall have no objections in offering my services in bringing the whole thing to light, as some one would have to be employed by you on the frontiers and in Canada, every inch of which is most familiar to me.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient, &c.,

C. M. DELISLE.

Four or five letters more, of a similar character, were forwarded to me by Mr. Seward, with the indorsement that he believed much valuable information could be procured from Delisle respecting persons in connection with whom he professed to be acquainted.

Accordingly I met him, when he unfolded to me one of the grandest and most skillfully arranged plans ever devised, the great importance of which had rendered it necessary that an organization should be formed, with the sounding title already quoted, whose secretary was "Wm. Sibbald." So completely had these villains made out their programme, the single object of which was to obtain large sums of money, that it was with much difficulty that their plot was finally discovered. The letters which follow were well calculated to deceive the most vigilant servants of the Government:—

MONTRÉAL, April 27, 1863.

SIR.—The president of the "Secret Secession Legation in Canada," being desirous to appoint an agent on the border of the United States and Canada for the purpose of facilitating the conveyance of the secret mails, &c., from Richmond, Va., to Europe *via* Canada, and your name having been transmitted to him by a friend of yours in the United States, as a person in whom all confidence can be placed, for your intelligence, integrity, and forbearance, I therefore, sir, beg, at his request, to make you the following offer, for your acceptance or refusal, viz.:—

First. That you will consent to become "Secret Agent" in the United States for the above Legation.

Second. That you will endeavor, by *secret means*, to forward in packages, so made up and of such size as to avoid detection at the hands of the United States Government, all the letters, &c., delivered to you monthly by persons from Richmond, Va., and who will have been previously instructed in New York of the nature of their mission toward you.

You will also give them any information they may require to make a *silent and secret entrance* in Canada, by indicating to them the roads by which the crossing of the boundary lines can be more easily effected and with less danger.

It will also be your duty to deliver to them, on their making themselves known to you by means of countersigns, which in all cases will be given to you in time by the Legation in Canada, any letters, papers, money, &c., that will have been secretly given to you for them, either from here or from other *secret agents* serving in Canada or the United States.

Also, that you will find means to carefully conceal any documents, &c., from the vigilance of the United States Government police, till such documents, &c., are safely delivered into the hands of the "emissary" it may please our worthy *President, Mr. Jefferson Davis*, to send to us.

Third. That you will be willing and ready to move from one place to the other, at six hours' notice from the Legation here, at any time the said Legation may order such a move, and everywhere act as *secret agent* to them, seeking and gathering any information they may require, and then faithfully transmitting the same to the President here.

Should this offer meet your approbation, your remuneration will be as follows, viz.: two dollars and fifty cents for every letter, paper, &c., not bearing an official stamp; ten dollars for any document, letter, paper, &c., bearing our official Government stamp, and which in both cases you will succeed in forwarding safely to the Legation in Canada.

On the other hand, should you be ordered to move from one city to another, twenty-five cents per mile will be allowed you on journeys performed by rail or by boat; and fifty cents per mile for distances crossed in vehicles drawn by horses—*all payments to be made to you in gold*. In conclusion, I hope, sir, that the confidence the President of the Legation here has placed in you, based upon the recommendation of your recommender, will never be betrayed, and the *strictest secrecy* will be kept by you, should you accept or reject this proposition.

Awaiting your early reply, which, sir, please address to *Wm. Sibbald, simply, General Post, Montreal,*

I remain, sir, your most obedient servant,

WM. SIBBALD,

Secretary to the Secret Secession Legation, Canada.

To C. M. DELISLE, Esq., Ogdensburg, New York.

MONTREAL, May 1, 1863.

SIR—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your answer to my communication of the 27th ultimo, and I avail myself of this opportunity to tender you the thanks of our President.

I am aware that the Agency, should you accept it, might become a little annoying in case of detection; but no such accident can happen, if secrecy be your course of conduct, and much will depend upon yourself whether the police agents of the United States seize the dispatches.

The character your benefactor in the United States, who has desired us to suppress his name, has given you, has induced us to broach such a subject to you. Suffice to say, that his motive is one prompted by the personal esteem he entertains for you, and also to have the felicity of withdrawing you from your present embarrassing position.

The post cannot of course be one except of great lucrativeness, as the arrangements made here are very complete, and on a large scale, although *strictly ignored by any stranger to the "Legation."*

To state positively what you might derive monthly from the agency, is a mere impossibility, as no one here is aware of the number of packages the "emissary" may be able to convey; but you can rest assured that a very large income must unavoidably be drawn from it.

The letters and official dispatches will be in all cases written upon the thinnest paper manufactured, to make concealment easier, and in many cases will be mere press copies.

Your remuneration will be paid you by the "emissary" himself, on delivery of the documents, by draft on New York, to an amount equal to gold, or, if more convenient and suited to you, in specie.

When ordered to move, sufficient money will be sent you from here, with the orders to take you, all expenses paid, to any place chosen and back to Ogdensburg, as the latter place will be your headquarters, except you think another spot would facilitate the entrance of mails in Canada: this point, however, is entirely left to your suggestion.

The President, in thanking you, wishes me to say that he is well pleased with the character he has of you, and that no person is better suited than you for the fulfillment of his object; and that, from your honesty, genteel and gentlemanlike bearing, you will manage to initiate yourself into the American agents' favors, and acquire from them valuable information regarding the "lookout parties" on the frontier and outlets around Richmond.

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

W.M. SIBBALD,

Secretary to the Secret Secession Legation in Canada,  
To C. M. DELISLE, Esq., Ogdensburg, New York.

I will be glad to hear your answer on receipt of this, whether the proposition is accepted or rejected.

No pains were spared by these conspirators to impress the officers of the Government with the reality of their lying scheme to rob its Treasury. In harmony with this cool purpose and policy, communications were forwarded to individuals anticipating that they would ultimately reach my hands. On this point I shall quote certain correspondence with

Captain H. B. Todd, provost-marshall of the District of Columbia:—

HEADQUARTERS PROVOST-MARSHAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 20, 1863. }

Colonel L. C. BAKER:—

I am credibly informed that one Charles Michael Delisle, now living in Ogdensburg, New York, has made arrangements with the Secret Secession Legation, in Montreal, Canada, or with their secretary, William Sibbald, to convey the rebel mails and dispatches into Canada, as soon as the emissaries from Richmond deliver them to him.

Delisle is paid by this Secret Legation, and now stops at Johnson's Hotel, Ogdensburg; of late he has entered his name as F. A. Delisle, instead of C. M. My informant has seen his correspondence with said Legation, and read his (Delisle's) proposition.

He has already sent dispatches to Montreal, undetected, which have been forwarded to Messrs. Mason and Slidell, through the mails of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company, and others are very soon expected to go through.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

HENRY B. TODD,  
Captain and Provost-Marshall

It is only necessary to add that, on the arrest of Delisle, he confessed that there was no "Secret Secession Legation" in Canada, so far as he knew, but that the design of the parties engaged in the transaction was simply to defraud the United States Government; and, had it not been defeated by the vigilance of this bureau, it would have proved, of course, a very handsome speculation for them.

There is a more delicate and humiliating violation of law and social order, I feel it necessary to record, that the unsuspecting people may exercise the vigilance demanded pre-eminently in a republic, over the virtue of its public men, which a knowledge of the facts detailed must, to some extent, awaken. I refer to the presence of disreputable women at the headquarters of the army officers during the war. While the wives of sick soldiers could not get passes over the lines, because of the standing order that no females should be allowed to enter the battle-field, presuming they would be in the way of military movements, these fancy *ladies* could telegraph their arrival at Washington; an order would be the response, giving them a pass and free transportation to the designated headquarters of the favored officers.

The subjoined communication will indicate the nature of the unpleasant business on my hands:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, June 1, 1863.

Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—I deem it my duty to inform the War Department that, notwithstanding the very stringent and almost prohibitory orders of the Secretary of War concerning the granting of passes for ladies to visit the Army of the Potomac, large numbers are still passing on Government transports.

These passes are furnished by the Provost-Marshal-General of the Army of the Potomac, and, I am reliably informed, are frequently forwarded by mail or private hands to persons who have been repeatedly refused by the officer detailed to issue citizens' passes in this city.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Provost-Marshal War Department.

Some days previous to the battle at Chancellorsville, a woman applied to me for a pass to the Army of the Potomac. It required but a hasty glance to read her character and object. I called her attention to the order of the Secretary of War, already referred to, and asked her what was her business. She simply replied that she desired to visit a distinguished general of the army. I objected to her going.

"I will have a pass, in spite of you!" she added.

She then went to the telegraph office, and transmitted the following message:—

"I have just arrived; send me an order to come down."

She did not pretend to be the wife, mother, or sister of any one in the army; neither did she profess to have any business, other than a pleasure trip to the field. In less than an hour she showed me a telegram, which read:—

"You will permit the bearer, Mrs. ——, to visit the Army of the Potomac. By order of ——, Commanding General."

I informed her that I should entirely disregard the order. My orders were from the Secretary of War, and I should "obey them to the letter." I instructed the guard not to accept the military order.

Refused admission on board of the steamer, she applied to Mr. Stanton, who assured her that no exception could be made in her case. In three days, I received, through the War

Department, a passionate and insulting letter, saying:—"I am sorry that you are not in my jurisdiction. If you were, I would soon teach you the respect due to a superior officer. Your whole course has been marked by a recklessness and intermeddling with officers, which would not be tolerated in any other officer under the Government."

To such an extent had this granting of passes to unprincipled women been carried, that, on a single boat, on one day, I counted no less than twenty-three on their way to the army, with no legitimate object, whose only vocation was prostitution.

## CHAPTER XIV

### WEALTHY TRAITORS—FRUITLESS SCHEMES.

John H. Waring—His Operations—An Efficient Tool—Walter Bowie—A Wild Career  
—Rebel Mail—Contrabands—Extracts from the Private Journals of Rebel Spies.

THE insane treason of the Marylanders revealed itself very strikingly in an incident which now occurred.

Mr. John H. Waring, a wealthy and respectable planter, residing on the banks of the Patuxent River, had long been suspected of assisting the enemy, and devoting his dwelling to the secret service of the blockade-runners, spies, and mail-carriers of the Confederacy. His family had ever been known as the most scornful haters of the Federal Government, outspoken, and fearless. The female members of it, by their connection with disloyal friends of high standing in Baltimore, had special facilities for communicating with the South. He, individually, did not enter into the bitter denunciations of the Government, owing partly to his advanced age, and partly to his occupation of time on the plantation.

Walter Bowie, whose family resided in Maryland, and whose uncle gave the name to the favorite weapon of the chivalry, had early in the struggle cast in his lot with the traitors.

A reckless, unprincipled, and daring young man, with considerable culture, he was selected by the Secretary of War to act as a spy. Born and brought up in Lower Maryland, he was thoroughly acquainted with the country.

To him are many families there indebted for the loss of fathers and sons. He raised, at different times, squads for the rebel service, ran across the Potomac and sold on speculation; now with Moseby's guerrillas, then with the authorities at Richmond, and soon, perhaps, in Washington. I decided, if it were possible, to capture him. Aware that he

was assisted and concealed by the Waring ladies, I directed my attention to that quarter. Sending four detectives to the house, I ordered them to surround it on a certain night. They secreted themselves accordingly, waiting for the dawn, the usual way of detour movements. The proximity of the men somehow became known to the inmates of the house, but every precaution had been taken to prevent escape.

As the light of day appeared, an aged negro servant left the dwelling with a washtub upon her head, and walked toward a spring near by for water. Upon her approach, an officer stopped her, and inquired about the family. She could give no information, and was allowed to pass. When sufficient time had elapsed for her return, the detective suspected that he had been deceived, and taking the path to the spring, discovered the tub, and just beyond a horse saddled and bridled, tied to a tree. The whole *ruse* at once flashed upon his mind. The venerable negress was no other than Walter Bowie. He saw that the horse was watched, and went on afoot.

Chagrined at the defeat of his plan, the officer returned to the house, and found, on searching it, the spy's uniform, sash, and sabre. It was ascertained later that a daughter of Mr. W., Mrs. Ducket, had blackened and dressed Bowie for the occasion. A more careful examination of the premises led to the discovery of several suits of rebel uniform.

From this time till autumn he was successfully engaged in raids upon defenseless sutlers and unarmed citizens, until at last, crossing the Potomac with a company of his associates, went to Sandy Hill, broke open a store, and pillaged it. I dispatched a squad in pursuit, and surrounded his camp next morning at Booneville. A skirmish ensued, and Bowie was shot with a double charge, and instantly killed.

The following episode in the darkly romantic history flings a lurid light into the "habitations of cruelty" which have been protected by the "starry flag" of freedom, revealing their domestic scenes:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, |  
WASHINGTON, July 9, 1863.

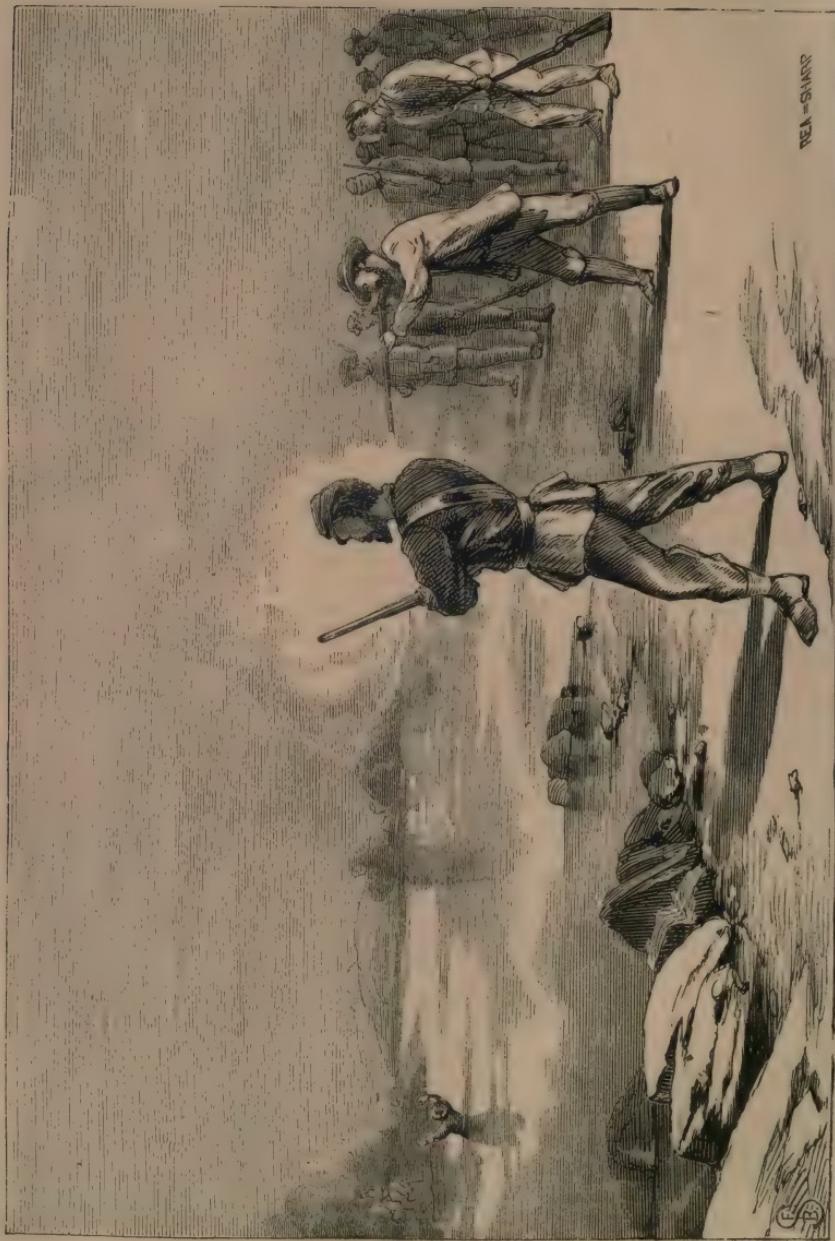
Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—I respectfully submit the following statement, and request further directions in the matter.



DEATH OF A REBEL SPY.

RE-A-SHAKER



On Monday last, having received information that Walter Bowie, a notorious rebel and spy, had been on a recent visit to the house of Mrs. Lizzie Bowie, in Prince George County, Maryland, and also, that subsequent to said visit, on Sunday night last, a loaded wagon containing clothing had been sent from Mrs. Bowie's house to the house of a Mr. Worthington, near the Potomac, for transmission to Virginia, I detailed a force from this office to investigate the matter, and arrest the said Walter Bowie and any other parties engaged in disloyal practices.

Walter Bowie succeeded in evading the search made for him, but it was ascertained that on Sunday night a two-horse wagon was sent from Mrs. Bowie's house, driven by a colored man named Daniel Grant, and in charge of Mr. Contee Warren; that two large trunks were in said wagon, and that the same were taken some miles from Mrs. Bowie's, and then taken from the wagon and deposited by the side of the road, and there left, the driver, Daniel Grant, stating to the said officers that he understood that said trunks contained clothing, &c., and were intended for Walter Bowie. My officers then visited the house of Mr. Worthington, charged with forwarding clothing, goods, &c., from Mrs. Bowie's into Virginia. A full examination of his house and premises was made, but nothing found of a contraband nature. In the process of such examination, my officers, on reaching the garret of Mr. Worthington's house, found the entrance closed and fastened with a padlock. Upon being refused admission, the door was forced open, and, to their surprise and horror, found there two almost naked negro girls, chained together by the wrists, and exhibiting upon their persons evidences of a most brutal and bloody punishment. Their backs were covered with blood, and gashed, as with a sharp knife, from the shoulders to the loins, presenting a spectacle of horrid cruelty and suffering which words cannot describe.

One of these girls was owned by Mrs. Lizzie Bowie, and the other by Mrs. Worthington; and it is understood that they had been beaten with a *trace chain* by three men, namely, Mr. Worthington, Contee Warren, and Mr. Hall, overseer of Mrs. Bowie, and that Mrs. Bowie had ordered the punishment on the girl, who was her slave. I do not understand that any law, human or divine, confers the right to inflict upon helpless women, black or white, the frightful torture borne by these poor and defenseless negro girls. Moved by pity, and the hope that speedy justice from the strong arm of the Government would be visited upon the cowardly miscreants who have dared to commit so infamous a crime, my officers arrested Mr. Worthington and Contee Warren, and brought them to this city, and they are now in the custody of this office until further orders of the War Department are received. I regret to say that the officers, not feeling authorized to act as liberators, left the negro girls chained and bleeding in the garret of Worthington's house.

Respectfully yours,

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal of the War Department

The captives were released, and, with an expression of the deepest gratitude upon their sad faces, they crawled out

of the garret, in which they had not room to stand erect, only to suffer again. I was informed that one of them was soon afterward found in the woods, dead, with marks of the terrible scourge upon her body. The only crime of the poor girls was, obeying the instinctive love of freedom, fired into an irresistible impulse at the sight of the "boys in blue."

A large rebel mail was found between the beds of Mrs. Duckett's room, and specimen packages of blockade goods *in transitu* from Europe were secreted in different parts of the house. Opening the mail, we ascertained that Mr. Waring's mansion had long been the rendezvous of all who served the Southern cause, and a post-office for their correspondence.

Waring was conveyed to Washington, and tried by military commission, and sentenced to two years in Fort Delaware. On his trial it was shown, that for months he had used his horses and wagons to carry rebel recruits to the Potomac; and, even the very night of his arrest, he had brought Bowie, in his Confederate dress, to his house for concealment. After his conviction, the Secretary of War directed that all of his animals and other property should be confiscated and sent to Washington. Accordingly, I repaired to the plantation, and found one hundred and ten slaves, impatient to be free. Unwilling to act without instructions, no proclamation of emancipation having then appeared in behalf of the millions in bondage, and in sympathy with our cause, upon appealing to Mr. Lincoln, with a detailed account of the case, and saying to him, "I did not like to assume the responsibility of their liberation," he characteristically replied: "Baker, let them alone, and they will free themselves!" I took the hint, and returned to the plantation, whither I had sent forty Government wagons to transport to the capital the confiscated property.

The more intelligent slaves appointed a committee to wait on me, to inquire what action I intended to take in their case. I reported my interview with "Massa Linkum," as they always called him, and his significant remark. It was quite sufficient for them.

The next morning, with my train, I started, but refused to recognize their escape by affording Government convey-

ance; when, in a surprisingly brief time, each family was seen with the humble stock of domestic furniture packed, and ready to follow the wagons of "Massa Linkum."

Such patient endurance of fatigue, and uncomplaining toil, to secure the coveted boon of liberty, I never before saw; patience in the pursuit of freedom did "its perfect work."

It was soon known to the neighbors of Waring that his "servants" were *en route* to Washington, who gathered in large numbers, and, fully armed, demanded from me the return of the caravan of laden fugitives. I, of course, refused to do it. The conviction of Waring, and the taking of his property, in my opinion, released the slaves—morally, if not legally.

They then threatened violence, and even attempted to stop the train. The arrest of the ringleaders quieted the mob, and the refugees arrived safely in Washington.

Waring's arrest, and the consequences to him, have been much criticised, and regarded by the South as an arbitrary act; but when we consider that he, with his entire family, were engaged directly in the rebel service, the evidence of which was overwhelming, it must appear to all loyal minds that the proceeding was justifiable, and even necessary.

I copy extracts from the pages of a private journal of the rebel spies captured on the Potomac, which afford a glimpse of life in such adventurous service, that will interest, I am sure, many of my readers:—

#### JAMES R. MILBURN.

July 23d, 1863. Crossed the Potomac River, from Md. to Va.

24th. Virginia House, Heatherville, Northumberland County, Va.; arrived at Union Wharf, Rap River, 8 p. m.

25th. Miller's Hotel, south side of Rapidan; started for Richmond in company with Captain Cox, of North Va.; walked to Prince, thirty-five miles from Rap.

26th. Breakfasted at Old Church. Arrived in Richmond 4 p. m., Powhatan Hotel; wrote home.

27th. Called on Mr. Barton.

28th. In Richmond. "Disconsolate."

29th. Richmond.

30th. Left Richmond for Buffalo Springs, Mecklenburg County, Va.; passed through Petersburg, Va., and Weldon, N. C.

31st. Buffalo Springs, 2 p. m. Room 49, Rowdy Row.

August 1st. First impressions of Springs not very pleasing.

2d. Formed the acquaintance of several pleasant gentlemen.

3d. Found more agreeable company.

4th. Took a long walk in company with Mr. Frank Hobbs, of Md.; talked of dear old Maryland.

5th. Large arrivals; unlimited scope for the study of human nature; to me a look, word, or mere motion of body, hand, or head, will often analyze a person's character; first impressions are often lasting, and generally correct.

6th. Each trying to outwit the other. Grouping of nature.

7th. Wrote to Captain Carlisle, Moseby's Cavalry, and to my friend E. N. Spiller, Atlanta, Ga.

8th. Introduced to Mrs. Paxon, wife of the proprietor of Springs. I have closely observed her; think she is well suited to make married life—yes—painfully disagreeable. Some talk of the freedom and bliss of persons before marriage. If this be true, what is the state of one coupled to a disagreeable person; concentrated hell surely.

9th. Tried to meditate on a portion of the Bible; mind unsettled; thoughts like chaff before the wind. Left cottage for a walk to compose myself.

10th. Drinking the oozings of human nature.

11th. Nothing to do; yet not like Miss Flora McFlimsey, nothing to wear.

12th. Enjoyed myself by dancing; find very little intellectual conversation; thus far during my visit have not heard a solid subject discussed.

13th. Like a butterfly on the wing, pursuing pleasure.

14th. How various are the classifications of the mind; some appear to be guided by reason, others by a species of brutal instinct.

15th. As a general thing the visitors seem to be friendly.

16th. Ladies very agreeable; endeavor to repay their kindness.

19th. Modesty is a polite accomplishment, and often an attendant upon merit; it wins the hearts of all. None are more disgusting in company than the impudent and presuming.

20th. What a fine place to show a person's breeding. Train up a child, &c., &c.

21st. This day to me is a memorial one, no one can tell my feelings, perhaps the thoughts of another one the same; whether it is a day of folly or happiness, the future will show. My intention was honest, howsoever this affair may terminate; perhaps sympathy was the cause of my action and words. I must say, I do not understand myself in this case. Wrote a long letter to my friend Spiller.

22d. Miss Lucy A. Merritt, of Brunswick County, Va., returned to Buffalo; a long walk and confidential talk with her. Having noticed my letter to Mr. Spiller, asked to see it. Miss Merritt had no evil intentions when she made this request, this I firmly believe; I complied with her wish, as it seemed to be a test of friendship.

23d. Placid as a lake, nothing unusual transpired.

24th. In some young people the milk of human kindness seems long since to have curdled; I would advise a little soda to correct the acidity of their

nature. A lady should at all times command her tongue, especially in a public assembly, where a word is an index to intellect and character.

25th. Nothing extraordinary to-day.

26th Preparing to leave Buffalo Springs.

27th. Good-bye, all friends. Confusion to my enemies, if any.

28th. Left Buffalo for Richmond, Va.; at Linwood House.

29th to 31st. Richmond, Va.

September 1st. Enlisted in the Confederate States Navy.

2d. Left Richmond, with Captain John W. Hebb, of Louisiana, for a cruise on the Chesapeake and its tributaries. Left the cars at Milford Station; dined at Lloyd's, Caroline County, Virginia; camped at Central Point, Caroline County.

3d. Camped on the Rapidan River, at Mr. Warren's; one meal at 11 P. M.

4th. Lighton's Ferry, Essex County; breakfast, dinner, supper, 9 P. M.

5th. Crossed the Rap. 3½ P. M.; one meal, 9 P. M.; camped in the woods.

Camp Rust, Westmoreland County, five miles from Rap. River.

6th. Camp Rust; two meals.

7th. Received a new supply of arms from Richmond; visited Miss Rust; two meals.

8th. Detailed to go on special duty; arrested William Hammond, a half-breed Indian, for boating Confederate deserters across the Potomac. In camp, 11 P. M., tired and hungry.

9th. Camp Rust.

10th. Broke camp, 10 A. M., for Nomoni River, twenty-five miles; dined on the road; camped in Richmond County.

11th. Marched all day; camped, 9 A. M.; one meal.

12th. Dined at 8 P. M.; rained all night, half drowned next morning.

13th. Roasted corn early this morning; went out gunning for something to eat, hog, calf, or any thing; nothing procured.

15th. Went to Nomoni Ferry, 5 P. M.; duck, crab, corn bread, butter, and milk.

16th. Dined with Miss Arnest.

17th. Fight between Manning and Fitzgerald; drew my pistol to shoot Fitzgerald, who threatened to strike me, while in charge of camp, with a sword. I wisely desisted from the intended blow. Nothing to eat.

18th. No provisions; sent out a party to forage, no success.

19th. Killed a hog early this morning.

20th. All quiet; truly a placid state. Strolled about the woods as if I had no home. Home is the dearest place on earth, especially when it is impossible to be there.

21st. Killed another hog.

22d. On picket, fork of road.

23d. About to break camp.

24th. Yanks attacked our forces, at Mathias Point, with infantry and gun-boats; shelled us out.

25th. Moved camp.

26th. Sick all day.

- 27th. On Nomoni again; off on an expedition.  
28th. Unwell.  
29th. Feel better.  
30th. Sick.  
October 1st. Still sick.  
2d. Headache.  
3d. In hospital at Bethel M. E. Church.  
4th and 5th. Chill.  
6th to 11th. Sick at Mr. Ames's.  
12th. Colonel Blackwell's, on Potomac.  
13th. Crossed to St. Mary's County, last night.  
14th. Patuxent River.  
15th to 17th. Calvert County, Maryland.  
18th. Sharp's Island.  
19th to 28th. Tilligman's Island.  
31st. Chills.  
November 1st. Tilligman's Island.  
3d. Tilligman's Island. Captain Hebb captured last night.  
4th. Yankee cavalry crossed the bay to Fair Haven, A. A. County.  
30th. Cove Point. Cast away.  
December 1st. Cove Point. Boat repaired.  
2d. On the way to the Confederate States.  
22d. Calvert County. Slept in an unoccupied house.  
23d. do. do. do. Nothing to eat.  
29th. St. Mary's County. Went to Rob. Thompson's, cold and hungry; would not let me warm myself, or give me any thing to eat. Slept near Point No-point.  
30th. Took to the woods; afraid of the Yanks.  
31st. In a hogpen; wet and cold.  
January 1st, 1864. Live in hope that I may safely reach my destination, confident of ultimate success, though every thing seems to oppose.  
12th. Pasquith's. Yankee raid from Point Lookout.  
14th. do. Yankees gone.  
17th. Corinth Church.  
18th and 19th. Heathsville. (18th. Boat stolen.)  
25th. Heathsville. Went to Machota Creek, in woods.  
February 1st and 2d. Heathsville. Yankees about.  
12th. Attempted to cross the Potomac last night in company with two ladies and Charley; wind fair from S. W., but too heavy; compelled to turn back. Slept at Mr. Bailey G. Haynie's.  
18th. Wind S.S.E.; at B. G. Haynie's; crossed the Potomac; rowed from Precher's Creek, Va., to Point Lookout; sailed to Patuxent River; landed ladies, 7 A. M. Sunday, 14th.  
15th. Plum Point, Calvert County, Md. Slept in an unoccupied house on shore.

## CHARLES W. MILBURN.

July 23d, 1863. Ran the blockade across the Potomac; a little cloudy; landed at Cone River; slept on the beach the remainder of the night; mosquitoes very thick, and large enough to bite through my coat.

24th. Arrived at Heathsville; dined at Virginia House; started at 3 P. M. for Union Wharf, on the Rap. River; arrived too late to get across the river; remained all night.

25th. Crossed the river; started for Bowler's; procured conveyance from the ferryman to Millar's; dined at Brown's Hotel; impossible to obtain conveyance to Richmond; after finding a berth in a market-wagon for my baggage, I came to the conclusion to walk; started at 4 P. M.; walked to Mr. Princess's, seventeen miles; remained all night.

26th. Started at daybreak for Old Church, 10 miles; arrived at 8.30 A. M.; breakfasted; arrived at Richmond, 4 P. M.; Powhatan Hotel; wrote home.

27th. Obtained a pass from General Winder, to pass unmolested in the city for thirty days; called to see Mr. Barton.

30th. Left Richmond for Buffalo Springs, Mecklenburg County, Va.; passed through Petersburg, Va., and Weldon, N. C., and arrived at my destination, 31st, at 2 P. M.

31st. Occupying room No. 49; prospect very pleasing.

August 7th. Still at Buffalo, enjoying myself wonderfully; wrote to Captain Carlisle, C. S. A., and Mr. Spiller.

22d. Wrote to Mr. Spiller, Atlanta, Ga.; Miss Lucy A. Merritt returned to Buffalo, stayed till Sunday; had a very pleasant time during her visit.

31st. A beautiful day. Received orders from Captain H. to prepare to leave Richmond to-morrow morning, under command of Captain Walter Bowie, C. S. N.

September 1st. After arriving at the depot, received another order, to wait until Wednesday. Went to new R. Theatre; a splendid plot, though not well acted.

2d. Left Richmond on the Fred. train, with Captain Walter Bowie, twenty-two men in all; dined at Lloyd's in Caroline County, Va.; encamped at Center Point, Caroline County, Va.

3d. Got something to eat at Sparta, about 11 P. M.; camped on the Rappahannock River, at Mr. Warren's.

4th. Camped at Leighton's Ferry, Essex Co., Rappahannock River; got some cabbage and bacon about 9 A. M.

5th. Acting cook under difficulties; crossed the Rap. River, 8.30 P. M.; stopped in Westmoreland County, 9 P. M.; camped in the woods, on Mr. Rust's plantation, five miles from Rap. River.

6th. Breakfasted about 9; corn bread and crackers, commonly called "short cakes;" amused myself by gathering fox-grapes near the camp; constructed a chebang in the new camp. Captain Hebb arrived with arms and a guard of eight men; went to sleep at 9 o'clock.

7th. Breakfast sent to me by Miss Lizzie Rust; accepted an invitation to dine at Mr. Rust's; had quite a pleasant time with ladies.

8th. Jim, with thirteen others, detailed, at 3 A. M., to go from camp on special duty; they arrived in camp about 11 P. M., with one prisoner, named William Hammond, who seemed to be very uneasy; on guard from 12 P. M. to 2 o'clock. Beautiful night.

9th. Left camp with Captain Bowie, to make a reconnoissance; breakfasted in camp; returned to camp, about 11 P. M., tired and hungry; "scene on the road."

10th. H. H., a prisoner, started for Richmond in charge of Private Rusloe; broke up camp at 10 A. M.; started with Captain Bowie for banks of Potomac, Mathias Point; another party, under Captain H., started for Nomoni River; marched all day, without any thing to eat; slept at Mr. McClannahan's, Machota Creek.

11th. Marched till about 4 P. M.; slept at Dr. Hooe's; Captain Band and myself had quite a pleasant time with the ladies.

12th. Captain B. sent me to Waterloo, and orders to Lieutenant K., C. S. S. C.; started from W. about dusk, for Mathias Point.

12th. Raining very hard; slept in rain all night without a blanket.

13th. Capt. B. left about dark, with eight men, for Maryland (beautiful night for crossing), leaving me in charge of camp.

14th. Nothing unusual transpired; short of rations; mosquitoes a great plague; no sleeping for them.

15th. Sent out a foraging party; nothing procured.

16th. Impossible to get provisions; prepared to go into Maryland after some.

17th. Wind high; no prospect of crossing to-night; dined with Mr. Washington; sent Phil. Key out to get something to eat; obtained very little.

18th. A slight supper last night; nothing since, except some green corn.

19th. All quiet on the Potomac; nothing to eat; 8 P. M. crossed the Potomac (men in full uniform and arms); landed in Charles County, Md.

20th. Went, in company with P. K., to visit Dr. C.; kindly treated. How glad I am to be once more in old Maryland.

21st. This morning two men missing; supposed to have deserted.

22d. Heard from Captain B.; a slight skirmish with the Yanks; prepare to return to Virginia.

23d. Two Confederate prisoners escaped from Point Lookout and came to us to-day. Having procured what we desired, we returned to Virginia. Wrote home before leaving Maryland.

November 20th. Left Baltimore, 1 A. M., on the steamer *John Pentz*, for West River.

21st. Fair Haven, Herring Bay, A. A. County, Md., Medley House.

22d. Fair Haven. Set out on my journey.

23d. Plum Point, Calvert County, Md. Breakfasted at a negro hut; slept at S. Y. Dorsey's; rained all night.

29th. Mr. Bowers. Started for Virginia at dark; wind overblew me; forced to beach my boat near Cove Point; slept in woods.

30th. Cove Point, Calvert County, Md.

I will close this chapter of treason and oppression's crimes, with a letter to the President, which, I need not say, elicited all the sympathy and aid the great heart and high position of the President could extend :—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, September 30, 1863.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States :—

SIR—I beg leave respectfully to call your attention to the facts set forth below.

The colored people, slave and free, of this District and the adjoining counties of Maryland, are daily subjected to a more ferocious despotism, and more flagrant and shameless outrages, than were ever before tolerated by any Government claiming to be either wise or humane.

It is well known to you, sir, that large numbers, owned in Maryland, actuated by a supreme desire to participate in the blessings of freedom enjoyed by their fellows in this District, are daily, almost hourly, making attempts to escape from their masters, and fly to this city.

The slave-owners of Maryland, whose plantations are becoming desolate by this constant exodus of their chattels, no longer relying on the protection of their own laws and legally constituted authorities, have, in many cases, formed themselves into armed bands for the purpose of pursuing and recapturing escaped slaves.

Parties of slaves, men, women, and children, have been pursued within the bounds of this District, have been fiercely assailed and shot down, or remorselessly beaten, and the survivors shut up in prison, or conveyed across the Potomac, within the protecting arms of the rebel Confederacy.

Not less than forty slaves (human beings), by these lawless encounters, were killed ; and I have information, that no less than three dead bodies of slaves, thus cruelly slaughtered, are now lying in the woods almost within sight of your own homes.

Not a month since, an armed band of Maryland slave-owners surrounded the house of a free negro woman, less than three miles from the Capitol, broke open the door, presented loaded pistols to the heads of its frightened inmates, and, after exercising all their powers of abuse and insult, took away by violence three free negroes.

Visiting this city, and protected by the assumed authority of Mr. Commissioner Cox, these depredators break into the houses of colored citizens, thrust loaded pistols into the faces of terrified women and screaming children, and, *protected by legal papers*, bear off their victims to the tender mercies of the lash and prison, or the hopeless martyrdom of Southern slavery.

Along the borders of the Potomac, below this city, male slaves are now being mustered in gangs, and sent to Virginia, as contributions by their masters to the cause of rebellion ; and if these men make an effort to escape, they are pursued and shot down by their unmerciful owners.

There is now in Marlborough jail, a negro man, whose eyes have been utterly destroyed by a charge of shot fired wantonly into his face ; and, not long



since, two colored girls were found chained in the garret of a private house, in the neighborhood of this city, who, after having been cruelly beaten by three men, one of them using a trace chain to inflict the blows, were left, with their backs one mass of festering wounds, to the further horrors of chains and darkness.

An instance has just come to my knowledge, of a negro woman and three daughters, owned by a citizen of this city still resident here, who were sent to Baltimore a few days before the late Emancipation Act was passed, for the sole purpose of evading its provisions. One of these daughters, an intelligent woman, has succeeded in returning to Washington, and is now claimed as a slave and threatened with seizure through the agency of Mr. Commissioner Cox's summary and illegal writs.

It can not be that such atrocities will be longer permitted, and that men, whose every sympathy is with slavery, and its legitimate offspring, treason, shall be longer suffered to visit upon the poor slave the hatred they feel to freedom and the Union.

I respectfully ask for such instructions as shall enable me effectually to protect the now helpless victims of the slave-masters' vengeance, and the perjured oaths of their friends, official and otherwise, in this city and District.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel and Provost-Marshal War Department.

## CHAPTER XV.

### SLAVERY—PLAYING REBEL GENERAL—FIRST DISTRICT CAVALRY.

The Hostages—Mr. Lincoln—Deceiving the Rebels—A Successful Game—Organization of the First District Cavalry—Its Services.

ABOUT this time, one hundred rebel citizens, in Lower Maryland, took possession of two contraband teamsters in my employ, and refused to give any account of the reclaimed property. I immediately arrested and confined two of the leaders, and put them in the Central guard-house, Washington, as hostages, till the former were returned. The indignation, at my assumption that a negro was equal to a white man—especially to one of the chivalry—was intense. An appeal was made to Mr. Lincoln, and I was summoned to report in person to him, which I cheerfully did.

He said : “ Well, Baker, you think a white man is as good as a colored man ? ”

I assured him that in this case, at least, I did ; and proposed to keep the gentlemen in prison till the free negroes were returned.

The President acquiesced in the justice of the arrangement, and, soon after, the contrabands were restored, and the insulted, excited prisoners set at liberty, to the great relief of their friends, and amusement of the irreverent “ Yankees,” who could not see the superiority of Southern blood.

I shall notice here some incidents which will forcibly show the self-sacrifice of the Maryland secessionists, who were vastly in the majority, along with the more important and melancholy truth, that the rebellion could never have succeeded without the sympathy and assistance of “ Northern friends.” In addition to these facts, the means sometimes necessary to ascertain who were disloyal, will also be apparent.

A few days previous to the rebel Generals Stuart and

Early's raid into Pennsylvania, I had the following paper prepared :—

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE SOUTH:—

The Confederate army is now on your border. The Stars and Bars can be seen from your hills. The hirelings of the North are fleeing before us! We want your aid. We want horses, mules, and wagons. Seventy artillery horses are needed for our batteries. The bearers of this appeal are authorized by me to accept of contributions. If I receive the required aid, I will pledge myself that our flag shall float, within ten days, from the Capitol in Washington.

(Signed)

J. E. B. STUART,

C. S. Cavalry.

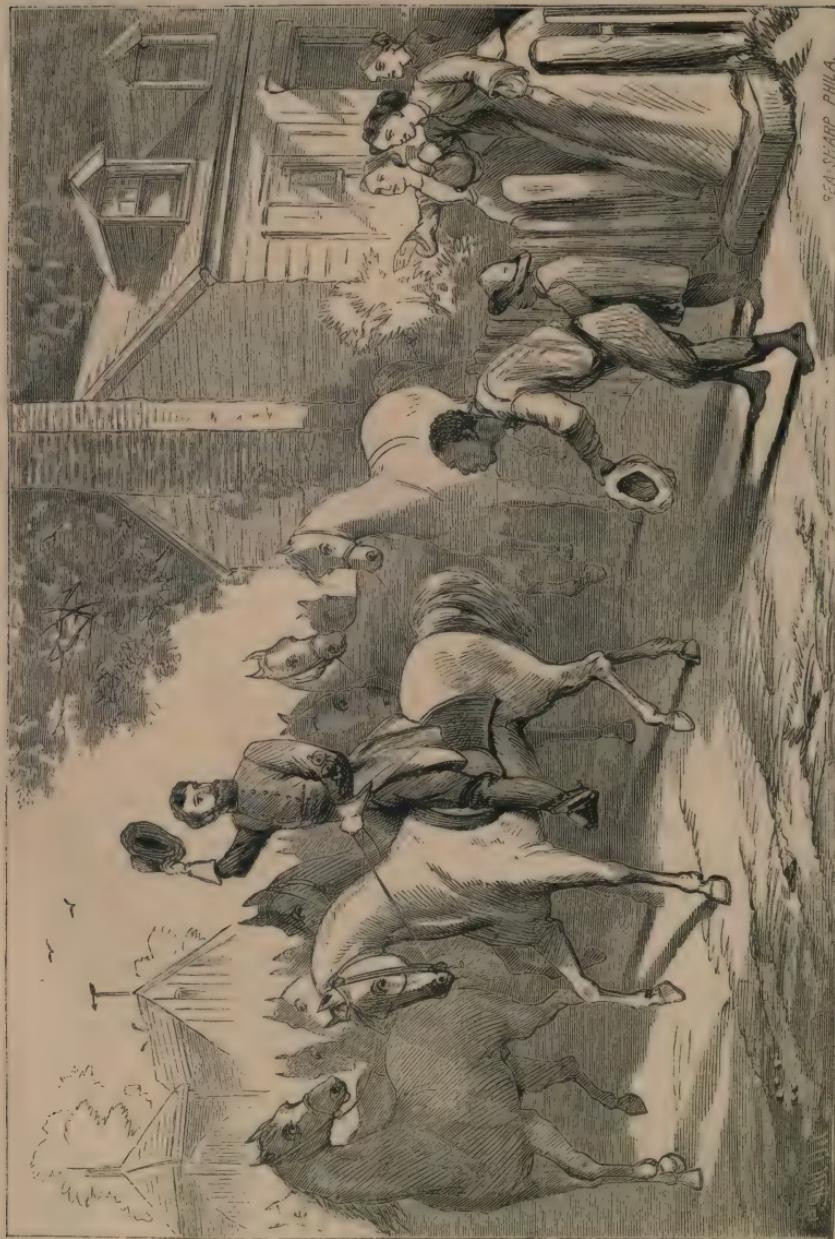
With this sounding proclamation in my pocket, I reached that garden of Maryland, "Middletown Valley," a few miles north of Harper's Ferry. Upon making application to the leading—to the principal secessionists, and exhibiting the paper, the highest expressions of patriotism greeted it. Property and life were at my disposal. And it was suggested to me that a secret meeting be called, to afford all the opportunity to contribute.

The hour came; and I was introduced to those present as a Confederate officer who had ventured over the Potomac. By this means a correct list of all those who were openly or secretly the emissaries of Jeff. Davis, with the names of those who contributed horses, was made out, and the next day I called at their residences. After selecting the best, I left the animals in the hands of the owners, to be called for subsequently. Meanwhile, during the few days I continued in the valley, I learned the strength, resources, and condition of the rebel cause there. I then went around and gathered up the horses, and, with many warm benedictions upon my head, left with sixteen of the choicest horses the region afforded. That night I started for Washington, and the succeeding day I turned them over to the quartermaster's department. They afterward did good service on the battlefield for the Union cause.

The information I obtained, respecting the forward movement of the enemy, was followed by General Hooker's celebrated march toward Gettysburg, during which he was relieved by General Meade; and the inference is legitimate,



REBEL CONTRIBUTION TO THE LOYAL CAUSE.



C. A. SHARPE PHILA.

that it had no unimportant bearing upon the great and decisive struggle, which saved us from a disastrous if not a fatal invasion.

Some two months later, several of the former owners of the horses appeared in Washington, and demanded the restoration of their property. Of course, the animals themselves were comparatively of no consequence, but the intelligence, of which they were made the occasion, was invaluable. The claimants were pointed to the proclamation, their prompt response to which, was no less the evidence of disloyalty because it was a lure instead of treason's actual demand.

The importance of the bureau, and its rapidly accumulating business, rendered a military force, exclusively under my control, a necessity. Scarcely a day passed without some occurrence calling for cavalry troops to execute orders. Accordingly, the Secretary of War issued an order creating me colonel, and authorizing me to raise a regiment of cavalry.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, June 29, 1863.

SIR—You are hereby informed that the President of the United States has appointed you colonel of the First Regiment District of Columbia Cavalry, in the service of the United States, to rank as such from the twenty-ninth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three.

Immediately on receipt hereof, please to communicate to this department, through the Adjutant-General of the army, your acceptance or non-acceptance; and, with your letter of acceptance, return the *oath* herewith inclosed, properly filled up, *subscribed*, and *attested*, and report your age, birthplace, and the State of which you were a permanent resident. You will report for duty to—

EDWIN M. STANTON,

Colonel L. C. BAKER,

Secretary of War.

First Regiment District Columbia Cavalry.

Previous to this, being only a citizen, I was viewed in the light of no more than a civil agent. To obviate the hinderance in official service the fact interposed, I received the commission. Immediately I had thousands of applications from men who desired to serve in my battalion. It was my desire to organize a corps of intelligent, moral, and worthy men. So common had it become, in raising regiments, to sell commissions to the highest bidders, that it was a

matter of regular traffic. This did more to demoralize and bring into disrepute our whole volunteer service than any other single wrong.

At the outset of the war, morality and fitness were seldom considerations in the selection of officers. I have seen volunteer companies, and even regiments, under the command of those whose capacity and character were inferior to the majority of the privates in the ranks. For illustration of this method of getting commissions, I add the subjoined communication, in answer to an offer of one hundred dollars for a place in my regiment:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, May 18, 1863. }

Mr. J. F. SINGHI, Company D, Fourth Maine Regiment,

Army of the Potomac:—

SIR—Your letter, offering one hundred dollars in gold for a commission in my battalion of cavalry, has been received. It is my intention to recruit *honest men*, and *not rogues*. With this explanation, you will at once perceive that you are entirely ineligible for service under my command, either as officer or private.

(Signed) L. C. BAKER,

Provost-Marshals War Department.

The regiment was a splendid body of troops, and achieved all that was anticipated from it; and its services will appear at intervals during the progress of the war.

Much of the service performed for the country will never be written. The detachments of men moving stealthily over the lines of encampment and battle; guarding me or my subordinates in perilous adventures; and other quiet, unheralded, and unreported duties, will have no record but the pages of memory, and, with the death of the actors in the varied scenes of such a life, be forgotten.

But since this volume has been in progress of preparation for the press, a history of the troops whom, I may be permitted to say here, I was proud to command, has been published by their former chaplain, the Rev. S. H. Merrill, of Portland, Maine.

The chaplain states, correctly, that this regiment was organized to remain on duty within the limits of the District of Columbia. The entire military force of the District had failed to check the operations of Mosby's band. I pledged

myself to the Secretary of War that, if he would give me permission to raise a battalion of cavalry, I would drive from the region the rebel chief.

After the troops were raised, and armed with six-shooters, they became the object of intense and unjust suspicion on the part of the commanding officer of the Department of Washington and West Virginia, founded on the apprehension that his military honors would be periled by the successes of the brave men who were to range freely through Western Virginia.

The Secretary of War had so much confidence in the battalion, that he authorized the purchase of the best horses that could be procured in the country, and remarked that the Government could afford to pay the expense of maintaining the force, if for no other reason than the powerfully restraining influence upon disloyalty and crime in the District.

The legitimate duties of the battalion were so constantly embarrassed by orders emanating from the department commander, that I decided to ask the Secretary of War to increase it to a full regiment of twelve hundred men. The request was granted, and eight additional companies were raised in the State of Maine, under the direction of its patriotic Governor Coney, whose services during the rebellion will always be gratefully remembered by the loyal North.

On the completion of the organization of the regiment, I requested that it should be sent to some distant field of action. The deeply seated prejudice in the minds of the officers of the Potomac army against my bureau, convinced me that my troops would there have small opportunity to display their ability and heroism. When I had occasion to scrutinize some of their acts, a major-general remarked to me, during a visit to the front, in regard to the injustice of which I had complained, "Your men are a set of d——d spies, and ought to be killed; and the officers of the regiment are detectives in disguise, reporting to you whatever is said by the army commanders." Even the long raids, the fights with Mosby's men in Northern Virginia and Maryland, have scarcely an allusion made to them by any of the army officers or reporters. For nearly two years the regi-

ment accompanied nearly every raid made by the cavalry along the front of the Potomac army.

It formed the advanced guard of General Kautz's raid from Norfolk to the Weldon Railroad. At Notaway Bridge, Reams' Station, and other points, it is a matter of official record, that this body of troops did three-fourths of all the fighting. My urgent request to be relieved from duty in Washington, and allowed to lead my regiment to the arena of battle, was refused by the Secretary of War, and the active command was given to Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Conger, who had no superior in the qualities of a brave chieftain.

Before he assumed his duties, he had been wounded three times, and twice left on the field for dead. At the time of Wilson's celebrated raid, he was again shot through the body, and carried from the scene of carnage by his orderly.

Major J. S. Baker, next in rank, commanded the regiment until the close of the war. A more brilliant record than his has never fallen to the lot of a young officer. He entered the service, with the organization of the regiment, as Captain of Company A, which he commanded, until the addition of the Maine companies, in all the celebrated scouts and raids. While a student at Madison University, in Wisconsin, at the beginning of the rebellion, he left his books for his country's service. He was the first Federal officer that entered Lynchburg, after its surrender by Lee.

Major D. S. Curtis, of the same State, next in command, was also a truly brave, discreet, and worthy officer. His coolness in battle was the theme of general remark among the officers of the entire brigade.

A more complete and interesting history of the regiment has been written while this volume has been in press, by the Rev. S. H. Merrill, chaplain of the regiment. From these annals I shall quote the history of the regiment in its general outline of achievement—the more freely, because written by another, who gives to the brave troopers the honors which they so richly won. I shall give the condensed narrative uniform with my own records, with this credit for it awarded to the worthy chaplain:

The First District of Columbia Cavalry was composed of a fine body of men. A single battalion, raised in the District of Columbia, for special duty at the seat of Government, under command of Colonel L. C. Baker (Provost-Marshal of the War Department), and familiarly known as "Baker's Mounted Rangers," formed the nucleus of this regiment.

Long will "Baker's Cavalry" be remembered in Washington, and through a wide region around, as the "terror of evil-doers."

To this command eight companies were added in 1863, embracing about eight hundred men enlisted in Maine, so that it became, to this extent, a Maine organization.

No charge of bad faith is intended, nor is it known who was responsible for the change of the original destination of the regiment, if any change there was; but it is due to the men from Maine, and due to historic truth, to record the fact that they enlisted under the distinct assurance that they would never be required to serve outside the District of Columbia; and if the command was in no degree demoralized by the subsequent disappointment of the men, in being sent to the front, and being placed in the most perilous positions there, it is all the more to their credit.

Company D, numbering one hundred and forty men, under command of Captain J. W. Cloudman, left Augusta on the 22d day of October, 1863, and arrived at Camp Baker, in Washington, on the 25th.

The three officers of this company were commissioned by the President of the United States, while those of the other companies from Maine were commissioned by the Governor of Maine.

A few days after its arrival in Washington, the company was ordered to Anandale, ten miles west of Alexandria, where it remained on duty, under command of Lieutenant Howe, till the 27th of January, when it was ordered with the battalion to Yorktown.

Embarking on board the steamer *Conqueror*, it arrived at Yorktown on the 28th, and went into camp about two miles from the city, on the bank of the beautiful York River. A morning so summer-like and scenery so charming, few of our men had ever seen before in mid-winter.

The next day they moved about eight miles west, and went into camp about three miles from Williamsburg.

January 30th, at daybreak, the bugle sounded "boots and saddles," and in half an hour they were off on a raid.

If the reader should ask what this means, the answer would be, it means an armed expedition into the enemy's country, for the purpose of gaining information, or of capturing or destroying public property, or both, always respecting private property, excepting so far as "military necessity" requires its capture.

In the raid just referred to, the men marched about twelve miles, and returned to camp with nothing of special interest to report.

An expedition was made to Bottom Bridge, on the Chickahominy, twelve miles from Richmond, on the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th of February, which will not soon be forgotten by the men who participated in it. They did little fighting, but much hard work. From the time they left camp, on the 5th, till they returned, on the 8th, they were hardly out of the saddle.

Three days later the battalion was ordered to Newport News, on the James River, a distance of twenty-five miles.

On the 19th they moved out on a scouting expedition, but had not proceeded far when an order was received to return and be ready in one hour to take transports for Norfolk, where they arrived the next morning. From this point they were ordered to Great Bridge, on the Elizabeth River, ten miles south of Norfolk. The weather at Newport News, and during this day's march, has been spoken of by the men as the coldest experienced during their whole term of military service.

On Sunday, the 21st, Lieutenant Howe marched for Pungo Bridge, in command of Companies D and E, to relieve another regiment.

The march of twenty-five miles through the enemy's country, intersected by unbridged streams and swamps, and infested by guerrillas, was slow and tedious, consuming two days.

On the 22d they relieved the Tenth New York Cavalry, and remained on duty, well worked and well fed, till the 1st

of March, when they were ordered to Deep Creek, south of Norfolk, on the borders of the Dismal Swamp.

Here we leave them for the present, while we bring up the history of the other companies. The remaining seven companies from Maine were mustered into the service of the United States at Augusta, on the 8th of February, 1864. Two days later, Company F, Captain Sanford commanding, left Augusta for Washington. Reaching Camp Baker, a short distance east of Capitol Hill, on the 14th, they found comfortable barracks. Two days later they were mounted, and from this time till the 7th of April a part of each day was spent in drilling. This company was followed, on the 29th, by the remaining six companies.

The regiment was organized as follows:—

Colonel.—L. C. Baker, Washington.

Lieutenant-Colonel.—E. J. Conger.

Majors.— — Baker; J. W. Cloudman, Stetson, Me.; D. S. Curtis, Wisconsin.

Adjutant.— — Sprague.

Quartermaster.— — Baker, Le Roy, New York.

Surgeon.—George J. Northrup, Portland, Maine.

Chaplain.—Samuel H. Merrill, Portland.

Sergeant-Major.— — Howard.

Quartermaster-Sergeant.— — Miller.

Commissary.— — Wolfer.

Hospital Steward.— — Lovejoy, Meredith, New Hampshire.

Chief Musician.— — Bigelow, Winthrop, Maine.

Company A.— — Hamilton, Captain; — Wilkins, First Lieutenant;  
— Clark, Second Lieutenant.

Company B.— — McNamara, Captain; George A. Dickson, First Lieutenant;  
— Wolfer, Second Lieutenant.

Company C.—George Griffin, Captain; — McBride, First Lieutenant;  
— Goff, Second Lieutenant.

Company D.—William S. Howe, Stetson, Maine, Captain; Eli Parkman,  
Charleston, Second Lieutenant.

Company E.—T. C. Spears, New York, Captain; — Jackson, First Lieutenant;  
— Spaulding, Newport, Maine, Second Lieutenant.

Company F.—Edward T. Sanford, Warren, Maine, Captain; James  
Maguire, Portland, Maine, First Lieutenant; James F. McCusick, Warren,  
Maine, Second Lieutenant.

Company G.—Thomas G. Webber, Gorham, Maine, Captain; Daniel F. Sargent, Brewer, Maine, First Lieutenant; Leander M. Comins, Lincoln, Maine, Second Lieutenant.

Company H.—Andrew M. Benson, Oldtown, Maine, Captain; Zebulon B. Blethen, Lewiston, Maine, First Lieutenant; L. R. Jackson, Foxcroft, Maine, Second Lieutenant.

Company I.—Robert F. Dyer, Augusta, Maine, Captain; James H. Russell, Houlton, Maine, First Lieutenant; Joseph W. Lee, Calais, Maine, Second Lieutenant.

Company K.—John W. Freese, Bangor, Maine, Captain; Vincent Mountfort, Bowdoin, Maine, First Lieutenant; C. B. Lakin, Stetson, Me., Second Lieutenant.

Company L.—Charles C. Chase, Portland, Maine, Captain; — — — First Lieutenant; William S. Farwell, Rockland, Maine, Second Lieutenant.

Company M was subsequently organized and officered as follows:—

Company M.—D. F. Sargent, Brewer, promoted from Company G, Captain; Edward P. Merrill, Portland, Maine, First Lieutenant; Henry D. Fuller, Corinth, Maine, Second Lieutenant.

This regiment was distinguished by the superiority of the carbines with which it was armed. It was the only regiment in the army of the Potomac armed with "Henry's Repeating Rifle." The peculiarity of this gun is, that it will fire sixteen shots without reloading. It is cocked by the same movement of the guard that opens and closes the breech—the exploded cartridge being withdrawn and a fresh one supplied at the same time and by the same movements. The copper cartridges are placed in a tube, extending the entire length of the barrel, on the under side. From this they are fed into the gun by the operation of the lever guard; meantime a spiral spring forces down the cartridges as fast as they are discharged. The whole device is of the simplest nature. The work is strong, and the whole thing is so nearly perfect, that it is difficult to conceive of any improvement. The subsequent history of this regiment proves it to be a terribly effective weapon. Fifteen shots can be given with it in ten seconds. Thus, a regiment of one thousand men would fire fifteen thousand shots in ten seconds. After having witnessed the effectiveness of this weapon, one is not surprised at the

remark, said to have been made by the guerrilla chief, Mosby, after an encounter with some of our men, that "he did not care for the common gun, or for Spencer's seven-shooter, but as for these guns, that they could wind up on Sunday and shoot all the week, it was useless to fight against them."

On the 16th of February, Company F was mounted, and remained at Camp Baker, engaged in daily drilling until the 7th of April. At that date it left Washington for Norfolk, and the next day joined a squadron of the old battalion on picket at Great Bridge.

On the 14th the company marched to Deep Creek, where it was joined by three companies of the old battalion, already referred to as having been on picket duty at Newport News.

These companies remained here on picket duty until the organization of the cavalry division, under General Kautz, two weeks later.

On the 5th of May they marched with the cavalry division under Kautz, on his first raid. The object of these raids was twofold, viz.: to weaken the enemy by destroying public property, and by drawing off detachments in pursuit. A successful raid requires a judicious selection of routes, rapid marches, short halts, and sudden and unexpected blows. In this service, General Kautz was "the right man in the right place."

In this movement he had passed through Suffolk and crossed the Black Water (where his march could have been easily arrested by destroying the bridge), before the enemy became aware of his purpose. At half-past two o'clock on the afternoon of the 7th, he had marched a distance of seventy miles, and struck the Weldon Railroad just in time to intercept a body of rebel troops on their way to Petersburg. A thunderbolt from a clear sky could hardly have been more astounding to the enemy. Instantly he was attacked. In an incredibly short time the action was over, the enemy was whipped, the railroad was cut, the public buildings were in flames, and the gallant Kautz was again on his march, with some sixty prisoners in his train.

Turning southward, the march was continued to the point where the railroad crosses the Notaway River. Here an obstinately contested fight took place in which the gal-

lant Lieutenant Jackson, of Company E, fell mortally wounded. Here, too, fell a brave private, Samuel de Laite.

In this engagement, as in others, the bravery of the men, and the efficiency of their sixteen-shooters, were put to the proof.

Major Curtis was ordered to deploy his battalion as skirmishers, and charge a much larger force of the enemy, along the railroad, near the bridge. It was a covered bridge, and the rebels soon ran to it for shelter. Our brave boys charged boldly after them, driving them through and into their fortifications on the other side, killing some and taking several prisoners, with small loss on our side. Some of the prisoners said they "thought we must have had a whole army, from the way the bullets flew."

One lieutenant asked if we "loaded up over night and then fired all day." He said "he thought, by the way the bullets came into the bridge, they must have been fired by the basketful."

The result of the affair was that the bridge was burned, and Kautz was again on the march, with forty rebel prisoners added to his train.

The immediate object of the expedition having been accomplished, the command marched to City Point. Crossing the Appomattox on the 10th, they encamped for a day near General Butler's head-quarters. Twenty-four hours, however, had not elapsed, when the division moved again on another raid, which proved to be one of the most hazardous and effective of the war. During the time that General Butler's forces were engaged with the enemy, between Bermuda Hundred and Richmond, General Kautz adroitly slipped through the lines, and again boldly dashed into the heart of Dixie.

He passed rapidly through Chesterfield County, pausing at the court-house only long enough to open the jail and liberate two prisoners.

As we dislike to be laughed at, the reader may pass over the following explanatory statement:—

One of these prisoners was a woman, who refused to leave the jail after the doors were opened, seeming to doubt the authority of the Yankees to discharge her. The other

stated that he had been imprisoned on account of his Union sentiments, and seemed very grateful to his deliverers. A few hours later, however, he disappeared from the column, taking with him the horse and equipments with which he had been kindly furnished, and forgetting to give notice of his intended route. The loss of the horse, however, was subsequently made up. A rebel, living not far from our encampment, had a valuable animal, which he was very particular to declare should never be taken from him. Accordingly he armed himself, and took up his lodgings in the stable. But he must needs sleep, and the boys knew it ; and it so happened that he opened his eyes one morning on an empty stall. Certain words were spoken, decidedly more energetic than pious, but they did not bring the horse back.

Leaving the court-house, the column moved on to Coal-field Station, on the Danville Railroad, thirteen miles west from Richmond. On the arrival of the troops, at about half-past ten in the evening, the inhabitants were surprised and alarmed quite out of their propriety. That the Yankees should have had the audacity to visit that section, seemed actually incomprehensible. But there was no remedy.

Instantly, guards were posted on all the roads leading to and from Petersburg and Richmond, and the work of the hour was hardly begun before it was ended. No harm was done to persons, or to private property, but the railroad was destroyed, the telegraph came down, and trains of cars, depot buildings, and large quantities of Government stores, went up in smoke.

On the 12th, the "history of this affair" repeated itself at Black's and White's Station, on the Southside Railroad, thirty miles west from Petersburg, and forty from Coalfield Station. The railroad was torn up, and the telegraph torn down, while the depot buildings, together with large quantities of corn, and flour, and meal, and tobacco, and salt, designed for the rebel army, were subjected to the action of fire, and resolved into their original elements.

Wellville Station, five miles east, on the same railroad, a few hours later, shared a similar fate. The column now moved in the direction of Bellefield, on the Weldon Railroad. When within two miles of that place, General Kautz

learned that the enemy was in force to receive him. As his object was not so much to fight as to weaken the enemy, by interrupting his communications and destroying his supplies, he avoided an engagement, turning to the left from Bellefield, and marching, *via* Jarratt's Station, to the Notaway River.

When the advance reached Freeman's Bridge, on this river, at ten o'clock P. M., it was discovered that the whole command was in a trap. One span of the bridge, forty feet in length, had been cut out. The river, for a considerable distance, was unfordable. The fords, above and below, were strongly guarded, and the enemy was gathering in force in the rear. The position was not a desirable one. The river must be crossed, or a battle must be fought on the enemy's chosen ground, where little was to be gained, but where every thing must be hazarded. A major of a New York regiment, commanding the advance, declared that the bridge could not be made passable before the afternoon of the next day. But on the assurance of Captain Howe, that it could be done in a much shorter time, Company D was ordered up and told what was wanted. Working parties were instantly organized. In a short time, tall pines in the neighboring woods had fallen before the axes of one party, and stalwart men, by means of the drag-ropes of a battery, had drawn them out. Another party had, in the mean time, crossed the river on a little float they had fortunately found, and stood on the remaining part of the bridge on the other side. The ropes were thrown to them, and the string-pieces were drawn across the chasm and placed in position. To cover them with rails was but the work of a few moments, and in less than three hours from the time the Maine boys began the work it was completed, and the column passed over in safety.

The division reached City Point on the 19th. During the last nine days it marched, on an average, twenty hours out of the twenty-four, leaving only four hours for rest. It will hardly be believed, that in some instances hunger compelled the men to eat raw corn like their horses, but such was the fact.

On this raid they cut the Richmond and Danville and

Southside Railroad in six different places, and inflicted an amount of damage upon the enemy's communications and army stores which told severely upon them afterward.

On their arrival at City Point, both men and horses were much exhausted. On the 20th the command crossed again to Bermuda Hundred, and went into camp about a mile from the river.

On the 7th of April we embarked on board a fine steamer, with a pleasant company, for Fortress Monroe, where we arrived at an early hour next morning. For many years Fortress Monroe had been to us a familiar name, but we were not long in discovering that the descriptions of it and its surroundings as they *were*, conveyed no correct idea of them as they *are*.

Then, there was little to be seen save the formidable walls of the old fort, rising from the sand and rocks, at the distance of a few rods from the water's edge, and the solitary sentry, slowly pacing the lofty parapet; while scarcely a human voice broke the tomb-like silence of the place.

Now, a busy scene was presented. Numerous newly constructed piers had been pushed out into the sparkling waters of the bay, and the grounds outside the walls were occupied with a curious and compact group of buildings of rude architecture, clearly designed for temporary use. The scene on the wharf was one of unusual animation and of picturesque effect. Looking down from the hurricane deck, we beheld a sea of faces, and could not well preserve our gravity as we marked the curious variety it presented.

There was the brown-visaged man in dusky gray, the worse for wear, the seedy representative of an humbled aristocracy, and there was the lean, lank, sallow, dirty, hang-dog specimen of the "poor trash" of the South. There were heads adorned with handkerchiefs of many brilliant colors, and heads that had no covering but wool. There were preposterous bonnets and stove-pipe hats, with a "smart sprinkling" of military and naval headgear. There were rich silk dresses and tow frocks. There was crinoline of enormous proportions, and there were flat feet peering from beneath it, perfectly innocent of either shoes or stockings.

It was a motley group—big and little, old and young,

civil and military. While all were busy and animated, it was easy to see that the whites of southern blood felt least at home, while the negroes were in their element. They talked the most, made the best show of white teeth, and, of all we could see, seemed decidedly the most comfortable.

There is truth in the old adage, that "it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good." While the "red tape" business was drawing its "slow length along," some of us took a stroll out to Hampton, or rather to the site of that ancient and once pleasant village.

It was but a short walk, leading, for the most part, through a collection of Government storehouses, and huts and tents so disorderly in their arrangements as to suggest the idea of reading the riot act without delay. On the way we noticed one or two handsome places, among them the residence of the Hon. Mr. Segar, surrounded by venerable trees, and commanding as charming a scene as one could desire, in the beautiful expanse of Hampton Roads, dotted with white sails and stirred by innumerable paddle-wheels. We next came to the McClellan Hospital, with its outlying wards and its broad and beautiful gardens.

Hampton was reached by crossing a bridge about four hundred paces long. Before the rebellion it was a jewel of a village, embosomed in noble trees, which threw their welcome shade over the streets and ample grounds which fronted the tasteful residences.

Hampton was settled ten years after Jamestown, and was, at the time of its destruction, the oldest Anglo-Saxon settlement then inhabited in the United States. Now it is a scene of utter desolation, inhabited almost exclusively by blacks. With the exception of an occasional grocery store, and a very few dwellings of a more respectable appearance, the residences were of the rudest description, nearly all of one room, and situated as if they had been flung out of a great architectural leather apron.

The "Old Church," cruciform in shape, and colonial in date, presented a singularly picturesque appearance, and was almost the only object about the town which indicated its former condition. The tower, from which a noble old bell once pealed out its mellow tones had fallen into a heap

of rubbish at the western end of the cross, while massive walls rose aloft in gloomy grandeur. A wilderness of young aspens and willows, with here and there a dense growth of hardy roses, disputed the possession of some once cherished graves, with a savage intrusion of undergrowth. Fragments of tombs, some with armorial blazonry, were scattered about, and the whole place bore sad evidence of the terrible scourge of war. Nor could we resist the conviction that the people who have thus felt it will be slow to invoke it again.

Failing of the main object of our expedition, partly, perhaps, from our want of acquaintance with the occult science of "red tape," we returned to Washington, and were there mustered into service, under a special order of the War Department.

On the 12th of May these six companies, still unmounted, and having drilled only on foot, were ordered to Fortress Monroe. Leaving Washington the next afternoon on board of transports, after touching at Fort Monroe, we proceeded to Norfolk, and, reporting to General Shepley, were ordered to Portsmouth, where we disembarked and went into camp in the rear of the town.

On the morning of the 22d we re-embarked on board a transport for James River. Dropping anchor about sunset, opposite Fort Powhattan, we passed the night quietly under the protection of the guns of the *Atlanta*. This craft will be remembered as the strange sea-monster designed by the rebels to destroy the blockading fleet off Charleston harbor, but, by a higher power, to do good service for the Government. One of the boys thought it "looked like the devil." Another could see no such resemblance, but said it "looked like a big sea turtle on a raft, with his 'back up.'"

A short run of about a dozen miles, the next morning, took us to Bermuda Hundred, where we disembarked, and went into camp about a mile from the landing, beside the other six companies. The regiment was now together for the first time.

At one o'clock A. M. of the 24th, one battalion was ordered to City Point, to take the place of a detachment which had been sent to Fort Powhattan. That fort, manned by colored troops, had been attacked by a considerable force under Fitz

Hugh Lee. They were, however, gallantly repulsed, and, before the arrival of the reinforcements, had retreated, and the battalion returned.

General Butler, commanding the army of the James, consisting of the tenth and eighteenth army corps, had taken possession of City Point and Bermuda Hundred on the 5th instant, greatly to the surprise of the enemy.

His fortifications extended from the Point of Rocks, on the Appomattox, northwardly to near Dutch Gap, on the James River, a distance of about five miles.

General Grant was fighting his way to the south side of the James. The bloody battles of the Wilderness and of Spottsylvania Court-House had been fought, and an order was received by General Butler, for the eighteenth corps to proceed to the White House, to co-operate with the Army of the Potomac.

On the 25th this corps left, and the cavalry, acting as infantry, was ordered to the front to take their places in the intrenchments. The position of this regiment was about midway of the line, between the two rivers, in an open field and on level ground. The tents were pitched a few rods in the rear of the breastworks, and with no protection from the shot and shell of the enemy.

The enemy held a formidable line of works in our front, varying in distance from half a mile to two miles. Directly in front of our camp, at the distance of about forty rods from our main line of works, a thick wood prevented us from seeing the enemy's position. A little to our right, the country was open, and there, on an eminence some eighty rods in advance of our breastworks, we had a small redoubt, known as Fort Pride, defended by a section of a battery, and commanded by Captain Pride, an artillery officer, from whom it took its name.

Company M, Captain Sargent commanding, was stationed in this fort as an artillery support. A portion of the regiment was constantly on picket, in front of our main line of works. We were to hold this line. It was here that the six companies referred to as having recently reached the front, loaded their pieces for action for the first time: and it was

here that the pluck of the men and the efficiency of their guns were first put to the test.

The enemy shelled us nearly every day from behind his breastworks, and though we received no damage, still a vivid recollection is retained of the shelling. The guns of the enemy, on a part of his line, were trained on the redoubt, and when the shells failed, as they often did, to explode at the point intended, they came directly into our camp, the Whitworth whistling with a sound like that produced by the wing of a pigeon swiftly cutting the air—others screaming over our heads or tearing up the ground. In one instance, the fusee of a shell was blown out and struck a colored boy in the face, but inflicted no serious injury. Some of the boys proposed to wash his face, to see if the fright had not bleached him. The humor of these people is "*irrepressible*." When the fusee whisked across this fellow's face, he opened his eyes wide, and seeing a friend, exclaimed, "By golly, Bill, did you see dat ar snipe?"

"Yah, Yah, Yah," exclaimed the other, "you nigger. I reckon you wouldn't like to have dat ar snipe pick you."

At three o'clock A. M. of the 28th, the rebels opened on us with artillery, all along the line, and the whole force was ordered to "fall in." It was supposed they were about to assault our works. Drawn up for the first time in close line of battle, a few paces from the breastworks, in anticipation of a bloody conflict, the whole bearing of the men was such as to make their gallant commander proud of them. When all was ready, as the intrepid Colonel Conger mounted on old "Barney," as his war-horse was called, the inevitable pipe in mouth, puffing as quietly as if sitting at his tent-door, the chaplain passed along in front of the line with words of cheer to the men. As he told them what was expected of them, and that he trusted they would give a good account of themselves in the coming conflict, they answered with the utmost enthusiasm, "We will, Chaplain, we will; that is what we came here for. We will do it." The expected assault, however, was not made, and three hours later they returned to their quarters.

On the picket line the time did not entirely pass without enlivening incidents. An officer, one night, discerned a sus-

picious looking object moving stealthily toward our fortifications. Making a detour, he got into its rear unperceived, and soon discovered that it was a man, reconnoitering our works. By cautious movements, now stepping behind this tree, and now crouching behind that stump, still when the game was still, and moving quickly when it moved, he succeeded in getting sufficiently near, when, taking deliberate aim, he roared out, "Lay down." Disarmed and brought in, the captive proved to be a lieutenant in the rebel service.

On the 30th, the thunder of artillery all day gave us a welcome intimation that General Grant was coming. Beyond incidents like these, nothing occurred worthy of note till the 4th of June.

The part of the picket line which extended along in front of our camp, from left to right, about one mile, was held by our regiment. On our right, the line extending on in front of Fort Pride, and some distance beyond, was manned by another regiment. Before daybreak on the morning of the 4th, the enemy commenced a furious shelling, which was continued till sunrise. Meantime he had thrown out a strong line of skirmishers to attack our pickets on the left, for the purpose, doubtless, of diverting attention from the point at which he intended to strike. The attack was sudden and vigorous, but the reserve rallying promptly, with their superior arms, the enemy was repulsed. The skirmishing continued, however, till about nine o'clock, when a regiment of South Carolina troops left their intrenchments, further to our right, and advanced on Fort Pride with a yell peculiarly their own. The pickets of the regiment referred to left their posts and came in.

Captain Sargent at once sent out twenty-one men, under command of Lieutenant Blethen. This small party, taking advantage of the ground, got a position from which, as the enemy advanced on the fort, they could give him an enfilading fire. The first volley told with terrible effect; another equally destructive instantly followed. Another, another, and another, tore through their thinned and thinning ranks. It seemed as if a whole brigade was on their flank. In the mean time our artillery opened on them with grape and canister. A moment more and the survivors were seeking the

shelter of their works, leaving their dead and wounded on the field. Among the dead was the colonel of the regiment. A detachment of our men was sent out to man the picket line. Lieutenant Blethen returned, bringing in thirteen prisoners, among whom was one commissioned officer. It is a singular fact, that we had not a man harmed.

Two hours after the fight, the body of the rebel colonel who fell was sent, under a flag of truce, across the enemy's lines, together with his gold watch, a diamond ring, and various other articles of value found upon his person.

It is a noteworthy fact, that the Sabbath was sometimes "remembered" in the army, even in the midst of a vigorous campaign. When the troops were on a march, it was different. But, during the ten months the two great armies confronted each other before Richmond, no instance is remembered in which the religious services of the Sabbath were interrupted by the enemy. As by common consent, aggressive movements on both sides, with rare exceptions, were suspended on that day.

Usually on the Sabbath, "all was quiet along the lines." Especially so were the first Sabbaths we passed at Bermuda Hundred front. At the suggestion of Colonel Mix, of the Third New York Cavalry, that regiment and the First District of Columbia Cavalry attended a united service, while stationed at that point, the chaplains of the two regiments officiating alternately.

At one o'clock on the morning of the 10th, the six mounted companies of the First District of Columbia Cavalry moved with the division under General Kautz, as it afterward appeared, to capture Petersburg. The cavalry was to attack the city on the south, while the tenth corps of infantry, under General Gilmore, was to attack on the north side. The cavalry moved promptly. All the troops did their duty well. No further account of the matter, however, can here be given than is necessary to show the part borne by this regiment. As the column, marching by the Jerusalem turnpike, approached the enemy's defenses, Lieutenant-Colonel Conger, commanding, ordered Major Curtis to dismount his battalion and charge the enemy's works. Every fourth man was left in charge of the horses. The balance of

the battalion moved steadily forward, firing rapidly as they advanced, nor did they pause at all till they were inside the rebel works, securing prisoners and destroying such camp equipage as they could not remove.

It was then discovered that they had done this against three times their own number, fighting behind breastworks. With the common arm, this would hardly have been possible. Some of the prisoners said: "Your rapid firing confused our men; they thought the devil helped you, and it was of no use to fight." During the action, Captain Griffin, of Company C, with a small detachment from his own and another company, charged and took a twelve-pound brass howitzer, against large odds of good fighting men. They could not stand the ready-loaded and instant-firing arms which our men used against them.

After the defenses had been carried, it was ascertained that the infantry had returned to Bermuda Hundred without striking a blow, and as the enemy was rapidly bringing up reinforcements from Richmond and elsewhere, General Kautz was compelled to retire, which he did without molestation. In the early part of the action, Lieutenant Maguire received a painful wound in the leg. This was our only casualty. While this affair was in progress, a detachment from that portion of the regiment which remained behind reconnoitered the enemy's works in our front, found them deserted, and demolished them.

On the 13th we were relieved from duty in the intrenchments, by a regiment of one hundred days men from Ohio.

The next day the balance of the regiment was mounted, and moved at once with the cavalry division, in concert with the eighteenth corps of infantry, for a second demonstration on Petersburg.

The disadvantage under which they labored will be appreciated, when it is stated that a portion of the District of Columbia men took the saddle that day for the first time in their lives. And yet the regiment was highly complimented for its gallantry in the engagement, which resulted in forcing the enemy back to his inner line of intrenchments.

Lieutenant Parkman, of Company D, a brave and accomplished officer, and an excellent man, was killed.

While at Bermuda Hundred, as well as elsewhere, the kindly ministrations of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions called forth grateful acknowledgments from many a suffering soldier.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### FIRST DISTRICT CAVALRY.

Leaving Camp again—"Wilson's Raid"—Battles—The Escape of Kautz—The End of Regimental Service.

HITHERTO one-half the regiment had served as infantry. Now, mounted and released from duty in the intrenchments, they were so far prepared to take the field as cavalry. Probably, however, no other regiment in the service took the field in a condition so unfavorable to success.

Now if (as we shall hereafter see), notwithstanding all the adverse influences, they were distinguished for their bravery and efficiency on every field in which they fought, the fact will prove the sterling qualities of the men.

On the 19th, we broke camp near the breastworks at Bermuda Hundred front, and moved north about five miles, to a point near the James, about two miles below Jones's Landing.

At four o'clock P. M. of the 20th, an order was received to be ready to march at an hour's notice. At nine o'clock our horse equipments arrived from Washington. The different parts of the saddle were in different boxes, and so unacquainted were the men with horse gear, that many of them were unable to adjust the various parts without assistance. Nor was this strange. Before their enlistment they had no occasion to learn, and subsequently, no opportunity, and yet, three hours later, they started on the celebrated "Wilson's Raid."

At one o'clock, on the morning of the 21st of June, the regiment moved with the third division of cavalry, under General Kautz, and joined another division from the Army of the Potomac. The whole force numbered about eight

thousand men, with sixteen pieces of artillery, and was commanded by General Wilson.

The object of the movement, like that of similar ones which had preceded it, was not to fight, but to weaken the enemy by cutting his communications, and by destroying army stores and other public property.

The Army of the Potomac was now intrenched on the south side of Richmond. All supplies for the rebel capital must be drawn from the South and West. The question of its reduction was only a question of time, while every interruption of its communications, and every diminution of its supplies, would hasten the time.

On the night of the 21st, the command bivouacked at Blanford, on the Suffolk Railroad, four miles south of Petersburg. Of the use of this road the enemy had already been deprived. Passing on the 22d to Prince George's Court-house, thence marching in a southerly direction, they struck the Weldon Railroad at Reams's Station, twelve miles from Petersburg. The place was guarded by a small body of militia. A portion of them were captured and the remainder dispersed.

Here the sad but necessary work of destruction began. All the buildings at the station, together with a locomotive, and a train of five or six cars, were consigned to the flames.

After tearing up the road for a considerable distance, the command marched to Ford's Station, on the South Side Railroad, eighteen miles southwest from Petersburg. Here the work of destruction was resumed. The public buildings, together with three locomotives and fifteen cars, shared the fate of those at Reams's Station.

On the 23d, they advanced to Black's and White's, fifteen miles southwest, on the same road, destroying the three intervening stations, and tearing up the road along their line of march.

On the morning of the 24th, a march of eight miles led them to Notaway Court-house, where they destroyed a railroad station, together with a large storehouse, filled with cotton.

Resuming the line of march, they advanced to Keysville, on the Richmond and Danville Railroad, leaving behind

them a track of smouldering ruins, as far as the public property of the enemy furnished combustible matter. Nor is it to be denied that, within certain limits, a good deal of foraging was done.

In a healthy subject, free exercise in the open air, especially on horseback, tends to give an appetite, whose cravings nothing can appease but food. This was the experience of our boys. And if their haversacks were sometimes empty, and they were fain to gnaw the raw corn, "which the horses did eat," their appetites were all the more clamorous when they came within reach of food. At such times, bread, and meat, and butter, and milk, and eggs, and cream, in a word, whatever the smoke-house, or the spring-house, or the field, or garden, or stall, or pasture of a rebel contained, which was capable of being readily converted into good food, was remorselessly appropriated, without waiting for either commissary or quartermaster process. These acts of the boys were never denied; and yet, for the life of us, we could never discover any signs of penitence on account of them. It should be stated, however, that the law of magnanimity was not entirely ignored.

The boys were one day in want of meat, and, as they had no other means of getting it, they "confiscated" the contents of a smoke-house on the plantation of a wealthy rebel. While the distribution was going on, the victim demanded, in no very pleasant tones, whether he was to have none for himself.

"Certainly," a quiet Yankee replied. "Now is your time. Pitch in, pitch in, and take your share, while it is going!"

After passing Drake's Depot, eight miles further south, and paying it the same compliments they had paid to others, they approached Roanoke Bridge, which crosses the Staunton River, at the mouth of the Little Roanoke. As this was a point of great importance to the enemy, it was fortified and strongly guarded. On this side of the river, at the distance of about three-fourths of a mile, running parallel with it, was a range of hills. Between the hills and the river, the ground was open and level. At the left of the railroad was a broad field of wheat, while on the right a luxuriant growth

of grass and weeds, rising nearly to the height of a man's shoulders, covered the ground. The bluff on the opposite side of the river was lined with earthworks, and bristled with cannon, both above and below the bridge, while a strong line of the enemy's skirmishers had been thrown across the bridge, and deployed along the shore.

Wilson's object was to burn the bridge, and Lieutenant Colonel Conger, of the First District of Columbia Cavalry was detailed to do it. The regiment was composed of new recruits, with little experience, and had received less instruction than any other regiment in the command. The undertaking was a perilous one. Its wisdom the reader will be likely to question. And yet, when the final order was given to charge across the level ground, in the face of the rebel batteries, the gallant First District of Columbia moved forward in splendid style, dismounted (except the intrepid Conger, who, being lame from previous wounds, was compelled to ride). The advance squadron, commanded by Captain Benson, had not advanced far, when, from the line of the enemy's works in front, a murderous storm of grape and canister was hurled into their ranks with terrible effect. Officers and men went down in large numbers. Still, without the least protection, in the face of that withering fire, and at too great a distance from the enemy to effect much by their own, those brave men pressed on till near the bridge. Efforts were made to burn it, but they were unsuccessful. The regiment did but little actual fighting here, for the simple reason that they could not get at the enemy, but the cannonading was rapid and heavy. The hills presented a line of fire and smoke, and the earth trembled with the terrific concussions. Shells screamed across the horizon, bursting into deadly iron hail—the grim forms of smoke-masked men, the gleam of burnished guns in the wheat field, where the men were not engaged, and the flashing of sabers where they were, with horsemen in the distance, sweeping to and fro, formed a scene of exciting grandeur such as few of our men had ever witnessed before.

When at length it was discovered that the object could not be accomplished but at too great a sacrifice of life, the advance was ordered back, and, as nothing else was to be

done in this direction, the return march was commenced. The enemy followed all day, but made no attack. After a march of thirty-two miles directly east, through Greensborough, the column halted for the night near Oak Grove.

A march of thirty-eight miles brought them to the Iron Bridge across Stony Creek, at about ten o'clock on the morning of the 28th. Here a heavy force of cavalry and artillery was found in position to dispute the crossing. The cavalry consisted of Hampton's command, together with that of Fitz Hugh Lee.

A severe engagement took place, in which this regiment lost about eighty men in killed, wounded, and missing. The result was indecisive. The enemy was pressed back, while our column turned to the left and crossed the creek at a point above.

General Kautz's division had the advance, this regiment moving at the head of the column, and the Eleventh Pennsylvania next.

On approaching Reams's Station, which had been supposed to be in our possession, General Kautz found himself confronted by the enemy, both infantry and artillery. Mahone's whole division, and one brigade from another division, had been sent out to intercept Wilson's command, which was now outnumbered two to one.\* The enemy was drawn up in strong line of battle, extending from the Notaway River, on our right, to a point far out on our left. This regiment and the Eleventh Pennsylvania charged directly through. General Wilson, however, instead of following on, fell back, abandoned his artillery, wagons, and ambulances, and, by making a wide detour, avoided the enemy, and abandoned these two regiments to their fate.

Kautz had marched but a short distance, when he found himself in a triangle, two sides of which, including his rear and left front, were held by the enemy in overwhelming numbers. Extending along his right front was the railroad, running through a cut from ten to twelve feet in depth.

\* Stung to madness by the previous daring and destructive raids of Kautz, Lee is said to have declared that he would crush these raiders, if it cost him his whole army.

Beyond it, and running nearly parallel with it, was a muddy stream of considerable depth, and beyond that, an extensive swamp, supposed to be impassable.

The enemy now thought himself sure of his prey. Under the circumstances, almost any other man would have surrendered. Not so the indomitable Kautz.

It was a wild and exciting scene to see those mounted men slide down that steep embankment to the railroad track, and scramble up the opposite bank, and dash down the next declivity into the stream, and wallow through mire and water, the horses in some instances rolling over, and the men going under, amid the thunder of artillery, and with solid shot plunging, and shells exploding, and grape and canister raining, and musket balls whistling around them, till they reached the opposite shore, and disappeared in the swamp.

Following their indefatigable commander, they pressed their way through, and reached their old camp at Jones's Landing, the next day.\*

Lieutenant-Colonel Conger, Major Curtis, and Captain Sanford were severely wounded. Captains Benson and Chase, who had been wounded at Roanoke Bridge, fell into the enemy's hands as prisoners, when the ambulances were abandoned at Stony Creek.

The damage to the enemy by this raid was immense. Besides the destruction of buildings, of cotton, of commissary stores, and rolling stock, Richmond and Petersburg were cut off from all railroad communication for several weeks.

The whole Army of the Potomac was now in front of Petersburg, and was intrenching in the direction of the South Side Railroad.

One of our companies was on duty in Fort Pride. With this exception, the history of the regiment, for the next few weeks, is little else than a history of alternate rest and drill. Once or twice it was ordered out on reconnaissance, and once on foot to repel an expected assault, which, however, was not made.

\* This swamp had been made passable by a drouth of almost unprecedented severity.

On the 27th, orders were received to be ready to move at six o'clock, P. M., with three days' rations. The whole cavalry force, together with the second corps of infantry, had been ordered to the north side of the James. The object was to draw the enemy from Petersburg, where an assault was to be made in connection with the mine explosion. The head of Sheridan's column arrived from the west side of the Appomattox at nine; P. M. At three o'clock, A. M., the First District of Columbia joined the rear, and, after marching to Jones's Landing, halted for the command to cross the pontoon bridge. Late in the day the crossing was effected, and the regiment bivouacked for the night.

Some skirmishing occurred on the next day, in which Lieutenant McBride, of Company C, was wounded.

On the 30th, the regiment returned to camp, and on the same afternoon marched to the west side of the Appomattox. On the 2d of August, it was ordered on picket near the enemy's lines, on the extreme left of the army.

Our main line of works in front of Petersburg conformed very nearly to that of the enemy on the left, bending southward, so as to face the Weldon Railroad. A picket line extended from the left of our line of fortifications, in an easterly direction, through Prince George's Court-House, Lee's Mills, Sycamore Church, and Cox's Mills. On the 3d of August, the headquarters of the regiment were established at Sycamore Church, Major Baker commanding. This place was about ten miles southeast from City Point.

From the 8th to the 21st of August, the regiment was on picket duty on the Weldon Railroad, four miles from Petersburg.

On the 18th, while a demonstration was made on the north side of the James, in front of Richmond, by Generals Gregg and Hancock, with their respective commands of cavalry and infantry, and while a portion of the rebel troops were withdrawn from our front to meet the emergency, the fifth corps of infantry advanced and took possession of the Weldon Railroad. Desperate but fruitless efforts were made by the enemy to recover it. Severe fighting occurred on the 21st, in which this regiment participated. Dismounted, and deployed as skirmishers on the left of the fifth corps, they

participated in the capture of a brigade of rebel troops, with three stands of colors.

After picketing again, on the 22d, the regiment became engaged with a body of rebel troops the next morning, and drove them four miles, destroying a quantity of army stores. In the afternoon, Hampton's Legion was encountered. It was "Greek meeting Greek." It was impossible, however, for him to stand against the sixteen-shooters, and he was driven back, leaving his dead and wounded on the field. We also took some prisoners. During this last engagement, Captain Sargent, of Company M, was killed while charging the enemy. We lost two men besides.

On the 24th, the fighting was resumed at various points, and at some was severe, but with no decisive results. On the 25th, this regiment met the enemy in three distinct engagements, repulsing him in each.

At four o'clock there were indications that he intended a flank movement, and this regiment was ordered to the extreme left of the line, and dismounted, to fortify against the expected attack at that point. After the hard and almost incessant fighting of the day, the men could hardly have been in the best working condition, and yet, in momentary expectation of an attack, they wrought with a will. Without intrenching tools, their own "hands ministered" to the necessities of the hour. Logs, stumps, brush, roots, whatever movable material the forest afforded, was brought into requisition. The extemporized breastwork was hardly completed, when the enemy opened on us with artillery. Against this our works were no protection. But the men stood firm. Only one man was killed, and one wounded. There was no enemy in sight, but all understood what this shelling boded.

The men had received their orders, and all was silent along the line. Every man was at his post. Every eye was open, and every ear attent. No sound was heard but the roar of the enemy's artillery, and the scream and crash of shells around us. This, however, had continued but a short time, when the enemy was seen in strong line of battle advancing through the woods. No sooner had they discovered our position than they raised a yell and rushed

on to the charge. But they paid dearly for their temerity. Our men reserved their fire—coolly waiting till the enemy was sufficiently near. Their first volley told with startling effect. Many a poor fellow drew short breath and never breathed again. Another and another volley followed in instantaneous succession, and the enemy was swept from our front. Unfortunately, however, the infantry on our right, pressed by superior numbers, had fallen back, and the enemy was on our flank. The regiment held its position till dark, and was the last to leave the field. The next day it returned to Sycamore Church and resumed picket duty.

While here, our officers formed an acquaintance with some of the "F. F. V.'s." For the most part, the acquaintance was pleasant, but not always. The following incident will illustrate the spirit sometimes encountered: One of our officers, while out on a scouting expedition with a small squad of men, halted near a fine old Virginia mansion, at a considerable distance outside of our lines, while he advanced and politely accosted the lordly proprietor, as he sat puffing his cigar in the cool shade of his piazza. His lordship at once commenced a furious tirade against "Lincoln and his dirty minions." The lieutenant listened patiently, meanwhile observing one of the colored women carrying a fine churning of butter into the house from a building near by, where it seemed to have been just made. At the first pause in the furious tirade, he said, in substance, "Well, sir, the war is a costly thing. It has made it necessary to tax almost every thing, especially luxuries. Now, as this sort of talk seems a luxury to you, it must be taxed. You will please send out to my men a few pounds of your new butter."

Whether from generosity or some other motive, the butter was furnished, but the spirit of the man was not at all improved. He went on to abuse the Government, and all who supported it, in terms more violent than before. At the next pause, his tormentor quietly remarked: "For this fresh indulgence, you will please furnish us with half a dozen of your best hams, and a sack of flour; *and the sooner it is done, the better!*"

The negro who executed the order clearly indicated, by an exhibition of his fine white teeth, and a mischievous twinkle of his eye, that he enjoyed the thing much better than "massa" did. The master, in the mean time, was foaming with rage, and venting his feelings in terms of the most intense bitterness.

At length, the imperturbable lieutenant interposed coolly : "Sir, your indulgence has gone far enough. You will square the account by turning out the two beeves I see in yonder lot, and if I hear any more of this abuse of my Government, I will take you along too." With a polite good-by, he was left a sadder, if not a wiser man. For some days after, the boys ate good, new, soft bread and butter, instead of hard-tack, and fresh beef and ham, instead of salt pork.

The portion of the picket-line held by the First District of Columbia, now numbering about four hundred effective men, was nearly five miles in length, extending along a road running nearly east and west, mostly through a wooded country. Major Baker, in immediate command of two battalions, held the right of the line, with the reserve at Sycamore Church, whilst Captain Howe, with one battalion, held the left, with the reserve at Cox's Mills, two miles east.

Such was the position of this little devoted band of four hundred men, on the outer picket-line, five miles from any support, when at daybreak, on the 16th of September, they were suddenly attacked by the whole force of Hampton's cavalry, supported by three brigades of infantry.

In some way, which has never been explained, one detachment of the enemy's force had passed through the picket-line on the right, held by another regiment. Another had gone round our left flank, where there were no pickets. This must have been done hours before the assault, for (as it afterward appeared) they had barricaded the roads three miles in our rear.

If the reader inquires why the enemy threw so formidable a force against a point so remote, so weak, and apparently so unimportant, the answer is, that just in our rear was a herd of twenty-three hundred cattle, and the rebel army wanted meat.

If the position, purpose, and strength of the assaulting

party had been known, any attempt at resistance would have been madness.

The first intimation of an assault at Sycamore Church was given by the charging shout of the enemy. Instantly our men rallied under their intrepid commander, to meet the furious onset. So rapid and terrible was their fire, that three times the enemy fell back in confusion. But the contest was too unequal. This little handful of men was in a few moments surrounded, their horses captured, and they were compelled to succumb.

As illustrations of this sudden, short, wild, and terrible fight, we give one or two incidents. At the first note of alarm, Lieutenant Spaulding, of Company E, mounted his horse, which had been kept saddled all night, and started out to reconnoiter. Meeting a body of cavalry, he mistook them for a party of our own men, and found himself among them before discovering his error. As he was taken by them for one of their own men, he rode along with them till the order was given to charge, when, with stentorian voice, he roared out, "Charge—charge!" and, putting spurs to his horse, he dashed forward, and turning into the bushes made good his escape.

Nearly at the same moment he started down the road to reconnoiter, Lieutenant Mountfort, of Company K, started with a sergeant, W. F. Lunt, and a small squad of men, dismounted, in the same direction. They had gone but a short distance, when they met the enemy charging up the road. Comprehending the situation at once, the lieutenant shouted, "Give it to them, boys, give it to them!" at the same time setting the example. Two men at the head of the column were seen to sway and fall from their saddles, before the unerring aim of the lieutenant. Other saddles were emptied, and the advance fell back. A moment later, however, they came on in line of battle. The lieutenant now ordered his men to fall back to a tree, which had fallen across the road. On reaching it, they found the enemy all around them. Observing a squad of them who had just seized Major Baker, Sergeant Lunt fired on them, when instantly several carbines were leveled on him. Struck in the head and stunned, he fell forward into the thick tree

top. Falling between the limbs, they closed over him, their thick foliage concealing him. When consciousness returned, the body of the gallant lieutenant lay within a few feet of him, dead, and the enemy was plundering the camp. Crawling cautiously out, he succeeded in reaching the bushes, where, falling in with a small squad of men who, like himself, had thus far escaped capture, he started with them for the next picket post. But as they were passing through a deep cut in the road, the sergeant, from exhaustion, being somewhat in the rear, as those in advance of him emerged from the cut, they were met by a party of the enemy, and nearly all captured. The sergeant escaped, in consequence of being in the rear. Who would have thought that the exhaustion, which seemed to put him to such a disadvantage, would have been the means of saving him from a horrible captivity? Such are the ways of Providence. Of twenty-five men of Company G, who were captured on that fatal morning, only three are known to have survived the barbarities of their imprisonment.

The attack on Cox's Mills was made at nearly the same moment with that at Sycamore Church.

A little to the left of Captain Howe's position, and at the foot of a very considerable descent, the road crosses a bridge over a small stream. To command this bridge, a slight breastwork had been thrown up upon the high ground on this side. At the first notice of the approach of the enemy, the command rallied just in time to reach this breastwork, behind which they formed. A heavy force of mounted rebels had crossed the bridge, and with wild yells was charging up the hill, outnumbering our men ten to one. On, on they came, expecting an easy victory. Coolly our men waited. Not a shot was fired till they were within easy range. Then a few volleys from the sixteen-shooters sent them back in confusion. A second time they charged, with the same result. This time they did not return. After waiting some time, in expectation of another attack, scouts were sent out to ascertain what they were about. They found a formidable force in front, and a strong force advancing on each flank.

No alternative now remained but to fall back to Syca-

more Church, as Captain Howe had been ordered to do, in case a retreat became necessary. The enemy had been so severely punished, that he was careful to keep at a safe distance, and the command fell back in good order, and without the loss of a man. At the church, however, a sad fate awaited them. Ignorant of what had occurred there, they expected to join Major Baker's reserve, and to make a stand. But in the mean time, the enemy, having secured their prisoners, and plundered the camp, had formed in a semicircle across the road, and, dressed in our uniform, were mistaken for our own men. Successful resistance was now impossible, and, having done all that brave men could do, like men they yielded to their fate.

Some men seem to bear a charmed life. Lieutenant E. P. Merrill, of Company M, commanded a squadron under Captain Howe. During a few moments of suspense, anxious to know the position of the enemy, he sprang upon the first horse that came to hand, and, plunging the spurs into his flanks, dashed forward to reconnoiter.

The horse stumbled, and, coming suddenly to the ground, threw his rider over his head, far down the hill. Instantly he rose, made a hasty reconnaissance, and returned to the line in safety.

During the subsequent melee, a rebel officer made his appearance in the edge of the woods, and, taking deliberate aim at the lieutenant, fired three shots in quick succession, neither of which took effect.

Our loss in killed and wounded was small, but in prisoners, large, numbering several hundred. They were among the bravest men Maine had sent to the war, and here their services in the First District of Columbia Cavalry ended.

There was much speculation at the time, as to who was responsible for the exposed position of the cattle-herd which invited this rebel raid. It seems to have been a high officer of the army, who in all other respects has deserved well of his country, and whose name is for this reason withheld.

Shortly after this affair, this officer dined with the commander-in-chief at the headquarters of General Kautz. In the course of conversation, he put this question: "General,

how long are we to remain here?" The reticent Grant smoked on a few seconds, then took the inevitable cigar from his lips, and, while dislodging the ashes with his little finger, quietly answered: "I don't know, General; if you keep on feeding Lee's army with beef, we shall have to stay a good while."

The questioner blushed, and Grant resumed his smoking.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE ANIMUS OF SECESSION.

**A Disloyal Pastor and his Friends compelled to "do justly"—The "Peculiar Institution" Dies Hard—Man-Stealers Foiled in their Schemes of Robbery.**

ANOTHER phase of disloyalty presented itself with the advent of the autumn of 1863; an example of the conflicting elements in Southern communities during the rebellion, whose sharpest, most unrelenting outbreak was seen in the alliance of religion with treason.

It was notorious that the clergy and women were the "best haters," and loudest talkers, in the ranks of secession. The reason lay, perhaps, in the nature of things. Never is wrong feeling and action so intense as when it takes the sanctions of Christianity; while the strong impulses and the lively sensibilities of woman's nature lend a similar strength and activity to it in a bad cause.

I was making an excursion, in an official way, toward Point Lookout, upon a Sabbath evening. While approaching it with a force of about fifty men of my cavalry, we came to a small church, about twenty-four miles from Washington, which was closed, and a number of people standing before the door. I naturally asked the meaning of the strange scene. It seemed that the majority of the people in the parish were disloyal, and, after permitting the Unionists to occupy the sanctuary a portion of the time, nearly in proportion to their relative numerical strength, had voted to exclude them altogether.

I inquired: "Who has the key to this church?"

"Rev. Mr. P., who lives down the road a quarter of a mile"

I immediately rode away to the parsonage, and knocked at its door. A gentleman with white cravat and dignified demeanor opened it, when I asked him :—

“ You preach in the little church up at the Corners, do you not ? ”

“ I do.”

“ And you keep the key ? ”

“ Yes, sir.”

“ So you won’t let the loyal people serve God there ? ”

“ No ; the parish voted to exclude those who didn’t agree with us.”

“ Well, I want you to unlock the church.”

“ Oh, no ; I can’t do that.”

“ Then you will go with me to Washington ; and you can have three minutes to decide which you will do.”

He reached out his hand to take the key, which was hanging on the wall, near the door.

“ That will not do ; you must go and unlock the church yourself.”

“ No, I can’t.”

“ Then start for Washington.”

“ Of course, you have the power.”

“ Yes, and I intend to exercise it.”

The aggrieved pastor then reluctantly followed me with the key. We approached the church, before which stood the wondering and waiting people, when my clerical friend handed the key to a brother, requesting him to open the door.

I interposed. “ Don’t you take that key ; he must unlock the church.”

There being no alternative, he doggedly obeyed ; and, one after another, the outsiders went in, till the house was nearly full.

I said to them : “ Now you can serve God according to the dictates of your own conscience.”

The loyal minister, who had vainly attempted to occupy the pulpit for several successive Sabbaths, entered it, and commenced the usual service. Meanwhile, an officer of my cavalry force reported that the horses were suffering for want of water. I directed them to be taken to a ford four miles distant for watering.

When the rebels found my cavalry were gone, they also went into the church, and commenced a disturbance of the meeting, first by scraping their feet upon the pews, then by audible expressions of their hatred. I rose, and, in no gentle mood, called an orderly, and told him to ride in hot haste after the cavalry, and tell the officer in command to send back ten men as quickly as possible.

In a short time, the force came on the full gallop to the church, when I ordered a halt. The frightened disturbers of loyal worship attempted to get out of the way, when I directed the arrest of about a dozen of them, and told them they must march with us to Washington that night. They begged for mercy, but it was too late.

They certainly didn't play by the way; for we reached the city before daylight the next morning.

After I had risen, in single file, and with drooping heads, and hats in hand, they formed a ring of chop-fallen chivalry around me—a comical and pitiful sight. Upon giving their parole they were released, and no further quarrel interrupted the Union worshipers, who gratefully assembled upon the recurrence of their appointed service in the rural temple.

In every thing and everywhere, it was evident to the casual observer that slavery was the soul of the rebellion—the educator in treason, perverting law, religion, and social order, and laying on its altar, like the idolatry of Hindooostan, unsparingly, human victims.

The determination of the Government, and of the army officers generally, notwithstanding, to save the "peculiar institution" with the Union, in the beginning of the war, was equally apparent. Under the notorious fugitive slave law of 1857, which offered a premium upon the re-enslavement of the refugee from unrequited toil and personal abuse, the commissioner appointed to enforce its provisions in Washington was a secessionist by the name of Cox, who took care to restore every chattel to the claimant, without nicely discriminating between the bond and free. As a consequence, not a few persons, who, by birth or purchase of freedom, were citizens, were seized and forced into bondage. I had some very interesting cases of the kind.

A free-born mulatto girl was kidnapped by the slave

catchers, and through perjury the proper order was obtained, and she was taken to her pretended owner. Intelligent, and resolved to be free, she had the facts conveyed to my headquarters. By a military order I compelled the woman-stealer to restore to her friends the captive robbed of her rights in the name of law. The tinge of African hue alone made the outrage a trivial incident to all but the grateful and, I might add, graceful young lady.

Upon my return from an expedition into Lower Maryland, when within a mile from the State line, I met a farmer with a wagon load of slaves, consisting of a father and mother, with their two small children, and a wife's sister, all in charge of a constable and a force of armed citizens. The slaves, tied hand and foot, and thrown upon the straw in an old country wagon, were on their way back to bondage. And this was done in the name of law, to pacify the men who were plotting to destroy the Union !

I was completely exhausted ; but, nerved to action by indignation too intense for expression, I demanded the authority for the horrible proceeding. The claimant produced his parchment, bearing the seal of Commissioner Cox. He flourished the precious document before me, and directed my attention to the great seal of the United States.

Upon careful perusal of it, I found that it bore the names of only four slaves, while the load included five. When I pointed the chivalrous and confident owner to the apparently unimportant circumstance, he replied : "We don't count that baby," pointing to an infant three months old, in the arms of a mother, whose feet were tied, while she leaned against the side of the vehicle.

I answered : "The mother was a slave, and the child was born in bondage. You claim the mother, and of course the child is kidnapped ; and as you profess to be a law-abiding citizen, and are violating the statute, I arrest the entire company."

He warmly protested, and threatened resistance.

He said, "Take the baby ; what in h—ll do we want of the baby ? We want grown people."

The mother began to weep. One of my men was touched, and, turning to me with pleading tone, inquired if I would separate the mother and child.

The display of a dozen of Colt's revolvers, by myself and assistants, satisfied my excited friend that I was in earnest in expressing my interpretation of the law. I sprang into the wagon, and with my saber's point cut the ropes.

This, I think, was the first practical application of the principle of the famous Emancipation Proclamation of later date.

I directed the horses' heads to be turned toward Washington, when the owner and driver of the load remonstrated, and said, with an oath :

"Let the niggers walk to Washington."

I said, "No. You brought them here, and must carry them back."

The poor captives sank on their knees ; the venerable old man exclaiming, with uplifted hands, "Bless God!" and the mother adding, "God bless Colonel Baker!"

I took them to my headquarters and set them at liberty.

This transaction, of course, brought upon my head the curses of the slaveholders of Lower Maryland. But I had violated no law, on account of the fortunate presence of the baby.

A delegation called on Mr. Lincoln the next morning, protesting against the arbitrary act, producing, as before, the sacred parchment. I was summoned to the White House. The President said :

"Baker, a serious charge is preferred against you;" directing my attention to the document, with the inquiry, "What do you know about the case?"

I briefly made my statement, giving prominence to the number of the slaves, and the juvenile supernumerary.

The Chief-Magistrate, worthy of the nation he represented, replied jocosely : "Well, Baker, I guess the baby saves you!" and dismissed the whole affair, leaving the "contrabands" at large, and myself to the prosecution of my thankless profession.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### ENGLISH SYMPATHY WITH THE SOUTH—NEGRO-HATE IN WASHINGTON.

An English Emissary of the South—He Deceives the Secretary of State—My Acquaintance with Him—The Fruitless Effort to Betray Me—The Journey to the Old Capitol Prison—Negro-hate in the National Capital.

MUCH has been said and written about English sympathy and co-operation with the South. Perhaps nothing can give the extent and success of this alliance a more just prominence in the record of the war than some account of its practical operations, involving the highest official position, but without the least intimation of inability or disloyalty. On the contrary, the narrative only reveals the deliberate and skillful conspiracy of the abettors of treason in the “mother country,” deceiving the most intelligent statesmanship, because it seemed impossible that the betrayal of confidence could appear in the disguise of culture, friendship, and appreciated courtesies from the most eminent men in the Government.

During the first years of the rebellion, an Englishman made his appearance in Washington, whose apparent interest in the loyal cause, and his open denunciations of the rebel leaders, attracted the attention of our able Secretary of State. He gained ready access to other officers of the Government.

So completely had he won the confidence of Mr. Seward that he received letters to the commander of the Department of the Shenandoah Valley. With them he waited upon that officer, and was shown the usual attentions which follow such an introduction. From the commanding general he received a *carte blanche* to visit the outposts whenever he thought proper. Disregarding the obligations such favors imposed, he passed the Federal lines beyond Winchester, and boldly entered the camp of Stonewall Jackson, boasting

of his deception, and receiving similar civilities to those shown him by the Union officers. He remained several days on hostile soil, and then returned to Washington, after having received from Jackson permission to cross his lines at any time, day or night.

While he was in Washington, he soon, by his suspicious bearing, his secret meetings with well-known secessionists, awakened my suspicions. Upon inquiry, I learned that he was a sympathizer with the South, and a reputed correspondent of a London paper.

In the prosecution of my inquiries, I ascertained that he *was* an accredited writer for the English press, and was assured that the stranger was a reliable gentleman. But believing that, if my British friend had facilities for passing the lines of both armies, he could give me important intelligence, I decided to cultivate his acquaintance. I accordingly wrote him a friendly note requesting him to call at my headquarters, which he soon after did. He opened the conversation by an effort to impress my mind with his importance as a detective in the Union service, being able to cross both lines at pleasure. He further informed me that he had just returned from Stonewall Jackson's camp, and had given to our General B. valuable information. He claimed to occupy neutral ground, and naturally had but little interest in either side.

Still, if I would employ and pay him, he could render great service to the Republic; and he could obtain a certificate from the British minister which would give him free entry even to the rebel capital. During the interview, I detected in his conduct a revelation of his real character. Notwithstanding his indorsement by Government, I was sure of his treasonable designs. If so, he was clearly a dangerous man, and I determined to know more about him. I desired him to obtain the certificate from the English minister referred to by him. An examination of it convinced me it was a forgery. I applied to the minister, who informed me that he knew of no such man in Washington. At our next meeting, upon the succeeding day, I expressed my regret that I had not the means of getting to rebel camps which he had; adding, that with them, how easily I could

get the plans and movements of the enemy. The bait was a success.

He replied : " Nothing is easier. Go with me, and I will pass you along as a friend, and associate correspondent."

He detailed minutely the plan, and we agreed to leave in company the next morning for Harper's Ferry, *en route* to General Jackson's quarters.

About eleven o'clock that night, when leaving my office, I received the following note, handed me by a colored man :—

COLONEL BAKER :—

Beware of that Englishman! He has devised a plot to betray you. For God's sake, don't go with him.

MRS. ——.

The missive was written by a true-hearted Union woman, a seamstress in one of the aristocratic secession families of Washington.

This revelation increased my anxiety to become his traveling companion. I left Washington with him, according to appointment, and reached Winchester in due time, by rail. The rebel picket-line was between that place and Stanton.

Remaining *incog.* myself, my friend proceeded to General B.'s headquarters and procured passes for both. Hiring a horse and buggy, we proceeded toward Stonewall Jackson's headquarters, he suggesting that it would not probably be safe to go directly to them without giving notice of our arrival within the lines. Four miles from them, we halted at a farm-house, where he said he was acquainted, and proposed to send the message to camp. I was introduced properly, and, after an excellent supper, a letter was written and read to me by him, addressed to the rebel chief, announcing our proximity, and that we would report to him in the morning. A trusted house servant was called, and received his instructions in regard to the delivery of the note.

Carelessly sauntering forth into the yard, I followed him by a circuitous route to his shanty, and asked him if he had the letter.

" Yes, massa," he replied ; " which of de letters ?" handing me two—the one which I had seen, and another to the Chief of Staff, running thus :—

Have just arrived, and am at Mr. ——'s house. Have with me the Yankee detective, Baker. Send and capture us both.

I took these notes, sealed the envelopes, gave them to the bearer, and told him to hurry as fast as possible. He left, and I returned to the dwelling, where my companion was conversing with the lady of the house.

It was seventeen miles to the rebel headquarters, and I knew the servant could not get back until morning. I determined to await the issue. I occupied the same bed with the Englishman; but passed a sleepless night. He was singularly restless toward morning, often going to the window, to catch a glimpse of the expected cavalry, or hear the echo of the hoofs. He complained of being ill. At seven o'clock the messenger arrived; I had detected, from the movements of all around me, some great event was expected.

The servant was eagerly questioned, who said he had delivered the letters according to orders.

Breakfast was dispatched, and nine o'clock came, when I proposed to my associate that we wait no longer for a special invitation, but go forward to General Jackson's camp. He acquiesced; our carriage was brought to the door, the farewell spoken to the family, and we were on our way.

Great surprise was expressed by my friend that no reply had been received to the note. I apologized for the apparent neglect, on the ground of urgent business, and urged that we hasten on.

When about four miles from our hospitable home for the night, we came to four corners, and I inquired:—

“Which road leads to Winchester?”

He pointed with his whip, saying: “That one.”

I said: “Stop a moment!” sprang from the buggy, drew and cocked my six-shooter within six inches of his head, exclaiming: “You scoundrel, you are my prisoner. I have only been waiting to see how far you would go, and what shape your base design would take.”

He turned deadly pale, and tried to speak, when I added: “Don't open your mouth; if you do, I'll blow your brains out.”





CAPTURE OF A CORRESPONDENT OF THE LONDON TIMES.

Directing him to alight, I drew a pair of handcuffs from my pocket, wrapped in a newspaper, which I deliberately unrolled ; and with my pistol in my left hand, with my right I clasped the manacles on his wrist, and said :—

“ You have attempted to betray me ; if you make an effort to alarm any one, or try to indicate who I am, I will shoot you dead. If you go quietly along, you shall not be hurt. Now, get into the buggy.”

I took my pistol, put the muzzle under the cushion of the seat, and with my left hand drove the horse. Fortunately, we met no rebel soldiers, and not a word was spoken until we came to within half a mile of the rebel picket-line, when I drove to the side of the fence, told my prisoner to alight, and entered with him a strip of woods, passed safely the picket, and at four o’clock the following morning we were at Winchester.

I handed the traitor temporarily over to the military authorities, and sought repose. A few hours later, I started for Washington, and upon my arrival placed him in the Old Capitol prison, whose records will disclose his name.

In this connection, chronologically, one or two incidents will present in bold relief the unparalleled malignity of feeling cherished by the rebels and their friends toward an unoffending race, because it was the providential occasion of their troubles, and true to the instincts of humanity in its desire for freedom ; a malignity intensified by the despotic possession and control of the body, and, so far as possible, of the soul of the enslaved.

One day I was riding toward the railway depot in Washington, when I noticed a crowd, and saw blows descending upon the form of a colored boy. Upon getting nearer, I found that a large and brutal man was amusing himself and the spectators by beating a well-dressed mulatto lad, who was bitterly crying. I sprang from the carriage, and, taking the ruffian by the arm, inquired what he was about. Turning a savage look upon me, he drew back to strike ; but it has been my custom, when necessary to use weapons of defense, to get the *first* blow or shot. Before he could take his aim, he was lying on his back under my feet. The injured child ran away, while a comrade, who somehow

recognized me, followed, repeating my name. I then re-entered the carriage and drove on unmolested.

There was another instance of fiendish hate, in which a woman was the principal actor. I was crossing the street, upon a dismal night, when just before me walked a lady in splendid attire, attended by a gentleman. Further on was a poor colored girl, clearing the pavement, as well as she could with her dilapidated broom, from the snow water and mud, for the penny any passer-by might drop into her hand. She stepped back at the approach of the couple referred to, and extended her hand. The Southern lady leaned toward the little mendicant, and, with a spiteful push, laid her flat in the flooded street. She rose again, dripping and shivering. I confess I was angry; and, going before her, I remarked:—

“That was very unladylike; a specimen of the politeness of the chivalry, I suppose?”

She replied excitedly: “How dare you speak thus to me!” adding epithets of scorn toward the abolitionist.

Her escort then took up the gauntlet, and inquired my name, handing me his card. I told him, and invited him to call. Both parties were bound for the post-office, where we again met, and again the lady’s friend demanded satisfaction. I gave him a glimpse of my six-shooter, and intimated that he had better drop the subject, which he decided to do, and I heard no more from him.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### GIGANTIC VICES OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

**Gambling and the Gamblers—The Purpose to Break up the Dens Discouraged—The Midnight Raid—Results—Drinking and Liquor Saloons—The Descent upon them—Broken up—Licentiousness and its Patrons—The Raid on their Haunts at Dead of Night—The Arrests.**

I HAVE made some disclosures respecting the contraband trade in gaming-cards; but it remains now to record the prevalence and ruinous effects of the vice of gambling itself, during the war, pre-eminently in the National capital. I have no desire to exaggerate the evils that lurk in the high or low places of society; to speak of Washington in a carpentering tone, as if it had been, or is, a Sodom beyond redemption; nor do I wish to magnify my office at the expense of any man's fair fame, whatever his position.

But I can not be true to myself, the bureau I represented, nor yet to the people for whose sake I send forth these annals, and omit a narrative which will surprise and sadden thousands. And may the country we love, the families, the youth of the land, profit by the recital. It is well known, that there have always been in large cities what are called "gambling hells"—costly houses, fitted up with elegance, and furnished with everything to attract the eye, and lend fascination to the destructive pastime. Indeed, many virtuous citizens earnestly defend the existence of this and other unblushing vices as necessary evils; when, there can be no crime which the law should not reach, and will, if fearlessly wielded by its officers, and they, in turn, are sustained by the people.

In Washington, gambling increased naturally and inevitably, with the progress of the war. It is not a pleasant thing to say, that the patronage of the gaming-table had been drawn largely from members of Congress; to whom

were added, with the increasing number of officers gathering to the capital, many high in military command. With the demand for such haunts of "sporting men," their number multiplied until I had a list of more than a hundred houses, many of which were gorgeous beyond description. The fitting up of a single place of this kind cost twenty-five thousand dollars.

The terrible fact which drew my attention to the subject was the discovery that nine in every ten of the defalcations by paymasters, and others in the employment of the Government, were occasioned in every instance by losses at the card table. I recovered forty thousand dollars which had passed into the hands of gamblers from those of a trusted and respected official.

I called on the military commander of the district, and was discouraged in my purpose of testing the statute on gaming in the capital. The popular acquiescence in this state of things, the patronage of distinguished men, and the character of the proprietors of the "hells," were the arguments used by that officer. Still, I was not convinced, but the more decided to proceed to business.

I accordingly mustered my entire force of assistants, and detailed to them my plans. We were to move at the same moment, surround the dozen or more gaming-houses on Pennsylvania Avenue, and at the designated time, to prevent any concert of action by the proprietors, or concealment of their business, to enter and break them up. It was half-past two o'clock in the morning, when the dash was made, the gamblers arrested, and their houses closed.

The next morning brought intense excitement among the sporting gentlemen—some denouncing the interference, and others offering bribes. A number of them raised a sum of more than twenty thousand dollars for me, if I would allow them to resume their lucrative calling. It is scarcely necessary to say, that I refused to pause in the reform commenced.

Mr. Lincoln sent for me, and I repaired to the White House, to find him carelessly sitting in shirt-sleeves and slippers, ready to receive me. He said:—

"Well, Baker, what is the trouble between you and the gamblers?"

I told my story. He laughed, and said :—

“I used to play penny-ante when I ran a flat-boat out West, but for many years have not touched a card.”

I stated to him the havoc gambling was making with the army, alluded to before, when he approved my course, but reminded me of the difficulties in the way of reform.

I replied: “I can not fight the gamblers and the Government both.”

The President replied: “You won’t have to fight *me*.”

✓ I added: “It *is* a fight; and all I ask is fair play: that the Government will let me alone, and I will break up the business.”

And, with this perfect understanding, we parted for the time.

Remarked one of the gamesters to me: “After all, I don’t care; it has cost me five thousand dollars a month to keep officers still.”

The result was, the business was effectually spoiled in Washington, and some of the leaders in it removed to other cities; the power of wholesome law was vindicated, the offenders punished, and Washington saved, for the time, from one of its greatest curses; men of commanding position exposed, and young men saved from the serpent’s charm and fang.

I shall leave this topic with the final report made to the proper authority:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, August 26, 1863. }

Hon. E. A. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—I have the honor to submit the following statement in relation to certain illegal establishments in this city, and the steps taken by me for their suppression.

I refer to the gambling-houses of Washington. The evils that grow directly out of the unrestrained practice of gambling are too apparent, and have been too often and eloquently described, to require more than the mere mention to awaken the indignation of all honest and true men, and call forth the most strenuous efforts for their suppression. The peculiar character of the population of this city, composed largely of young men removed from the restraints of home, and the influences of the family circle, offers inducements to the gambling fraternity by which they have thus far largely profited. There are more professional gamblers in this city to-day, than in the city of New York, and two weeks since there were more gambling-houses.

I have had reported to me no less than one hundred and sixty-three of

these establishments, where games of chance were openly permitted, and where gathered nightly, hundreds, and I might perhaps say with truth, thousands of the young and middle-aged men of this city, including always a large proportion of persons in Government employ. In such dens of ruin could be found almost every night officers of all grades, paymasters and other disbursing officers, clerks in the different departments, and persons whose escape from certain ruin lay in the direction of abusing the public trusts confided to them, and retrieving their losses at the expense of the Government.

I might cite cases of this nature where disgraced officials of prominent standing have openly pointed to gamblers and gambling-houses as the causes of their downfall; and in more than one instance Government money to a large amount has been recovered from parties who knew perfectly well that their plunder was the proceeds of official crime and dishonor.

So gigantic had this evil become, so utterly, through powerful local influences, beyond the control of the civil authorities, so intense the desire for its suppression by those who know its significance as a leading inducement to crime, and the most prominent element in demoralizing both the officers and men of our armies, that I resolved upon the adoption of the only remedy available and sure of success, and that was to peremptorily close every known gambling-house in the city.

About two weeks since I received orders and detailed officers for that purpose, and those orders have been so effectively carried into execution, that public gambling has entirely ceased, and will not be resumed so long as the control of the matter is left to me. It is true that the men who have carried on this infamous business still remain in the city, that they are laboring, by every means that money can purchase or influence command, to procure a reversal of my orders, and recommend their depredations upon Government officials, under the shadow of Government authority.

I am credibly informed that movements are being made, by parties claiming high consideration in official quarters, with the view of protecting the interests of the unemployed gamblers, and reopening the doors of those gambling hells which I have summarily closed, but which, if unlocked, will again be filled with crowds of swindlers and their unhappy victims.

I have thought it my duty, under a full knowledge of all the facts in the case, to thus briefly call your attention to the matter, in the earnest hope that the efforts I have made to rid this city of its greatest pest and nuisance will receive the approbation and earnest support of the War Department and of the Government authorities.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel and Provost-Marshal War Department.

Upon reading the above report, my course was fully sustained by the Secretary of War, who, when convinced of the existence of a wrong, was ever ready and prompt to

act to the extent of his jurisdiction and influence for its suppression.

Another kindred and gigantic vice was unblushingly doing its work of death, which I could not overlook. The most superficial observer of Washington must have noticed the unusual number of drinking places, in every form and under every possible disguise. Wherever soldiers were stationed, or army work in progress, there was seen at least the beer barrel and whisky demijohn. Old street corners and vacant lots were occupied with the bar, around which lay the intoxicated victims of their poison—the “boys in blue.” In the suburbs, under the shadow of hospitals, and beside bridges, the liquor booth was reared, until it was estimated that not less than *thirty-seven hundred* such fountains of ruin were in active operation. In spite of the most stringent municipal and military regulations, the traffic went on unchecked, and daily increasing. The imposition of a fine, or incarceration for a few hours in a guard-house, was a mere joke to the speculators in the morals and lives of men. But to enter the saloons, and, with the heavy blows of the ax, to crush in the barrel-head, bring decanters in fragments to the floor, and then lay the structure itself in ruins, was too expensive a jest to be often repeated.

In the vicinity of Twenty-second and G Streets were the headquarters of the depot quartermaster. Here were located the Government warehouses, storehouses, workshops, manufactories, and corrals, employing eight thousand men or more.

Two sides of an entire square were occupied by the lowest places of intoxication. In many of them, the entire stock in trade was a cask of lager beer and a gallon of unknown and villainous compound called Bourbon whisky, dealt out in an old rusty tin cup, at ten cents per drink. In these dens could be seen, at all hours of the day and night, the common soldier, the teamster, and the mechanic. I distinctly recollect, that on the eve of an important battle, when necessary to dispatch to the front, at an hour's notice, a train of one hundred wagons, not five Government teamsters were sufficiently sober to move forward.

When all other means, laws, and agents had failed to

reach and remedy the frightful evil, my aid, it will appear from the correspondence quoted, was invoked. I officially gave notice to the occupants of these saloons, that they must close them by four o'clock, the next day, or take the consequences of a refusal to comply.

They had so often before been warned, that no attention was given to my caution. At the expiration of the appointed time, with my employees, all armed with axes, I proceeded to the dens of Bacchus, and commenced the work of destruction. Soon the long lines of liquor shops were leveled to the ground, and only broken and empty barrels, crushed decanters, and rubbish remained.

In one case, when the demolition began, the proprietor, with pencil and paper, made an inventory of his property. When asked what he proposed to do with it, he replied : "Make a bill," and scratched away.

I replied : "It is hardly worth the while to present to the Government a bill for a few decanters and rattlesnake whisky ; I think I will tear down the house over your head, and then you can make out a bill worth your while."

Immediately complaints were carried to the military governor of the district, which elicited the correspondence of which mention has been made.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, September 2, 1863. }

Brigadier-General J. H. MARTINDALE, Military Governor:—

SIR—I beg leave, in compliance with the order of the Secretary of War, respectfully to submit the following explanations and report relative to my action in closing certain "liquor shops" and other places where liquor has been sold or supplied to soldiers in the service of the United States. So far as the statements and affidavits inclosed are concerned, I have to state that in such of those cases positive information, of a character which I considered entirely reliable, was submitted to me, that every one of the parties therein named had sold liquor to soldiers, in direct violation of well-known regulations. And I acted in those cases as I have done in every other instance where a positive violation of military restrictions was attempted or committed, with the one design, not of alleviating or tolerating a known misdemeanor, but of absolutely and forever putting an end to it. In so doing, I have believed myself not only to be acting under the authority of the War Department, but in direct unison with the designs and purposes of the Secretary of War. In relation to the violence alleged to have been offered to a woman, I have to state that the officer charged with this offense not only explicitly denies its com-

mission, but from his well-known character, courteous and kindly bearing, I fully and conscientiously credit his statement. The property taken from said parties has in almost every instance been retained in my possession, where it still remains, subject to the order of the Secretary of War. In some instances, I have summarily destroyed liquor of a quality which, with a knowledge of its villainous and poisonous character, it was doing humanity a service at once to destroy.

So far as these individual cases are concerned, I have no doubt that in every one of them liquor was daily supplied to soldiers; and with my knowledge of the facility with which parties in the liquor business can manufacture evidence to avoid the consequences of their vile traffic, I am not surprised at either the quantity or the quality of the testimony which in this particular instance has been summoned to their aid. I am directed to give my reasons why the liquors, &c., taken from said parties should not be returned, and they permitted to resume their business. My reasons are, that to do so would be to absolutely nullify every effort made by Government to prohibit the sale of liquor to soldiers; it would be saying to persons knowingly guilty of a grave offense, that they were in the right and the Government in the wrong; it would have the immediate effect of adding a thousand new and authorized rum-holes to the vast number already engaged in this city and district in demoralizing and destroying the soldiers of our army.

To imagine for a moment that this infernal trade can be put down by the process of inflicting a paltry fine of from two to five dollars, the usual punishment inflicted by police justices, is an utter absurdity, and has already been proved a remedy as worthless as it is puerile.

Another reason why I would not permit the resumption of such business by any person, under the circumstances named, is that nineteen out of twenty of all the crimes committed by soldiers and employees of the Government connected with the camps, corrals, wagon-trains, &c., in and around this city, are traceable directly to the rum-holes, saloons, restaurants, cake-shops, and hotel bars, where liquid poison is freely dealt to the soldier and Government workman, and where, under its influence, he becomes a deserter or a thief, sells to willing purchasers his uniform and arms, or the stores or clothing stolen from the mess-room or wagon-train. Scarcely a place of this kind has been closed by my officers, without affording evidence, in concealed uniforms, blankets, arms, saddles, and Government stores, of the double traffic carried on by its proprietor—a traffic which, while it decimates the army, swells its gains by encouraging and sharing in the wholesale plunder of Government property. In many parts of the city in the vicinity of wagon camps, corrals, and hospitals, the influence of liquor-shops in producing discontent, rioting, disorder, drunkenness, and insubordination, has been so unmistakable, and its effects so insupportable, that I have been called upon by officers in charge of departments, by superintendents of wagon-trains, and by surgeons in charge of hospitals, to adopt the most stringent measures for suppressing the liquor dealers in their vicinity. The following copy of a letter lately received from Captain C. H. Tompkins, A. Q. M., will sufficiently indicate the nature of the complaints constantly urged upon my attention, as well as the views of its writer as to the kind of remedy demanded.

Acting under the orders of General Rucker, as indorsed on Captain Tompkins's letter, a copy of which is also submitted, I closed the rum-holes complained of, and restored order and subordination, where before all was rioting and drunkenness.

*Copy.*

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON, *August 10, 1863.*

Brigadier-General D. H. RUCKER, Chief Depot Quartermaster:—

GENERAL—I have the honor to report that I had a conversation with Colonel L. C. Baker, Provost-Marshal War Department, in relation to the whisky shops around the corrals, repair-shops, stables, store-houses, &c., in which he said, if I would make an application, he would destroy them, or put an end to them. Therefore I have to request that, in view of their being the frightful source of all the troubles and insubordination among my men, application be made to Colonel Baker to close them permanently, or that this note be referred to him, with authority to act upon it.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

CHAS. H. TOMPKINS,  
Captain and A. Q. M., U. S. A.

*Copy of Indorsement.*

CHIEF QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON DEPOT, *August 10, 1863.*

Respectfully referred to Colonel L. C. Baker, Provost-Marshal War Department, with the request that the liquor-shops referred to by Captain Tompkins be closed up, if he has the power to do so.

(Signed)

D. H. RUCKER,  
Brigadier-General, and Q. M.

I have thus, General, briefly, but I trust satisfactorily, presented my explanations and report on the matters submitted to me. I have assumed no authority not, as I understood, fully committed to me by the War Department—an authority which compels my instant attention to every violation of its regulations, and the exertion of every means in my power to prevent desertion, protect Government property, and bring to just retribution the guilty parties who contribute, directly or indirectly, to either of those results.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel and Provost-Marshal War Department.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, *September 9, 1863.* }

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—In compliance with your order, I have the honor to submit the following report relative to the seizures of property in this city, and the accompanying report and recommendations thereon by Brigadier-General Martindale, Military Governor of this district. It is unnecessary for me to enter into any detailed statement relative to the particular cases of seizure complained of by General Martindale, inasmuch as the accompanying reports,

made by me to General Martindale, fully explain the causes which led to such seizures, and to those reports I respectfully refer. I beg to state, however, in relation to the case of Jouvenal, that the officers making that seizure distinctly and emphatically deny the appropriation or taking of any cigars or other property for their own use, and Mr. Jouvenal has himself stated, that the said officers behaved in his house with kindness and propriety; and further, that the statement made by him (Jouvenal) to General Martindale was got up and suggested by one Roth, a detective under Captain Johnson, and that he (Jouvenal) signed it because he supposed, and was told by Roth, that it was all right. I beg further to state, in no one instance have I acted in the cases referred to by General Martindale, or in any others of a like nature, until after repeated complaints had been urged before me, and examinations made and reported upon by my own officers, and even then I have acted, because I fully believed that no other authority, either civil or military, had the inclination or will to abate the nuisances complained of. I have neither sought nor desired opportunities for seizing liquors or closing liquor-shops, and it has only been as the last resort, when all other means had been tried and found powerless, that, acting as the provost-marshall of the War Department, and fully clothed, as I believed myself, with authority to protect its interests and those of the soldiers under its care, I determined upon the adoption of decisive measures. In relation to the question of authority, I respectfully submit the following statement of facts: As early as April last, Captain Tompkins, assistant quartermaster, made application to General Martindale, respectfully asking the interposition of his authority for the purpose of closing certain liquor shops where the men and employees of the Quartermaster's Department were daily supplied with intoxicating drinks, and which were the scenes of constant rioting and drunkenness, to the great injury and loss of the Government service. No notice was taken of this application, and it was renewed again and again, with the same result. The matter was then presented to General Rucker, assistant quartermaster-general, and a further application was made by him to General Martindale, and, as no notice was taken, General Rucker again laid the case before the Military Governor, and again without eliciting any action or reply. The increasing disorder and riotous indications of the employees of the Quartermaster's Department, fostered by an unlimited supply of liquor and unrestrained opportunities of obtaining it, culminated at length in a serious outbreak, and refusal of said employees to obey the orders of their superior officers. Upward of one hundred of them banded together in a riotous demonstration on last Thanksgiving Day, and it became necessary to call in the aid of armed soldiers to arrest the rioters, and compel obedience to orders.

Under these circumstances, and all other appliances failing, Captain Tompkins wrote to me for assistance; and, upon his representations, accompanied by the order of General Rucker, I assumed the responsibility, and summarily closed the liquor shops complained of. I respectfully call attention to the accompanying official communications, addressed by General Rucker, under dates of April 20 and May 25, 1863, to Major T. P. Sherburne, assistant adjutant-general, headquarters military district of Washington, and on which,

as I have before stated, no action appears to have been taken; and also to the official communication of Captain Tompkins to General Rucker, under date of August 10, with the indorsement of General Rucker thereon.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel and Provost-Marshal War Department.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, September 9, 1863. }

Brigadier-General D. H. RUCKER, Assistant Quartermaster-General:—

SIR—I am directed by the Secretary of War to state the reasons and authority by which I closed up the liquor-shops and saloons in the vicinity of the quartermaster's department, Government corrals, and workshops. In order to answer these inquiries correctly, will you please forward copies of your correspondence with Captain Tompkins and Brigadier-General J. H. Martindale, referring to the matter, also inform me if the complaints and suggestions made by you in your communications to General Martindale, in which you urged that immediate action be taken, were responded to by the Military Governor, and the places closed as recommended by you, and whether you, finding all appeals to the Military Governor of no avail, did not apply to me, as a last resort, to abate the nuisance complained of. You will very much oblige me, General, by replying to these inquiries at as early a moment as possible, as I am desired by the War Department to make my report without delay.

I am, General, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel and Provost-Marshal War Department

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, September 10, 1863. }

Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—I respectfully submit the following report, in relation to a report of Brigadier-General Martindale, and accompanying papers, referred to me by your order.

Frankly admitting that the seizures referred to in General Martindale's report were made by my orders, I desire to state distinctly under what circumstances and by what authority I acted.

On or about the 10th of August last, I received a communication addressed by Captain Tompkins, assistant quartermaster, to Brigadier-General Rucker, requesting General Rucker's interference in closing certain liquor shops, with an indorsement by General Rucker, referring the matter to me, and directing me to act if I had the power. On reception of this communication and order, I waited upon the quartermaster-general, who desired that I should act in the matter, emphatically declaring that the places complained of by Captain Tompkins must be closed, and that immediately. In compliance with such orders, I did at once close said shops, and summarily terminated the evils complained of by Captain Tompkins.

I respectfully call attention to the accompanying copies of official communications addressed by General Rucker to General Martindale, under date of April 28 and May 25, 1863, and the original letter above referred to, of Captain Tompkins to General Rucker, under date of August 10, with General Rucker's indorsement, together with an official communication, of this date, from General Rucker to myself, as affording a full explanation of the causes which led to my action in the matter.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel and Provost-Marshal War Department.

The assembling of a large army at the capital also drew after it those camp-followers who, of all lost humanity, are the most degraded—fallen women. While the gambler and liquor-seller's den sprang up at the first sound of war, as if spontaneously from the earth which echoed the tramp of armies, from every city came the painted wreck of womanhood, and hired the room at the fashionable hotel, the dwelling, the abandoned chamber, or the negro cabin, to traffic in the virtue, health, domestic peace, and highest interests of men. Along the Potomac, in front of Washington, stretching for fifteen miles along the banks, lay the Union troops.

The horses of staff officers, the ambulance, and orderlies, could be seen during the night, and after the sun had risen even, waiting before the kennels of vice, for those who were within them.

Nor are the instances few, where the pretty, vain wife or daughter has been enticed over the lines, to become the member of the domestic military circle. So notorious had this vice become, that I appealed to the Secretary of War, who issued an order that no commissioned officer or private could enter the city without a written pass from his commanding general. A violation of the order would subject the offender to a lodgment in the guard-house.

For a time, the order was partially regarded, but soon set aside, and the corruption seemed to gain strength by the temporary check. At length, for the two-fold purpose of enforcing the order and exposing to public contempt the transgressors, I decided to make a descent upon some of the *representative* houses of this class.

The scenes which transpired at the hour of midnight, in these dens of corruption, beggar language.

At an hour appointed, and with a concerted plan, similar in all its details to that which was sprung upon the gamblers, with my force I made a raid upon the disreputable houses.

The moment came, the signal was given, doors were opened, the windows raised, and a scene of confusion and comico-tragic nature followed, which must have been witnessed to have been appreciated. Faces quite covered to avoid recognition, gas turned off, and a general stampede of gentlemen sporting martial emblems, were some of the incidents attending the onset upon the intrenchments of vice in midnight quiet of the nation's capital. Between sixty and seventy officers and men were arrested and locked up in the guard-house, for reflection upon their suddenly interrupted debauchery.

## CHAPTER XX.

### COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE BUREAU.

The Detective System vindicated—Reports—Cases of Infidelity in Subordinates—Prompt and Decided Action—Vandalism in the Army—Family Relics restored—A Perilous Adventure.

It will not be forgotten by the reader, that throughout these pages the just and thorough vindication of the bureau, and the fearless exposure of disloyalty and vice, and the defense of public morality, is kept in view. Therefore it is, that reports like one which will here be introduced, although in part perhaps uninteresting to many, is copied entire.

I have in former statements referred to the scorpion brood of traitors infesting lower Maryland during the war, and their enmity toward me, venting itself in all possible ways. About this time fresh charges were presented, which, with the answer to them, will be found in the official documents :—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, August 28, 1863. }

Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :—

SIR—I have the honor to submit the following report in the matter of certain communications addressed to the "President of the United States" and the "Governor of Maryland," by several citizens of St. Mary's County, Maryland, complaining of certain outrages committed by officers attached to this force.

As these communications contain specific charges preferred by five eminent citizens of Maryland, and indorsed by the Hon. Charles B. Calvert, ex-member of Congress, and as the presumption of loyalty to the Government attaches to every man who voluntarily invokes its protection, I propose to meet said charges as directly as they are made. It is charged, first, "that our citizens have been arrested by men professing to act under the orders of Colonel Baker, and their goods carried off, without investigation or time allowed for either investigation or trial."

In reply to this charge, I have to state that officers of my force, acting by my orders, have, in several instances—among them, that of Colonel Waring—

arrested citizens of Maryland charged with treasonable practices, and have seized their property as property subject to confiscation upon proof of guilt. That such parties have not been allowed, at the time of their arrest, a chance for either "investigation or trial," and this for two reasons: one, that the offenses for which they were arrested were triable only by military tribunals, on the order of the Secretary of War; the other, that it would have been an utter impossibility, if civil process could have been resorted to, to impanel a jury of twelve loyal men in any county where such arrests have been made.

It is charged, secondly, "that women and children, passing peaceably from one house to another, have been fired upon, and their lives endangered without cause or provocation, in a spirit of mere wanton outrage."

In reply to this charge, I have to state that I am thoroughly convinced, after a close examination of officers whom I know to be reliable, and who must have witnessed such an occurrence had it taken place, that this entire charge is false, and undoubtedly the coinage of the same class of diseased imaginations that have already basely and falsely charged upon our armies the foulest deeds of lust and brutality.

It is charged, thirdly, "that servants have been taken from the employment of their masters, and in one instance against their remonstrance."

In reply to this charge, I have to state, in the first place, that my instructions to officers on service in Maryland have always been positive, forbidding any interference with the rights of slave-owners, by tampering with the slaves, or aiding or encouraging them to run away. In the one or two instances where such persons have been brought to Washington, it was in the character of witnesses to prove transactions in which they had been compelled to take part, as in carting or shipping goods, &c., intended for rebel use. I might, with entire truth, cite hundreds of instances where myself and the officers of my force have refused to aid slaves in escaping, and removed them from our wagons and boats, in which they had concealed themselves. At the same time, I fully believe that, if treason in the master justifies the acquisition of freedom by the slave, there ought to-day to be none but freemen in Southern Maryland.

It is charged, fourthly, "that the houses of our people have been entered and searched," and negroes in the company of the officers allowed to plunder articles of dress, &c.

In reply to this charge, I interpose an explicit denial, so far as any knowledge of such transactions on the part of myself or my officers is concerned. If any officer has permitted or encouraged depredations by negroes or slaves, he has done it in disobedience of express orders, and no one will be more ready than myself to disgrace and punish the offender. I may here be allowed to remark, as offering a probable explanation of this charge, that wherever our forces have visited slave territory, the negro has exhibited a disposition, not only to escape from bondage, but to despoil his oppressors. To charge every act of pillage by slaves to Union officers, who may happen to be in their vicinity, is simply an absurdity, but none the less loudly insisted upon by pillaged slave-owners.

It is charged, fifthly, that C. C. Spaulding, a merchant of Chaptico, was arrested, and his goods seized; that Mr. Spaulding was not informed of his

arrest until he was placed in a position of security, and that the officer in command of the force sold and gave away such goods, &c., as "the hangers-on, negroes, and others," thought proper to carry off, and that Mr. Spaulding's family only escaped starvation through the humane efforts of one Captain Hughey.

To the first part of this charge I make no reply, because none seems necessary. To the latter part I can only say, that upon the return of my officers, after the arrest of Mr. Spaulding, information was given me that one of my force, Captain Hughey, late of the rebel service and a recent deserter, temporarily employed by me on special duty, had appropriated some part of the goods from Mr. Spaulding's store. Captain Hughey, upon being questioned by me, admitted that he had taken some of said goods; that he had, from a fellow-feeling, secretly returned a part to Mr. Spaulding's family, and kept the rest. After obtaining from this sympathizing rebel deserter the goods in his possession, I dismissed him from any further employment in my force.

It is charged, sixthly, that Mr. Oscar G. Hayden was arrested by Officer Somers; that he escaped from arrest, afterward came to Washington, and was again arrested by my order.

It will, perhaps, be sufficient for me to say, that Mr. Hayden and Mr. Spaulding were arrested on information, which I considered reliable, that they were both engaged extensively in smuggling goods into Virginia, and that they both were active and unscrupulous agents for the rebel cause.

In relation to the chickens alleged to have been taken by Officer Somers, it is true the four chickens were taken, and probably from the party mentioned, but it is also true that this was done only after persistent refusals of the people in the neighborhood to sell any supplies to my officers, and that when the chickens were taken, the owner was tendered one dollar each for them, and refused to accept.

With regard to the rector of the parish, I have only to state, that he was treated with quite as much respect and courtesy as were manifested by himself toward my officers, that person exhibiting a supercilious and offensive manner quite in keeping with that of his parishioners.

I have answered at length, and I trust satisfactorily, the specific charges brought forward by the Hon. Mr. Calvert and his friends. It remains for me now briefly to allude to the peculiar condition of the country where the offenses are charged to have been committed, and the position its inhabitants hold toward the Union and the Government. The counties of St. Mary, Charles, and Prince George, bounded on the north by the Patuxent River, and on the south by the Potomac, offer striking facilities for the purposes of the smuggler, the spy, and the rebel emissary. Its population, controlled and overawed by a few men of wealth, is identical in feeling and sympathy with the neighboring people of Eastern Virginia. There is scarcely a family in the whole district that has not a representative in the ranks of the rebel army—scarcely a dwelling that does not offer refuge and protection to the smuggler, the spy, or the rebel recruit. In its villages, every country store has become a depot for supplying Virginia with food, clothing, and arms. It is in possession of a code of signals, under supervision of an officer of the rebel signal corps, and the

people everywhere, with the exception of the blacks and a few timid Union men, are as much the worshipers of secession and the enemies of our Government as are their fathers, sons, and brothers, who fight the battles of treason under Lee or Beauregard. I have, at different times, attempted, with more or less success, to break up this nest of plotting traitors, and bring to punishment the vile miscreants who encourage treason that they may fatten upon its necessities. In doing this, I have brought upon myself the malignant and cowardly attacks of men who, while prating of "human rights," have inflicted the most cruel tortures upon weak and defenseless negro women—who denounce as "wanton outrages" the summary arrests of spies and smugglers by Union officers, and at the same time band together, under cover of night, to surprise some lonely negro cabin and hurry off its free-born inmates to the tender mercies of the lash and slave-pen—who appeal to Government for protection, and at the same time aid its enemies and plot its ruin.

I submit, as illustrations of the subject-matter of this report, copies of correspondence in my possession.

*Copy.*

U. S. STEAMER *COEUR DE LION*, MATTAWAN CREEK, *August 19, 1863.*

Colonel BAKER:—

SIR—By direction of Commander Harwood, I desire to call your attention to the state of affairs on the Maryland shore in this vicinity. There is a number of stores here engaged in selling goods to blockade-runners. The names of the most prominent are, Stines, Simmons, Millstead, and Skinner. The most prominent man engaged in aiding and abetting is a citizen named Porey, and a farmer, living at the mouth of the Chickamoxan Creek. Some four weeks since, a man named Gurley came from Virginia, and proceeded to Baltimore, where he purchased a large lot of goods, worth about ten thousand dollars, and forwarded them to this point to run them across. An extensive business has formerly been done by Stines (who is a Jew) and others in selling citizens' clothing to deserters from our army. There is one Union family on shore, Mr. Anderson's. Should you see fit to send a portion of your force to work up this locality, I shall be happy to afford any assistance in my power to bring these rascals to justice.

Hoping to hear from you shortly in reference to this matter, I remain, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

W. G. MORRIS,  
Acting Master Commanding.

Verified charges, I am prepared to show conclusively, even when they fell upon my department, received the same prompt action as those aimed at any other.

During the five years of service, including the assistance of more than four hundred subordinates, I can recall but two instances in which fraud or malfeasance could be fairly proved. Much time was spent in obtaining testimony, and,

after protracted prosecution of the cases, they were convicted and sent to the penitentiary, where one of them still remains.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, September 7, 1863. }

Honorable E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—In compliance with your order of date, in relation to my report under date of 28th August, and herein inclosed, I have the honor to state that since the date of that report I have closely and steadily pursued the investigation of the complaints urged by certain citizens of Maryland. The result of such investigations has satisfied me that certain officers employed by me have largely exceeded their instructions; that they have in some instances appropriated the property of citizens of Maryland to their own uses, and in others have behaved themselves in an offensive and discourteous manner. I beg to state that, in making this investigation, I have been governed entirely by the desire to deal justly with all the parties concerned. No one more than myself can regret the occurrence of any acts of wrong and injustice to the citizens of Maryland. Be assured, sir, that no one will act with greater determination in putting an end to such wrongs and punishing the offenders. To this end, I have already sent to Charles County three times for witnesses, and have procured their statements in confirmation of charges other than those mentioned in the memorial to the Governor of Maryland, but similar in character. Acting upon such evidence, I have arrested and imprisoned Officer Emerson of my force, and U. P., and I respectfully ask such order as may be necessary to secure the speedy trial of these men, and their punishment, if found guilty. From the evidence in my possession, I believe that the charges made of the taking, giving away, and selling a portion of Mr. Spaulding's goods are so far correct, and that a few articles of small value belonging to him were so taken, but have been recovered, and are now in my custody; also that the property of a Mr. Boswell of Charles County was improperly appropriated by P., who was acting without my orders, but in connection with officers of my force. I can but repeat that my instructions have always been positive to the officers detailed on duty in Maryland to act with extreme caution, to injure neither property nor person, and give no just cause for complaint. In every case where proof of disobedience of such orders shall be afforded me, I will not only render every redress in my power, but will cheerfully aid in bringing the guilty to punishment.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Provost-Marshals War Department.

One of these men sustained a character that won my confidence; and the following is the copy of a letter which was written, in reply to one from a friend, while he was in prison:—

WASHINGTON, February 18, 1864.

**JOHN H. JONES, Philadelphia:**—

SIR—I am in receipt of yours of 11th instant, and in reply would say, that T. R. H. was employed by me on the 17th of May, 1863, as an engineer. Some time in July last, he, in company with a man named P., without orders from me, illegally entered the house of Mr. John Boswell, in St. Mary's County, Maryland, and took about five hundred dollars in gold and silver, which they appropriated to their own use. These facts were fully proved on the trial before a military commission, held in this city, composed of highly respectable commissioned officers.

Every facility was afforded Mr. H. for his defense, and every witness he desired was brought forward, but he failed to rebut the testimony of Mr. Boswell and his family.

Mr. H. promised to return to Boswell his proportion of the stolen money, but failed to do so. Soon after H.'s arrest, he (H.) wrote a number of letters to a certain woman in Alexandria. Supposing this woman to be his wife, I directed her to be brought to this office, when it was ascertained that she was H.'s mistress, and not his wife. In the possession of this woman was found a quantity of drygoods, which she informed me had been given her by H. These goods were identified as property taken from a lot which I ordered to be seized from a blockade-runner in lower Maryland, since convicted and sentenced to a term of five years in the Albany penitentiary. The woman and letters referred to are still in this city. For the truth of these statements, I refer you to the proceedings of the court-martial, and also Mr. H.'s own confession, which are on file in this office. No one can appreciate or feel more keenly the destitute condition of Mrs. H. and her children than myself. Up to the time of Mr. H.'s arrest, he possessed my unlimited confidence, and his friends can not regret more than myself his present unfortunate and degraded situation.

If the friends of Mr. H. desire to present a petition for his release, I will do what I can, consistent with my position and the honorable discharge of my duties to the Government, to aid in the matter, based solely, however, upon the principle of humanity toward his poor wife and children.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

When General Burnside opened fire upon Fredericksburg, which was the first assault upon the town, the notice of bombardment given to the inhabitants was so short, that their flight from the city was a wild and hasty stampede, leaving the many palatial residences of this ancient seat of Virginia aristocracy in all the completeness of their peaceful occupancy. Among the first troops who crossed the river were those commanded by Brigadier-General —

Upon reaching the elegant mansion of Commodore G., they immediately tore down the rich curtains, and pillaged the apartments adorned with expensive works of art, brought by members of the family from Europe. The feeling among the troops then seemed to be, that an enemy's house and "chattels personal" were common plunder. Oil paintings, bronze statuary, and family relics, were appropriated by the military visitors to the house of Commodore G., and seized by me upon their arrival at Washington. A few days later, the accomplished and beautiful Mrs. T., sister of Commodore G., came to the capital, and, dreading to meet me, as I afterward learned, on account of the rumors which had reached her, that I was gifted with a special ferocity of nature, applied to Dr. S., a distinguished physician of Washington, whose acquaintance I had formed in a sick-room, who volunteered to accompany her to my office, assuring her of respectful treatment.

With evident trepidation, she entered the room, and stated her errand. An elegant bronze horse, which had ornamented her brother's house, was then standing on my safe. I told her I saw no reason why these domestic treasures, including heavy silver-ware, bearing the family name, should not be restored. The next day she called again, and spent some time looking over the opened boxes of these family relics. She said at length:—

"Can I have these again?"

"Certainly, madam; they are of no use to the Government."

She burst into tears, thanked me, and retired.

I ordered the goods to be carefully packed and sent by express to Mrs. T., who acknowledged their safe arrival in the following graceful note:—

Colonel BAKER:—

BALTIMORE, November 9.

DEAR SIR—Although I may be trespassing on your time, I can not refrain from sending you this note, again to thank you for the kindness and courtesy extended to me when I visited your office some days since.

I appreciate a kindness at all times, but never more so than now, when my heart is so sore from trials of various kinds.

I never will forget your patience while endeavoring to aid me in my searches. It was through your great assiduity to do justice to absent persons

that I learned of my brother's bronze being with you. My brother is in no way connected with the army, but he has suffered everything but death. He has been a refugee for more than a year, with a few weeks' exception. While the bombardment of Fredericksburg was going on, he escaped with a child almost in a dying condition, having just lost two. They have had three homes destroyed. But I will not intrude my sorrows upon you.

He is my only brother left, of a large family, and the best brother in the world. You can readily imagine how happy I am, through your kindness, to reclaim some of his works of art.

His family are in such a destitute situation that I have, in my desperation, written Mrs. President Lincoln to beg that she will allow me to send a trunk of clothing to his family of bare-footed children.

I was unfortunate enough to have a dear son of eighteen exiled, three months ago, by Colonel Fish (Provost), for having given three cigars to a passing prisoner. He, however, kindly allowed him to take clothing, which was stolen while a prisoner in Fort Norfolk. Through the kindness of Mr. Stanton, who gave me a permit, I sent him a trunk of clothing. May God's blessing rest on him for it.

I hope you will pardon this long family letter; for I have mentioned some of my troubles to show you how pleasant your kindness is in contrast.

I am truly sorry that you are going to leave Washington, as I never can hope to find another such friend as you proved to be.

Before you leave, could you find time to write me, and advise me what course to pursue to recover the things belonging to my mother and brother?

Now, will you, my dear sir, please excuse the liberty I have taken in writing?

With kind regard,

I am, most respectfully, &c.,

ANNIE C. THOMAS.

Direction:

Mrs. JNO. HANSON THOMAS,  
Mt. Vernon Place.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### INVESTIGATIONS IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Suspicions of Corruption abroad—The Case of Stuart Gwynn.

UP to the present date of the narrative, my investigations and arrests have been confined to matters which came properly within the sphere of the War Department; but I shall now present a condensed report of operations in another direction, to which no allusion has been made.

As early as the latter part of 1862, there were frequent hints of gross immoralities and fraudulent operations in the Treasury Department. It was more than intimated, by those who ought to have known, that among the hundreds of females employed there, some were not virtuous, while in the regular operations of the establishment fraud had a place.

The suspicions, which at first were little heeded, at length took the form of bold complaints of vices and dishonesty, practiced by those high in authority. The newspaper press, which is not unfrequently mistaken in its statements, but represents pretty fairly public opinion, demanded an investigation. Congressmen, urged on by their constituents, demanded an examination of the affairs of the Treasury.

To resist the clamor was impossible. The threat of a Congressional investigation induced the Secretary to undertake the inquiry himself.

On the twenty-second of December, 1863, he sent for me, and briefly made known his suspicions respecting the integrity of certain of his employees, requesting me to take the matter in charge. I informed him that, in addition to frauds in the printing bureau, the character of the females employed there, to a great extent, was such as to make it

a byword and reproach wherever the facts were known. But I also said, that I did not think it possible to undertake a work of such magnitude and importance, with my manifold and exhausting duties in my proper department. He replied that he knew of no other person who was so well qualified to enter upon the scrutiny. Accordingly, he forwarded the letter here quoted to the Secretary of War:—

[Confidential.]

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, December 23, 1863.

SIR—Will you oblige me by directing Colonel Baker to make such investigations and arrests, and exercise such custody of persons arrested, as I may find needful for the detection and punishment of frauds on the Government committed by persons in this department?

Yours, truly,

S. P. CHASE.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

P. S.—Please send me a copy of whatever order you may issue to Colonel Baker.

S. P. C.

A true copy.

C. A. DANA,  
Assistant Secretary of War.

Upon the reception of the above communication, Mr. Stanton sent it to Mr. Watson, with this indorsement:—

December 24, 1863.

Referred to Mr. Watson, with direction to detail Colonel Baker to report to the Secretary of the Treasury for special duty under his directions.

EDWIN M. STANTON.

On the twenty-sixth, an order came to report to the Secretary of the Treasury until further orders. Upon applying to him, without any further instructions, he directed me to report to Mr. Jordan, Solicitor to the Treasury. From the latter, I learned that suspicion pointed to one James Cornwall, who was at the head of the Redemption Bureau, where mutilated treasury notes were canceled by fire.

I at once commenced the work assigned me, which resulted in Cornwall's conviction of pocketing thirty-two thousand dollars, instead of burning the paper. He was incarcerated in the Old Capitol prison seven months, turned over to the civil authorities, and found guilty before their tribunal.

My next investigation was directed to Stuart Gwynn, an eccentric and erratic man, who had by some means gained admission to the department in the relation of an inventor. Gwynn professed to have invented a new method of printing, the principles of which will be presented, with other important particulars, in the official report. Another gentleman, named Henderson, who had charge of the Requisition Office, also came under my notice. S. M. Clark, a still more prominent actor in the scenes I shall narrate, will figure largely, though not creditably, in this chapter.

I certainly had no reason, at the outset of this investigation, to doubt the sincerity of desire and purpose of Mr. Chase and Solicitor Jordan to get the real *moral status* of the department. To my surprise, however, I soon discovered that I was expected to confine my scrutiny to such individuals and to such kind of supposed frauds as Mr. Jordan might designate. Instead of letting the hand of justice reach and hold the guilty wherever found, a few victims only were to become the examples, and feel the sword of punishment.

I sent in before this report, from day to day, many disclosures of the unprincipled course of Stuart Gwynn, in his frauds upon the Government, to Hon. S. E. Chittenden, Register of the Treasury, the Hon. M. B. Field, Assistant Secretary, and Hon. Hugh McCulloch, Comptroller of the Currency, and General Spinner, United States Treasurer. Apparently these gentlemen were all anxious to assist in bringing to light frauds in the department.

Finally, it was decided by Messrs. Jordan and Chittenden to arrest Gwynn. A long conversation was held upon the best mode of attaining this object. I concluded to proceed immediately to his room, and bring him to the solicitor's office. When we got there, Mr. Jordan was absent, and I took my prisoner to my quarters, then opposite Willard's. He became boisterous, and declared he would go on with his experiments in the Treasury, in spite of the Secretary, or even the President himself. He was comfortably lodged in my building, and the next morning I forwarded the following communication:—

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., January 7, 1864

Hon. EDWARD JORDAN, Solicitor of Treasury Department:—

SIR—Will you please forward me, at your earliest convenience, a commitment to the Old Capitol prison for Stuart Gwynn. The rules of the prison require a written order from the Solicitor of the Treasury.

Accustomed, as I had always been, not to discriminate between scoundrels, I was shocked and discouraged at the unmistakable intention to make me the tool of designing men, through whom a statement or report could be prepared and circulated, apologizing for the sins of those whose official position was most exalted.

Congress had now assembled, and the result of my inquiry could be used to prevent any Congressional action in the affair. But just in proportion to the evidence of a purpose to suppress or whitewash the truth, did my own desire and determination to *unearth* completely the criminality of all who were implicated in it increase. I can not better explain my conduct in this transaction, perhaps, than by quoting from my report:—

*Exhibit C.C.*

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., April 1, 1864.

SIR—I have the honor to submit the following report in relation to the arrest of Stuart Gwynn, late a contractor to the United States Treasury Department for furnishing paper and presses for the fractional currency.

This arrest was made on the sixth day of January last, since which time the investigation of the case has been carefully made. This report has been delayed by the apparent indisposition of parties fully cognizant of the facts to testify in such a manner as to compromise Gwynn.

In several instances this indisposition is attributable to the fact that the settlement of their unpaid bills of large amounts, contracted by Gwynn with these individuals, depended entirely upon the exculpation and restoration of Gwynn to the confidence of the Treasury Department.

The investigations made clearly justify the wisdom and propriety of the arrest of Gwynn.

His criminality consists in his willfully and wickedly defrauding the Government of the United States in this: That while representing to the Secretary of the Treasury his ability to improve the fractional currency of the country, having been respectfully introduced, and his statements sustained by some one or more (doubtless interested) parties within the treasury building, he, the said Stuart Gwynn, has been pursuing a course of experiments involving the outlay of enormous sums of money, bringing disgrace upon the Treasury Department by his abortive attempts at postal currency, in the

prosecution of an untried scheme or idea which he never before had the means to develop.

Except by the summary process of his arrest, these facts might have been suppressed for a time, as they have been heretofore. The prospect of his success at times furnishing sufficient inducement to those whose duty it was to long since give the information contained in this report to the honorable Secretary to withhold and suppress the true facts of the case.

Stuart Gwynn, as I am informed by his wife, who came to Washington City to obtain his release from the Old Capitol prison, was a lunatic at one time, having been confined in a lunatic asylum. From parties who have known him for years, I learn that he is an erratic, eccentric, and visionary individual, and a monomaniac on the subject of inventions; always has had on hand some plan involving large expenditures of money, and never himself in the possession of any means.

He has been engaged in various enterprises, and by the correspondence found upon his premises, copies of which accompany this report, I find within the past eighteen months, from immediately prior to his operations in the United States Treasury, he has been directly, or indirectly, in the following enterprises: The plating of iron-clad steamers by a new process; the construction of telegraph lines by a new insulatory wire; the boring of the Hoosic tunnel; the sale to the Government of a steamship called the *Nephon*; the charter of a propeller; a new ordnance heavy gun of some description, &c., &c., &c.

Sufficient has been gathered to show that the *making of paper* was not his legitimate calling; that it was *one of his ideas*; and his suggestions to the Treasury Department on that subject were merely incidental to the general objects he had in view in coming to Washington, which evidently was to improve his financial condition.

The manufacture of *membrane paper*, as he calls it, was the first proposition he made to the department. He claims to be the inventor of this paper, although, by the correspondence submitted, it would seem one Samuel C. Hart, of Boston, had been making the experiments.

His introduction to the Secretary of the Treasury, I am informed, was made by the Hon. Mr. Hooper, member of Congress from Massachusetts, who was introduced to him by General H. Haupt, late superintendent of the United States military railroads. Mr. Haupt's connection with Gwynn, and his interest in the paper contract afterward awarded to Gwynn, are referred to hereafter.

The membrane paper furnished by Gwynn could not be treated like other descriptions of paper in preparing for printing. It was peculiarly different from any paper ever before made, and this peculiarity constituted its only merit. By all processes of printing heretofore known, the paper is moistened with water, dampened before being placed in the press. This membrane paper, when dampened, swells up and becomes shriveled, like vellum or animal skin of any description. With this great objection so apparent, which should have caused the abandonment of all ideas of its practicability, Mr. Gwynn suggested the idea of *dry plate printing*; thus, in order to effect the

sale of his peculiar paper to the Government, the economical process of plate printing, for so many years in use throughout the civilized world, was abandoned in the United States Treasury to give way for *hydraulic printing-presses*, to enable Mr. Gwynn to print on dry paper, which could not, from its nature, be *dampened*, and which no known process, short of hydraulic pressure, could give sufficient force to print dry.

I have carefully examined the subject of plate-printing, and desire to make the result of my investigations a part and parcel of this report. I have received information upon the subject from practical persons, who have been working for years in that line of business, and whose experience, consequently, entitles their views to the most respectful consideration.

The respective merits of the hydraulic presses introduced into the Treasury Department by Dr. Stuart Gwynn, in comparison with the roller press commonly used for plate-printing, I shall consider in regard to quality, quantity, and cost of the work done.

A hydraulic press, such as those in operation in the Treasury Department, will never print fractional currency or other notes *as well* as it can be done by the roller press, for the following reasons: In spreading a sheet of paper over the engraved plate, a greater or less quantity of atmospheric air is caught underneath the paper. This air, if submitted to an equal pressure at one and the same time upon all parts of the sheet, will take refuge in the space left between the ink in each line and the paper. This air prevents the ink from reaching the paper and adhering to it; therefore, wherever such compressed air is present, the lines will appear very pale, or perhaps not show at all.

The common letter-press is constructed similar to the hydraulic press—that is to say, the pressure is equal on all parts and applied at the same time; but the types being raised, and having space between each other sufficient to accommodate this compressed air, it is forced under those parts of the sheets which are to remain white and on which no pressure is exerted.

A wood engraving consists of raised lines, and the remarks about type-printing are equally true with reference to the printing of a wood engraving. If some parts of such a print appear lighter than others, it is generally caused by an inequality of the back. An experienced printer will increase the thickness, if necessary, by pasting paper upon the block. If, on the other hand, some portions of the print are too black, the block is too thick at this point, and then it is made thinner by scraping the back, or by cutting a hole of the required size in the paper which is laid over the sheet to be printed.

The copper or steel-plate printer, printing on a roller press, employs similar means under the same circumstances as above mentioned, and does it with the same effect, because the air caught underneath a sheet of paper is pressed out by the rollers passing over it, and does not therefore prevent the ink from adhering to the paper.

This lining with paper or cutting out will avail nothing in printing with the hydraulic press, and the increase of the pressure would not help the matter; for, no matter how much compressed, the air will remain a compact body, separating the ink from the paper. It can not escape, for it has not force sufficient to burst the iron case which imprisons it. Besides, the means above

alluded to would be of no avail: for the air which is caught under the sheet of paper does not always accumulate at the same place of the plate. These defects in printing will not always be noticed by an unpracticed eye on a sheet of currency notes; but the fact might be established very clearly by printing an entire black surface, which could never be printed equal on a hydraulic press. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the impressions made by such a press appear tolerably satisfactory to persons not accustomed to examine prints; but even such persons will observe that the face of the notes becomes smutty and indistinct after the back has also been printed. This is caused by the following circumstance: Each printed line, formed by the ink adhering to the paper, represents a projection or eminence; if submitted to the pressure required to print the back, these lines, forming the drawing or design of the face, will be flattened in a manner partly to fill the white spaces between them, besides having a craggy appearance. The stiffer the ink used, the more this will occur.

Before proceeding, I wish to remark with reference to the membrane paper furnished by Stuart Gwynn: Its texture is very hard, and therefore its surface does not take the ink; that is to say, none of the oily substance of the ink enters the paper, the effect of which would be to make the printing adhere better.

In printing upon the membrane paper, all the ink stands on the surface, and might be removed almost entirely by mechanical means. The ink usually used in printing on the common roller presses, and on good soft paper, would give very bad results on Gwynn's paper. If membrane paper must be used, it can only be done by printing *it dry*, which, however, is utterly impossible on a roller press, and can only be done on a hydraulic press, which for this reason was introduced into the Treasury Department by Gwynn. From this explanation it is obvious that under any circumstances, even if better paper than Gwynn's is used, the roller press will produce better *printed currency* than the hydraulic press.

In regard to quantity or speed, the hydraulic presses are still more in disadvantage, at least, judging from the experience of the past few months, with those in the Treasury.

The hydraulic presses worked by steam have attained only seventy-five impressions per day of eight working hours of one side of the currency.

On a roller press, a good printer prints in the same time one thousand, or an average of seven hundred impressions of the same plate. The difference will be shown best by example: I shall, for instance, calculate the time required by one press of each kind to print one million of dollars in five-cent notes from plates containing twenty-five each. The average number printed by a hydraulic press in one work day being seventy-five on one side; two working days of sixteen hours will be required for seventy-five sheets, each containing twenty-five complete five-cent notes. The product of a double work day's work is therefore one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five five-cent notes.

In one year there are three hundred and eight working days of eight hours, and therefore one hundred and fifty-four double working days. To

print twenty million five-cent notes, at one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five for each double work day, would take ten thousand six hundred and sixty-six double working days, equal to *sixty-nine years and eight days*, upon a hydraulic press.

A roller press prints in such a double working day seven hundred times twenty-five, or seventeen thousand five hundred five-cent notes.

In regard to *speed*, therefore, one roller press is equal to six or seven hydraulic presses.

Stuart Gwynn promised to print four impressions in one minute; and, not discouraged by the expenses of the past few months, he was confident of attaining this speed.

He also devised a plan for increasing the pressure, which he deemed necessary in printing by hydraulics. Of this fixture I shall write hereafter in this report, and refer to it as a "receiver," as he termed it.

In regard to *cost*, the disadvantages in using hydraulic presses as against roller presses of the long-established character are much more apparent and far greater than in regard to quality and quantity of the work done. A hydraulic press costs twelve hundred dollars, and the attachments to complete it five hundred dollars, making, together, seventeen hundred dollars complete.

A roller press costs one hundred and twenty dollars, and its work being equal to six hydraulic presses, the same amount of work is furnished, well done, and in a workmanlike manner, upon a capital of one hundred and twenty dollars that is furnished by hydraulic presses, indifferently done, on a capital of ten thousand two hundred dollars. This is bad enough, but the disproportion becomes still more startling.

During the three months prior to the 1st of January last, twelve of the hydraulic presses placed in the Treasury Department by Gwynn broke down and were rendered utterly worthless. Of all the roller presses used during this time, not one broke down, or required any repairing worth mentioning.

One million of dollars in five-cent notes, I have shown, requires about sixty-nine years to print upon a single hydraulic press, at the average speed attained. Presupposing that twelve presses should break down during each and every three months out of twelve, as has been the case, we should require two hundred and seventy-three presses for printing one million of dollars, representing a loss of four hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars.

From the reasoning of the case, as I have presented it, I conclude that the roller presses are preferable in every respect to the hydraulic presses for printing our currency, and already Gwynn has caused a loss of nearly two hundred thousand dollars to the Government by introducing these hydraulic presses, in order to profit by his paper contract. In order to satisfy myself of the truth and accuracy of the statements relative to the comparative speed of the two methods of printing in use in the National Currency Bureau, I accompanied the honorable Solicitor of the Treasury to the press-rooms of the bureau.

By actual observation of time, I learned that three minutes and forty-one seconds was the average time of six hydraulic presses occupied in taking im-

pressions on one side of a single sheet, while by the roller presses two impressions per minute were easily made.

Mr. Clark asserts that this test is not a fair one, as the hydraulic presses are now being worked by hand; when steam presses are used, he expects to obtain greater speed.

It is not contended, however, by Mr. Clark, that the application of steam-power will by any means improve the character of the work performed, and it will not decrease the liability in the least of the presses to break.

I have the honor to call the attention of the honorable Solicitor to the following statement of Charles Neale, assistant superintendent of printing for the fractional currency, in verification of my expressed opinion herein relative to the hydraulic printing:

"I was appointed to my position on the 11th of October, 1862, and was immediately sent to Philadelphia and New York to procure the necessary presses and workmen to print the fractional currency. The men were to report at any time after the 1st of November, 1862.

"The roof was not on the building in the Treasury Department till some time in January, 1863, and we had the presses up some time in March. I then wanted Mr. Clark to furnish bank-note paper, and go on printing in the old mode, in order to supply the demand for currency; but this he declined doing. Dr. Gwynn's experiments with the membrane paper, and his new mode of printing (printing on dry instead of dampened paper), have been going on from that time till October last. The doctor was very sanguine, but all practical men pronounced the plan impracticable. The paper would not absorb ink, and although one face of the paper might have a good impression, it was very difficult to print the other side; it required two-thirds more power to do so, and many of the presses could not bear the necessary strain, and broke. When we came to print the second side, the paper would have become so very hard that it would not take the ink.

"Nevertheless, the doctor came to the conclusion that the thing was a success, and he ordered some 'eighty-five' presses to be built, costing from eleven hundred dollars to eighteen hundred dollars each; there are some forty-five presses in the large room, but we never could use more than half a dozen of them at a time; and at present we have only three of these hydraulic presses at work. It costs as much to run one of these presses, by steam, as it would if they were all at work.

"The process of this plan of Dr. Gwynn's is very slow, and it requires much better ink than the ordinary copper-plate press printing. With six of the presses, the average daily number of impressions (single) would not exceed seventy-five. With the other bank-note paper and the common copper-plate press, there can be eight hundred impressions of the same size taken in a day.

"We are now working off impressions on the ordinary presses, having about fifty of them running day and night, and about one hundred men employed.

"I mentioned to Dr. Gwynn that I expected the Comptroller of the Currency would soon be appointed to organize the bureau. He said that he was over and above Comptrollers, and that his arrangements with the Gov-

ernment were such, that if the Secretary himself should come in, it would only be as a matter of courtesy. I wanted to know a little more about the process, in order to see whether I would take an interest in the patent, so as to secure myself a permanent situation, and he remarked that hereafter there would be no changes in the department; that it would be managed like the Bank of England, and that the men who were faithful, honest, and capable, would be retained."

From Mr. Clark, Superintendent of the Currency Bureau, I have received the following information:—Mr. Clark claims that the principle of Gwynn is correct. The presses, however, which were designed by Gwynn, are not made correctly, being the weakest in the most important parts. In consequence of these errors, the castings of the presses are being constantly fractured, the pressure necessary in printing by this method being greater than the iron can withstand. Mr. Clark further informs me that all the presses will burst when the requisite pressure is applied to them.

Out of seventy-seven presses made and placed in the department building at the instance of Stuart Gwynn, at an average cost of seventeen hundred dollars each, including the necessary attachments, twenty have already been damaged beyond repair, and with those remaining it is only a question of time as to when they will be rendered valueless.

This imperfection in the design for hydraulic presses has been discovered after an outlay of over one hundred thousand dollars had been made for machinery, and, so far as any practical benefit to the Government is concerned, has proved a miserable failure.

It is with these hydraulic presses, and the machinery appertaining thereto, that the Government, through Stuart Gwynn, has been placed in a false position toward several extensive machine manufacturing companies, and they in turn have been placed in a false position toward the Government, with a fair prospect of great pecuniary loss to them (the machinists).

It will be shown that the *assumed official position* of Stuart Gwynn led parties to credit his orders and instructions implicitly as from the Government of the United States, while he (Gwynn) was at the same time rendering bills to the department in his own name, and for his own benefit, for the identical machinery these parties had, in some instances, charged on their books to the United States Treasury Department.

By reference to the copies of letters, &c., accompanying this report, it appears that Stuart Gwynn, without any adequate means for such an enterprise, and without any explanation as to his ability to carry out such a scheme, commenced making preparations in the early part of the year 1863 to print by hydraulic pressure the issues of fractional currency; and also to change the whole character of the paper upon which it was printed, by substituting what he called membrane paper for the United States Government.

In connection with parties equally irresponsible, as is shown by the copies of correspondence between them, namely : C. W. Bond, New York; H. Haupt, Washington City; Samuel C. Hart and Edward Hamilton, of Boston; Stuart Gwynn inaugurated an enterprise involving a large cash outlay and investment of capital. This all, too, in the prosecution of an untried experiment, and

without the ability upon the part of either or all the parties to respond to the loss in case of failure.

General Haupt claims, in a letter to Stuart Gwynn, under date of May 17, 1863, "before he (Gwynn) got the contract, he (Haupt) exerted himself to bring his discovery to the notice of the Secretary of the Treasury, used the influence of his position and associations to bring him (Gwynn) into notice but not *for pay*, but from personal friendship; still Gwynn gave him to understand that he was to be interested;" he also refers in this letter to the interest of a C. A. Browne, of Boston, in the following language:—

"And as Browne had not performed any real service in procuring the contract, you decided to liquidate his (Browne's) interest of ten thousand dollars to be paid from time to time, but mine was left undetermined and indefinite occasionally you inquire if my brother Lewis acted as agent for Mrs. H., and expressed an intention of putting a paper in his hand."

It was through General Haupt that Stuart Gwynn was introduced at the Treasury by Mr. Hooper, M. C., as well as by Major-General McDowell.

C. W. Bond, of New York City, formerly commission merchant of San Francisco, California, whose letters to Gwynn are evidence of the statement, was to act as the banker for Stuart Gwynn; under this arrangement to accept Gwynn's drafts in payment for the necessary machinery, and to be placed in funds by Gwynn out of his receipts. For Mr. Bond's want of responsibility, pecuniarily, the letters referred to furnish abundant proofs.

Samuel C. Hart, it would appear by the tenor of his letters to Gwynn, was the inventor of the membrane paper, which Gwynn was to furnish the department for the fractional currency, although Gwynn claims to have perfected the invention previous to July, 1862, as will appear by reference to his written statement accompanying this report. He constantly appeals for remittances of small sums of money with which to prosecute his experiments.

Edward Hamilton, ex-commissioner of emigration for the State of Massachusetts, at Boston, writes for the return of about four hundred dollars, expended in experiments for account of Gwynn in various matters; is interested with Gwynn in telegraph and railroad matters, also iron-clad armor. Has no money; must lobby at Boston; can realize about twenty dollars per day from charter of a vessel, if Gwynn can help him get a charter from the Government; speaks of coming to Washington, "if he can be of use, so that he and Gwynn can labor together for good."

These parties named, judging from the correspondence submitted, and extending over a period of twelve months, are the intimate associates of Gwynn in various enterprises, including the special one of printing fractional currency upon membrane paper by the new process of hydraulic pressure. Without money and without credit, they undertake an enterprise of the great magnitude of supplying the fractional currency of the country.

The prolific brain of Gwynn soon suggested the method of obtaining the machinery required.

He at once fitted up elegant apartments for officers in the Treasury building, by permission of Mr. S. M. Clark; had an extensive laboratory arranged

for his chemical experiments in the preparation of colored inks, &c., required in the printing of currency.

He was active in his assistance to Mr. Clark, the superintendent of the National Currency Bureau, and by identifying himself with Mr. Clark as closely as possible, and with the various apartments of the Currency Bureau, the impression was readily taken by the public that he was a Government employee of distinction.

The effect was striking in the case of Messrs. Poole & Hunt, machinists, of Baltimore, Maryland. This firm had been furnishing, at odd times, parcels of machinery to the order of S. M. Clark, superintendent of the National Currency Bureau of the Treasury Department. They were waited on by Gwynn, who ordered large amounts of work for use in the Treasury Department. Messrs. Poole & Hunt had been informed of Stuart Gwynn's erratic and eccentric character, and, before taking his orders seriously into consideration, they visited Washington, coming to the Treasury Department to consult, as they intended, with Mr. Clark, as to the propriety of filling so large an order for Gwynn.

When they reached the apartments of Gwynn, and found a messenger stationed at his door, and all the formalities of the chief of bureau observed in their approach to the gentleman, they really reproached themselves for permitting themselves to doubt the true character and position of Mr. Gwynn in the Treasury Department, and returned to Baltimore without even consulting Mr. Clark, lest affront might be given to Gwynn thereby, and they lose the order. In proof of their impressions, the work they furnished has been all charged to the United States Currency Bureau on their books.

After the delivery by Messrs. Poole & Hunt of several thousand dollars' worth of machinery, they rendered their first bill, made out against the United States, sent under envelope to Stuart Gwynn, Washington City. Much to their surprise, Gwynn returned the bill, and requested them to render it in his (Gwynn's) own name, as the collection of the account would be greatly facilitated.

Shortly after this, Stuart Gwynn called on Messrs. Poole & Hunt, and proposed to them that a party in New York, a Mr. Bond, would accept his draft for a commission of two and one-half per cent. for the bills of machinery, thereby saving time and greatly simplifying the collection of the accounts. Messrs. Poole & Hunt agreed to this arrangement, and were paid an amount of money in this way, the draft being drawn by Stuart Gwynn on C. W. Bond, of New York, and the paper upon which the drafts were written was the official letter headings of the National Currency Bureau, Treasury Department.

Messrs. Poole & Hunt, who are likely to be largely losers by these transactions made with Stuart Gwynn, state distinctly, that upon his own responsibility Gwynn could never have had one dollar's credit with them; and had they not been under the full belief that Gwynn's acts were, if not official, under official sanction, and their work being placed in the Treasury Department building, he never could have had one dollar's worth. Here, as if to strengthen the conviction of Messrs. Poole & Hunt, as to the Governmental character of

the orders of Stuart Gwynn, a new feature was presented: Brigadier-General Haupt, known to them and the public as the manager of the United States military railroad only, and not as the associate and friend of Gwynn, caused United States military railroad cars to be detailed for transportation of the presses and machinery furnished by Messrs. Poole & Hunt, to run between their (Poole & Hunt's) shops in Baltimore and the City of Washington.

In the case of Messrs. Hayward, Bartlett & Co., machinists, of Baltimore City, the original charges on their books are made to Stuart Gwynn. They (Hayward, Bartlett & Co.) had known Mr. S. M. Clark as superintendent of the Currency Bureau, and finding that Gwynn was in daily communication with Mr. Clark, also that Gwynn had elegantly fitted up offices in the Treasury building, could not doubt the propriety of crediting so important a personage in the department; when, as they saw themselves, the work which Gwynn ordered was for Government use, and was placed, on its receipt in Washington, in the Government buildings, they (H., B. & Co.) felt sure that if any thing had been wrong, Mr. Clark would have apprised them of it.

In the case of the Woodruff & Beach Manufacturing Company, of Hartford, Connecticut, Mr. Woodruff, of that concern, states that his knowledge of Mr. Gwynn's previous history would entirely forbid his crediting him one dollar on his individual responsibility; that he (Mr. Woodruff) has known Mr. Clark in connection with the Treasury, and was influenced by the impression that, if Gwynn's enterprise was not officially sanctioned, he (Clark) would have apprised the Woodruff & Beach concern of the fact.

The presses and machinery ordered by Gwynn of the Woodruff & Beach Company were charged direct in their books to the United States Treasury Department, but on rendition of their bill, Gwynn returned it, and requested that it be made out in his (Gwynn's) own name, as it would greatly facilitate the prompt payment of the money. How true this statement was may be judged from the fact that the original bill, sixteen thousand eight hundred dollars, is still to this day unpaid, with the exception of eight hundred dollars, for which Gwynn remitted to Hartford, Connecticut, his draft on C. W. Bond, of New York City.

All of these parties named here reluctantly stated the facts hereinbefore recited in reference to Gwynn and their transactions with him, as their whole hope of recovering doubtful claims, amounting in the aggregate to over sixty thousand dollars, is, as before remarked, centered in the restitution of Gwynn to place and power again. The claims they might have had against the United States have been vitiated by the recognition of Gwynn as the purchaser of their machinery in the rendition of their several bills; and although the property delivered by these parties is yet in the possession of the United States, its entire worthlessness for the uses and purposes intended as is now clearly demonstrated by the few months' test it has been subjected to, will cause the Government to abandon its use and to decline recognizing the claim upon Stuart Gwynn, which these parties have, as the Government can possibly derive no benefit from the machinery thus left upon its hands.

The following is a copy of the voluntary statement made by Stuart Gwynn:—

My business is that of a consulting engineer, chemist, and inventor; I am forty-six years old; have a family of wife and five children. The homestead of my family is in Cortlandt Township, Westchester County, New York. The real estate, household furniture, &c., belongs to Mrs. Gwynn; I have been in Boston a considerable portion of the time since 1855, but always considered New York City as my residence, having rooms and places of business there. My first correspondence with the Treasury Department commenced about June or July, 1862. It was in regard to having that department adopt a new kind of paper of my invention. After a few letters had passed, some containing samples of the paper, I heard nothing from the Treasury for several months, up to about October, 1862, when I received a telegram from the honorable Secretary of the Treasury asking me to come to Washington immediately. I hesitated, as I was then very busy with other matters, as railroads, gas apparatus, new telegraphic instruments, &c., making at least five thousand dollars per year, with excellent prospects of increasing it, as one of the parties (Mr. E. Crane, as chief, and others) promised to increase my income (their share) some three thousand dollars per annum. I was then receiving from them up to ten thousand dollars per annum, if a charter and other legislation could be obtained to consolidate certain railroads. This charter, &c., was obtained in the spring of 1863, and I am now acting as the consulting engineer of the party for the promised salary. I was also to receive from the same party, at an early day, such sums as I might require, to an extent, if necessary, of fifty thousand dollars, to carry out several of my inventions connected with steam-engines and railroads.

I was at that time also receiving advances from other parties (among them C. Allen Browne, George Odiorne, &c.) to assist me in completing inventions and in obtaining patents I was then engaged on. I consulted with the parties interested with me, and they consented to my going to Washington to learn what the honorable Secretary, S. P. Chase, wanted of me in regard to the "paper." The result of this and a subsequent visit to Washington was making a contract with the Treasury Department for the new "bank-note paper."

The price named in the contract was (I think) five dollars and sixty cents less per one thousand sheets than the kind of paper then used; I calculated that I should make three to four dollars (twenty-five to thirty-three per cent.) per one thousand sheets profit, which was about the percentage made at that time by paper-makers, and it was no secret to the parties in the Treasury what I expected to make. The peculiarity of the "paper" was such that it was to be partly made at the mills, and, under the direction of my assistants, by my operatives in the Treasury building. And rooms, power, &c., were to be assigned for the purpose, as the "contract" will fully show. The "contract" in rough draft was drawn by me, corrected by S. M. Clark, then examined and recorrected by Edward Jordan, Esq., Solicitor of the Treasury, and signed in duplicate by the Hon. S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury. I went on, in pursuance of this contract, to procure the necessary machinery for use in the Treasury and to make contracts with "paper mills" to supply me the raw material. Shortly after my contract was signed, there was a rapid

advance in paper stock, so that my expected profit bid fair to be small if the rise remained permanent; this I did not believe would be the case, and the subsequent fall in price justified my judgment, although not now as low as when the contract was made. The parties with whom I was connected agreed to allow me to attend to this matter at the Treasury without any diminution of income, as it was expected I would only be in Washington about one-quarter of the time, while other parties of large means, who saw the great necessity of having *perfectly safe* "Government issues of indebtedness," agreed to advance me from time to time, as required, means to fulfill my "contract."

In all, these offers were for a very large amount; I only availed myself of them to an extent of some eight thousand to eleven thousand dollars, all I yet needed. During my visits to Washington, while getting ready to supply paper according to contract, I learned from Mr. S. M. Clark the *broad plan* that was laid down to make the *issues perfectly safe*. It involved not only a new kind of paper but a new style of "engraving," a new method of printing (if it could be done), new kinds of inks, &c. I entered heartily into the work of assisting by my *very great* (that is admitted by all) chemical and mechanical talents and knowledge to make practical the different parts of the "plan." I devoted every minute I could take from other duties to experimenting; I looked for no other reward, never wished for any, never expected any for my time and outlay of money (which was large in machinery, apparatus, salary of assistants, and traveling expenses) except the profit I expected from the supply of "paper." This I knew would be a large annual sum from the quantity I was certain would be required, and I was sure to have a monopoly of the supply. (See contract.) Rooms for paper making, laboratory, offices, &c., were assigned to me, as I was fully understood to be the "volunteer consulting engineer and chemist to the National Note Bureau" without official rank or pay (for I would accept neither), therefore free to go and come as I pleased with my assistants and operatives. This was fully approved of by the honorable Secretary of the Treasury, as an official letter of about June, 1863, will show. Up to this time (June, 1863), and subsequent to it, I received several payments of money from the Treasury Department for various machinery, apparatus, and material furnished to it, but in no case, to my recollection, was I ever paid one cent in advance of the delivery of the articles, and at the time of most of the payments large deliveries were made of articles for which bills had not been rendered. No payment was ever made except on a regularly certified bill. In most cases, the articles I received pay for had previously been paid for by me or my friends. I never purchased any article, that I can recollect, as the agent of the Treasury Department.

I never called myself its agent; I never said I was authorized to purchase goods for it; I always purchased through my friends, or as an individual, or as a trustee for other parties (this I have done in other business affairs for the past eight years). In the latter case, I explained to the parties I bought from that I did it as a matter of safety to them and myself, because I thought some old creditor (I failed in 1854) might attempt to stop the Treasury from paying me. In most cases, the articles I furnished the department (so far as I recol-

lect, all were, except the machinery for "dry printing," and much of that also) were invoiced at cost price, and in many cases the cost price was as much as twenty-five per cent. less than the Treasury was paying for exactly the same articles from the same sellers. In no case had I any intention or desire to make profit out of the Government except on my "paper contract." In the few cases of machinery in which any advance on cost price was charged, I did not intend *them in the total* to be more than enough to cover commissions paid to parties for purchasing, interest, freight, insurance, breakage, &c. I have not yet collected any thing from the Treasury for the supply of "paper" I have furnished. It was being made daily at the time of my arrest. I was to have had a settlement and payment for the deliveries made up to January 1, 1864, as soon as the amounts could be adjusted.

I think the last payment I received from the Treasury for machinery was in August. If my recollection is correct, one bill, of over fourteen thousand dollars, was rendered in September, 1863, and remains unpaid. Another of upwards of forty-seven thousand dollars, of December 30, rendered, is unpaid. The amount due me for paper, &c., must in all exceed seventy thousand dollars, while I have in addition a large value of "stock" in the Treasury to convert into the "national paper." In addition to all the above, is some twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand dollars' worth of machinery, additional to that delivered (as named in the bills representing before-named amounts), which is in great degree completed, and ready to deliver as soon as rooms could be finished for it.

I owe for it and for the above-named amounts, or nearly as much. I will be brief in what I have to say in regard to the charges of "extravagant personal outlays."

Instead of boarding at a hotel, I rented a furnished house in Georgetown, in connection with General H. Haupt, in April, 1863. During his stay, my share of the expenses was sixty-five to seventy dollars per month. After he left, in November, I got a party to come in and agree to bear half the cost (General Haupt had paid for more than half). The estimate we made was, total two hundred and fifty dollars per month; my half, one hundred and twenty-five dollars; to this add my horse keep, which is not equal to the wine and cigar bills of most men in my position (I use neither), and my bill of wines, &c., for friends in two years does not come up to one hundred dollars. That, with a small outlay for a few necessary articles for the house, is the "Washington extravagance." That of New York was *this and no more*. Since 1856 my family had lived in the country at the homestead; my children (I then had seven) had not been to school (1862); no schools in the neighborhood. In February, 1863, I lost, within three weeks of each other, my two youngest darlings, girls of six and eight years of age. Absent in Washington during the sickness and death of the eldest, and absent in Boston during the sickness of the other, only getting home to have her expire in my arms, my wife charging the death of both to the fact that I would not arrange to have her come to the city in the autumn of 1862, as I had promised, and as I would have done, but for my engagements with the Treasury Department, that so engrossed my time. I felt absolutely compelled to bring them to New York

in the autumn of 1863. On calculating the cost of boarding for four or five months in the city each year during their (the children's) education, I found it would be cheaper to purchase a small house. This was done; price, eight thousand dollars; cash paid down on it, one thousand six hundred dollars; balance, one thousand dollars per annum, six per cent. interest; furnishing cost about two thousand five hundred dollars. The money for these purposes was borrowed until I could collect funds due, which was wholly unconnected from any Treasury transactions.

In conclusion, I will state I have no one associated with me (beyond the extent before named) in my "contract" with the Treasury Department. That I have never paid, or promised to pay any officer of the department, or any friend or person for them, one copper, either as commission, fee, or present. I positively state I never had any understanding with any one of them in regard to any future share of profit, but that in all things my dealings have been frank, open, and above-board. If there has been any irregularity in my transactions with the department, it has been from ignorance. I have had but one end in view, viz., the full success of the "plans" required to prevent *counterfeiting* and fraudulent issues, well knowing my interest was in that success, for in it was involved the exclusive use of my "national paper." I now demand that I be fully informed of, and that I receive a copy of, the charges on which I was arrested and am held (and have been for twenty-four days a close prisoner, on a convicted felon's fare), that I may meet my accusers face to face, and prove my innocence and their accusations to be false.

WASHINGTON, January 25, 1864.

A careful reading of the above statement suggests the following "questions," viz.:

Who are the other parties referred to, with large means, who saw the necessity of having perfectly safe Government issues of indebtedness, and who agreed to furnish large means, &c.? Was it General Haupt? No; because, as shown from his own letters to Gwynn, he was pecuniarily embarrassed, and was constantly appealing to Gwynn for money.

Was it Edward Hamilton? No; he was still more embarrassed than General Haupt, as he admits.

Was it C. W. Bond? No; for every dollar he paid out was first advanced by Gwynn.

Was it Van Choate or Hart? No; for they are constantly importuning Gwynn for small remittances.

If none of these, who were the public-spirited individuals referred to?

Stuart Gwynn, however, only avails himself of these munificent offers to the extent of eight thousand to eleven thousand dollars, "all he needed."

Gwynn further informs us that from Mr. S. M. Clark he first learned the "broad plan" that was laid down to make the issues perfectly safe, and that said plan necessarily involved not only a "new kind of paper," but a new style of engraving, a new method of printing, viz.: by "hydraulic presses," &c.; that he entered into the arrangement heartily, working night and day,

with no expectation of receiving any pecuniary compensation, except that derived from the sale of "membrane paper."

Stuart Gwynn further states that he never purchased any article as the agent of the Treasury Department, never called himself its agent. This statement can not be true, for we find in all of his purchases from Messrs. Poole & Hunt, Woodruff & Beach, and others, the bills were rendered direct to the Treasury Department, and were so charged on their respective books; besides, it is before conclusively shown in this report that the gentlemen referred to above had not the least doubt of Gwynn's official and even confidential connection with the National Currency Bureau.

*In reviewing the subject,* we find that, under date of August 29, 1863, after a severe attack had been made upon the system of dry plate printing, membrane paper, &c., by communications addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, and among others, one from Mr. Wilson, president of the Continental Bank Note Company, Stuart Gwynn, over his own signature, made a proposal in writing to the Secretary of the Treasury, of which the following is a copy:—

"Moved by Mr. Wilson's insinuation in his letter to Secretary Chase, August 27, he will bind himself to Secretary Chase: 1st. To furnish seventy presses, eleven-inch rams, and such others as the department may require, complete, with apparatus required to work them, as per bill attached, marked 'A,' and for the price there named, and the conditions as to use specified. 2d. Binds himself to assume loss, if he does not print for one week (if plates prepared and paper applied) three dry impressions per minute. 3d. If he fails, will remove them at his own cost, and authorize Clark to retain and pay over to proper parties whatever may be due or become due him."

This proposition to the Hon. Secretary appears to have been immediately acted on, and we find Gwynn at once in communication with various machinists in reference to the manufacture of hydraulic presses for the United States Currency Bureau. Without even the ability to pay for these presses in the first place, Gwynn pledges himself to "remove them at his own cost," from the department buildings, if they do not perform the given amount of work per minute; and without a full and frank definition of his position as a contractor to the Government, and under the coloring of official position, Stuart Gwynn caused expenditures to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars to be made by innocent and disinterested parties, who were entirely unaware of his nefarious schemes.

Without capital, and with no moneyed friends or associates, Stuart Gwynn, as the result plainly shows, has muled these several machine-manufacturing companies in the sum of the various balances due them for work done and materials furnished. For by the error in design of the presses, the drawings for which were furnished by Gwynn, the presses are made inadequate to the work assigned them, and one by one they are being removed from the Treasury building, damaged beyond repair, and worthless excepting as old castings. These damaged presses can be seen at this date, laid aside and awaiting

removal among the rubbish heaps of the grounds adjacent to the Treasury building.

It is shown by the careful perusal of the papers accompanying this report, that Stuart Gwynn and his associates, all needy men, were ready to "help their country," as expressed in many ways throughout these papers, "*from motives of patriotism*," at any and all times, and in any possible way—from "iron-clad armor-plating" to "telegraphing for Uncle Sam;" from the sale of the steamer *Nephon* to the charter of another, of which "twenty dollars per day profit can be realized, if Gwynn can secure the charter," and finally hitting upon a plan to assist the Treasury Department by making "fractional currency."

We find the combination brought to bear upon the Secretary, so that Stuart Gwynn is permitted to enjoy his confidence, General Haupt *using his official position and associations* to bring him (Gwynn) to the notice of the Secretary of the Treasury.

The confidence of the Hon. Secretary in Gwynn and his operations having been secured in the manner as before shown in this report, Mr. S. M. Clark's official interposition was only required by his daily assurances of success in Gwynn's various insane projects; this, as the report will show, was freely accorded him.

Gwynn, without one dollar, assumed to pay hundreds of thousands in case of failure of a new and untried project, and, with the boldest effrontery, put on a style, and fitted up apartments in the Treasury building, so as to convey the impression that he was what he was not.

By such unworthy means as these, aided by writing letters at times, as well as drawing drafts upon official letter paper, he (Gwynn) obtained "a credit" which under no other circumstances could he have obtained.

The result, as now seen, is what might have been anticipated—an *utter failure*, with no means of responding to the unpaid accounts of those who have been so greatly deceived and so foully wronged.

I now have the honor of directing your attention to a subject of grave importance, in connection with the operations of Stuart Gwynn, involving no less than the permanent injury and mutilation of the *Treasury Department buildings*.

This magnificent structure, complete in all its details, having been designed and constructed, so far as it is finished, under the superintendence of the first architectural talent of the country, has received most severe and unnecessary abuse, under the direction of Gwynn, sustained by others connected with the department, who were entirely conversant with his designs and projects.

The north attic room of the west wing was selected by Gwynn as a receptacle of the seventy-eight hydraulic presses ordered by him, and to-day a dead weight of nearly *two hundred tons* is sustained upon girders designed for no such purpose. Many of the rooms in the building now occupied by the clerks in the department, with their office furniture, &c., are supported by heavier girders. The consequence of this most unusual load for the attic rooms of the building may be observed in the deflection of the cast-iron beams supporting its floors.

The architect of the building is satisfied that the injury already sustained is permanent in its character; and, even should the dead weight be removed, the beams must retain the deflection of one to one and a half inch, as, in the nature of the material, cast-iron can not return to the straight line, as might be the case with wooden girders.

The most startling of all of Gwynn's eccentricities, as displayed in his operations with the Treasury, and which is a criminal assumption of power upon his part and his advisers, is the mutilation of the exterior of the edifice, together with the imminent peril in which the lives and persons of the employees of the department are placed by his device.

I refer to the arrangement whereby one hundred tons dead weight is suspended by pulleys over the cornice of the roof of a portion of the structure.

In the court-yard of the new building, north, may be witnessed one of the most extraordinary burlesques upon "mechanics," of which science Gwynn professes to be master, that this country affords.

The cornice, drilled through and through to accommodate thick wire cables, supposed to be capable of sustaining so great a weight; pulleys and fixtures projecting in the most unsightly manner above and beyond the cornice; and this enormous weight of cast-iron blocks or plates suspended, in a frame of heavy timber, perpendicularly the entire height of the building. And what is the object of all this machinery, involving an outlay of probably twenty thousand dollars in its first cost, and liable, as soon as put into operation, to damage irreparably everything with which it should come in contact?

Stuart Gwynn finds that he has not enough pressure, as he believes, to perfectly print on his "membrane paper" by the hydraulic presses; and although one by one the machines burst and become worthless under the simple process of hand-printing, as has been shown (this "device" is part of a fixture to increase "the pressure" upon each and every part of the rams), and practical men in the department are free to say that, if even the additional pressure is obtained by this or any other means, the presses will all burst immediately the additional pressure is applied.

I will endeavor to describe the peculiar device of Gwynn, whereby he hopes to obtain this result, and respectfully suggest to the Hon. Solicitor a personal examination of the affair, that he may fully realize the utter abortiveness of the plan and its dangerous character to the building and the occupants of the rooms in that vicinity.

This contrivance, which he calls a "receiver," consisted of two cast-iron cylinders, running parallel to each other, and placed upon the top of the stone-work of the building. I respectfully submit a sketch herewith, which will aid in a proper understanding of the design. In the cylinder there is introduced an iron piston-rod, at the end of which are fastened two wire cables (indicated on the sketch by red ink lines), running over large iron wheels or pulleys, and to which, outside the building, the heavy weight is attached by means of an iron pipe (marked "supply" on the drawing). Oil is supplied to the cylinders. By means of a steam engine the weight is to be raised, and by letting it fall again from a certain elevation, the piston is pressed with great force into the cylinder, working against the oil; thus, by means of pipes con-

veying the oil to the different presses from the cylinder, the pressure on each of them is proposed to be greatly increased.

I am not enough of an engineer to give you a correct idea of the working of this ponderous apparatus. According to the laws of hydraulics, however, the pressure acting against the cylinder is equal to that exerted where it really is wanted, there being a space left between the piston and the inside surface of the cylinders, which space is filled with oil. Many persons, who have examined this arrangement, agreed in this: that the cylinders would not stand such a pressure, and so it was proven, for the cylinders burst at the first test, as they did also at the second.

Whether Gwynn would have ever succeeded in getting by this means an increase of speed and power, I can not decide; but it would not have availed him much in regard to the quality of his printing, as shown elsewhere in this report.

Bearing in mind the primary object constantly held in view by Gwynn, that of creating a large demand for his peculiar style of paper, which he designates "membrane paper," we find, because of its peculiar manufacture, it can not be treated as other paper—that is to say, it can not be dampered—that Gwynn, with the aid and encouragement of parties inside the department, has attempted to revolutionize the whole system of plate-printing.

Mr. Neale, the assistant superintendent, in his statement says, that, in June, 1863, he was anxious to procure bank-note paper and roller presses, to proceed at once to supply the fractional currency so much needed; but that Mr. Clark would not sanction that arrangement, as the paper of Mr. Gwynn was to be printed upon and hydraulic presses to be used. Valuable time was thus lost in extravagant experiments, by Gwynn and Clark, and finally, upon Clark's recommendation, the Secretary permits Gwynn to proceed to carry out his ideas on a large scale.

Seventy to eighty hydraulic presses are ordered, and against the remonstrances and protests of the supervising architects of the Treasury building. These presses, over two hundred tons dead weight, were placed in a portion of the building never designed for any such burden. Not content with this—for everybody, every thing, seemed for a time to have to yield before the object of selling patent membrane paper to the Government—when it was found that the presses did not give force enough, the building has to be defaced, mutilated, and permanently injured, by the most outrageous contrivance, hereinbefore described, and which Gwynn calls his "receiver," which promises, like all the rest of his insane schemes, to result in a complete and utter failure. And now, at the date of this report, workmen are engaged and hands employed in tearing down one of the walls of the newly finished portion of the north end of the west wing of the building, to prepare for *two more* of these unheard-of apparatuses, which Mr. Clark, in the absence of Gwynn, has decided to erect, according to the original plans of Gwynn.

This whole affair seems to me so monstrous in its character, so reckless in its design, so criminal in its intent, that I would here most respectfully suggest to the Hon. Solicitor of the Treasury to present the whole subject to the immediate notice of the Hon. Secretary of the Treasury, so that peremp-

tory orders may be issued for a discontinuance of the demolition and defacement of the building; and also for the appointment of a commission, composed of practical and scientific men, who may be authorized to fully investigate the truth or fallacy of the serious charges herein made.

On page 26 of this report the statement of Stuart Gwynn reads: "I never purchased any article, that I can recollect, as the agent of the Treasury Department; I never called myself its agent; I never said I was authorized to purchase goods for it. I always purchased through my friends, or as an individual, or as a trustee for other parties."

In order to show that this statement is entirely incorrect, I herewith submit copies of some of the original invoices found among the "papers seized" at the time of Gwynn's arrest.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1863.

*Dr. S. Gwynn, for Treasury Department, bought of Wm. S. Mitchell & Co., dealers in house-furnishing drygoods.*

August 13.	64½ yards Brussels, at \$2.25 .....	\$144 75
"	Making and laying, \$9.65; thread, \$1 .....	10 65
" 17.	64½ yards Brussels, at \$2.25 .....	145 69
"	Making and laying, \$9.71; thread, \$1 .....	10 71
October 1.	Two cocoa mats, \$2 .....	4 00
		<hr/>
		\$315 80

HARTFORD, October 14, 1863.

*Stuart Gwynn, Esq. (terms cash), bought of Woodruff & Beach, Iron Works.*  
September 14. One segmental engine for Treasury Department.. \$800 00  
October 13. Sixteen hydraulic presses do. at \$1,000 16,000 00

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\$16,800 00

Credit:

October 13.	By cash .....	800 00
		<hr/>
		\$16,000 00

NORTH MANCHESTER, September 30, 1863.

*Stuart Gwynn, Esq., National Note Bureau, Washington, D. C., to M. Hudson, Dr.*

August 11.	306 lbs. waste silk, at 38 cents.....	\$115 28
" 18.	815 lbs. paper, at 32 cents .....	100 80
September 5.	369½ lbs. paper, at 32 cents .....	118 24
" 11.	121½ lbs. paper, at 32 cents .....	38 80
" 24.	492½ lbs. paper, at 32 cents .....	157 60
" 30.	459 lbs. paper, at 32 cents .....	146 88
		<hr/>
		\$677 60

Received payment,

M. HUDSON, per P. W. H.

NORTH MANCHESTER, October 13, 1863.

*S. Gwynn, for U. S. Treasury Department, to P. W. Hudson, Dr.*  
To 1,000 lbs. silk, at \$1.50 .....

\$1,500 00

NORTH MANCHESTER, December 11, 1863.

*Stuart Gwynn, Esq., Treasury Department, to M. Hudson, Dr.*

November —.	To 280 lbs. spider-leg web, at 35 cents .....	\$98 00
December 7.	To 988 lbs. spider-leg web, at 35 cents .....	845 80
" 11.	To 1,166 lbs. spider-leg web, at 35 cents .....	408 10
		————— \$851 90

It is not deemed necessary to multiply copies of instances of this character, sufficient having been presented to establish the fact that it was not contemplated, in any instance, to trust Stuart Gwynn upon his own personal responsibility. The fact of his having retained these bills, as rendered, in his possession, without making known to the parties rendering them his true relative position toward the department, is equivalent to his purchasing, in the name of the department, goods for his own use and benefit.

I would respectfully direct the attention of the Hon. Solicitor of the Treasury to the most important fact developed in this investigation, which is this: Stuart Gwynn, with all his eccentricities and experiments, his inventions and ideas, which have cost the Government so much vexation, such unfortunate delay, and so large an expenditure of money, could never have proceeded as he has done, for a single week, excepting by the sanction and co-operation of S. M. Clark, the Superintendent of the National Currency Bureau.

To what extent Clark has been, or may be, directly interested in the ultimate success of Gwynn's membrane paper is not clearly shown; but that he was interested may be inferred from the correspondence between Gwynn and Clark, in which the former speaks of "our enterprise;" also, from the tenor of C. A. Browne's Boston letters to Gwynn, in which frequent mention is made of Clark in connection with the membrane paper; and, also, in the letters of C. W. Bond, New York, where Clark is spoken of in the same connection, as well as the fact that a paid freight bill for hydraulic presses, made out in S. M. Clark's name, was found among Gwynn's papers, a copy of which is herewith submitted:

WASHINGTON, November 10, 1863.

*Mr. S. M. Clark to Schooner J. P. Augur, Dr.*

Freight from New York, on sixteen hydraulic presses, weighing eleven thousand pounds each, making a total of eighty-eight tons of two thousand pounds each, at eight dollars per ton, as per bill of lading, seven hundred and four dollars.

Received payment.

W. A. WRIGHT, Captain.

The above presses have been delivered.

EDWARD H. DOUGHEEY.

November 19, 1863.

It is a fact that the urgent protests of the supervising architect of the Treasury building, against the mutilation of the edifice, were always met by S. M. Clark, who claimed that the design was to delay the currency issues.

And should the Hon. Secretary decide, as I trust he will, that a full investigation of this subject shall be made before the proper tribunal, it will be clearly shown, by witnesses now indisposed to testify, for reasons set forth herein, that S. M. Clark is, or has been, a party peculiarly interested in the final success of Stuart Gwynn's operations in connection with the Treasury Department.

What is it that received the entire sanction and protection of S. M. Clark? A system of *dry plate printing*, requiring hydraulic presses in large numbers; many of these presses have been in the rooms assigned to them for months past. Out of seventy or eighty presses, only six are now or have been in operation, printing an average of seventy-five impressions daily, each, instead of over fourteen hundred each, as claimed for them by Gwynn. As early as October 15, 1863, we find Stuart Gwynn telegraphing to the manufacturers, as follows:

WASHINGTON, October 15, 1863.

Messrs. POOLE & HUNT, engineers, Baltimore:—

Two more press cylinders burst last night. What is wrong? Is the iron bad? Answer by telegram.

S. GWYNN.

Showing the liability of the presses to break down was clearly understood at that early date.

I have not had facilities for ascertaining the total amount of money expended by Gwynn in his various operations; but, independent of the original cost of presses, many of which have been paid for, there has been expended at least seventy-five thousand dollars in various ways, made necessary by the introduction of the hydraulic press.

And still the subject is being pursued, and this, too, by the superintendent charged with the great responsibility of promptly and faithfully supplying the country with currency for daily circulation.

Stuart Gwynn was arrested, and S. M. Clark takes hold of his plans and projects just where he left off. And although he has stated to me and others that these presses will not work—that they must continue to break down, one after the other, as they have done heretofore—yet he goes on to perfect the pulley and weight apparatus outside the building, which Gwynn had commenced, and even has gone on to construct two more such receivers, with their appendages, at another portion of the building.

This latter operation requires the demolition of the brick-work but recently laid in cement, at a great cost, and constituting the end wall of the west wing of the extension as far as completed.

Surely it can not be doubted that S. M. Clark has not the public interest and welfare as his first object, in view of all these facts. He has sanctioned, and is now protecting, the perpetration of the grossest follies, which are criminal when the expenditure of public moneys is involved.

From the full and careful investigation of the entire subject, which has claimed my attention for nearly three months past, I am convinced, beyond a

doubt, of the entire and utter failure of the plans and projects of Stuart Gwynn in connection with the Currency Bureau.

Sooner or later this will be demonstrated to the satisfaction of all concerned. That the whole business has not long ago exploded, and Stuart Gwynn permitted to pursue his railroad, telegraph, and Hoosic tunnel engagements, is owing entirely to the interference of S. M. Clark, in his official capacity, who, having the entire confidence of the Hon. Secretary heretofore, has had every facility to apologize for the delays and shortcomings of Gwynn.

And, in concluding this report, I here desire to record my conviction that Stuart Gwynn, as a principal, and S. M. Clark, as his confederate, have been and are now engaged in one of the most deliberate and barefaced attempts to perfect an idea or invention at the expense of the public, and for their own benefit, that the records of the Government can furnish. And I do not believe there could be found a grand jury in the country who would hesitate to indict Stuart Gwynn and S. M. Clark for conspiracy to defraud the Government, with the facts before them which are clearly set forth in this report and the documents referred to accompanying it.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Special Agent War Department.

Hon. EDWARD JORDAN,  
Solicitor of the Treasury Department.

To the above, the Solicitor returned an order in the usual form, requiring me to place Mr. Gwynn in the Old Capitol prison. These investigations, although but little known to the public, had awakened an intense curiosity to get further light on the mysterious subject. Congress had heard rumors of what had transpired, and in the latter part of April, 1864, the Hon. James Brooks, M. C., in a bold and manly speech, denounced in unsparing terms the immoralities and fraudulent transactions in the Treasury Department. The result was, the introduction, April 30, of a resolution calling for a Congressional committee of investigation.

In politics, Mr. Brooks and myself, it is well known, had no sympathy, and also that his party were in the decided minority. But I then believed, and still believe, that he was moved by an honest and commendable motive—to have the truth discovered in regard to the alleged wrongs. When the appointment of the committee was announced, I was often cautioned by my Republican friends not to proceed, and denounced for my persistence in pushing the investiga-

tion. I was told that, however authentic the disclosures, and even if proved legally, it would injure seriously men in high official relations; that I was endangering the credit of the country; that the administration and dominant party would suffer in the approaching presidential campaign.

"What!" exclaimed a prominent politician, "do you wish to furnish arguments for copperhead stump orators against our party?"

I answered: "If the success of the Republican party and its continuance in power depend upon the suppression of fraud and vices in its officers, some other instrument must be selected to aid in such a burial of corruption. The investigation must go on."

When it was evident that neither threats nor persuasion would induce me to conceal the truth, resort was had to denunciation and detraction, by certain Treasury officials, in which Mr. Chase was not silent.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### INVESTIGATIONS IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

The Bureau suspected of Complicity with Bank Note Companies—Mr. Gwynn in the Old Capitol Prison—The Congressional Committee call for Documents—They are produced—Mr. Clark's *Status*—Report.

IT was suddenly found that “Colonel Baker was in the interest of the bank note companies, to break up the printing in their department, and leave it to the former. He had not capacity to make a proper investigation.”

The committee in Congress, however, was organized, and I quote here its first resolution :—

WASHINGTON, May 3, 1864.

The committee met at 11 o'clock, A. M. Present: Mr. Garfield, chairman, and Messrs. Wilson, Brooks, Davis, Stuart, Fenton, Dawson, and Steele.

On motion of Mr. Brooks—

*Resolved*, That Colonel Baker, provost-marshal of the War Department, be directed to appear before the committee of investigation upon the Treasury, with all papers, documents, depositions, and all written information of any kind he has respecting the printing or publication of the public money, or the persons engaged therein.

In response, I appeared before the committee, with the report which has already been introduced. Before leaving the committee-room, I was satisfied that the committee was composed in part of gentlemen who did not believe the allegations respecting the Treasury Department. They attributed the rumors which had led to the inquiry, to a desire of Mr. Brooks and others to attack the administration, and on my part, to gain such notoriety as might follow the publicity of scandalous statements, which might have no foundation in fact.

To leave the committee for awhile and go to the Old

Capitol prison, where Stuart Gwynn was confined, I wrote the subjoined statement:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 3, 1864.

Honorable EDWARD JORDAN, Solicitor of the Treasury Department:—

SIR—I would respectfully suggest, inasmuch as it is impossible for me at this time, owing to the great demand on my time in the numerous investigations now being carried on by me in the various departments, and the mass of facts and evidence in my possession, which must necessarily be analyzed and arranged before a complete conclusion and satisfactory report can be made, that Dr. Gwynn be paroled, not to leave the District of Columbia until allowed to do so by the permission of the Secretary of the Treasury.

This communication is written at the suggestion of Mrs. Gwynn and other friends of the Doctor, who represent that his health is suffering in consequence of his continued confinement.

I would further state, that certain developments are daily being made, in addition to facts already known and proved, showing conclusively Dr. Gwynn's participation in fraudulent transactions in the Treasury Department. I think the interests of the Government will not suffer by allowing Dr. G. to be discharged on his "parole."

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Agent War Department.

The above was returned, as not sufficiently definite in character; in other words, I was to be responsible for all arrests made, Mr. Jordan denying that he gave any authority for Gwynn's arrest, consequently was unwilling to release him.

I made the following indorsement on my communication to Mr. Jordan, of February 3, and sent it back to him:—

WASHINGTON CITY, D. C., February 4, 1864.

On further consideration of the matter referred to within, I am convinced that the interests of the Government will not be jeopardized by allowing Dr. Gwynn to be released without requiring the usual parole in such cases the Government having in its possession ample security for his appearance when wanted.

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department

Dr. Gwynn was set at liberty, by Mr. Jordan's order, the succeeding day.

I was now fully satisfied, as it subsequently appeared, that Mr. Chase, through Solicitor Jordan, would not only attack my official acts in this department, but would assist

(as he did) to embarrass my efforts and assail my official character, by all means available, before the committee. To fortify my position more, I will here remark, that the course of Solicitor Jordan, and others referred to, will hereafter be further noticed.

The next communication is in reply to a call by the committee, on the War Department, for certain documents:—

WASHINGTON CITY, May 28, 1864.

SIR—I am instructed by the Secretary of War to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 20th instant, asking that the special committee to inquire into matters pertaining to the Treasury Department may be furnished with copies of “all orders or instructions under which Colonel Baker was detailed to investigate into matters belonging to the Treasury Department,” and to transmit, in accordance with the above request, the inclosed paper, which contains all the information to be found on the files of this department in relation to the subject of your inquiry.

Your obedient servant,

JAS. A. HARDIE,

Colonel, and Inspector-General.

THOS. F. ANDREWS, Esq., Clerk to Committee.

The documents were furnished, when a similar request was addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury, to which the report, at considerable length, was the response:—

#### *Appendix U.*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, May 30, 1864.

SIR—I have received your letter of the 20th instant, transmitting a copy of a resolution of your committee, requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to send to the committee “all orders, or instructions, or directions, or requests of any kind, under which Colonel L. C. Baker was asked for or detailed to investigate matters belonging to the Treasury Department, whether these papers be confidential or otherwise.”

I transmit herewith a copy of a communication addressed by me to the Secretary of War, on the 24th December, 1863, requesting him to direct Colonel Baker to make such investigations and arrests, and exercise such custody of persons arrested, as I might find needful for the detection and punishment of frauds on the Government, committed by persons in this department.

Upon this request, Colonel Baker was detailed for the service in question, and directed to act under the instructions of the Solicitor of the Treasury, to whom the matter was confided.

I understand, from the Solicitor, that on the day after the arrest of Dr. Gwynn by Colonel Baker, he addressed an order to the latter authorizing him to confine Dr. Gwynn in the Old Capitol prison, and that subsequently he ad-

dressed to him another communication, consenting to his release therefrom. The Solicitor informs me that he has no copy of either of these communications.

I am not aware of any other papers touching the matter referred to.

I am, very respectfully,

S. P. CHASE, Secretary of the Treasury.

Hon. JAMES A. GARFIELD,  
House of Representatives.

The next communication which I find, is respecting the case of Mr. Henderson, to whom reference has been made, and who was accused of receiving bribes while chief clerk in the Requisition Office:—

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1864.

Hon. EDWARD JORDAN, Solicitor of Treasury Department:—

SIR—Herewith I have the honor to forward report in the case of G. A. Henderson, recently arrested and paroled by your order.

The facts and proofs developed, so far as my investigations are concerned, are to a great extent circumstantial. The surveillance established over Mr. Henderson, by my direction, previous to his arrest, would seem to show that Mr. H., by some means unknown to me, was not only aware of such surveillance, but was well posted as to all my movements. As a proof of this I submit the following copy of a letter left by a colored boy at his (Henderson's) house, which letter was found by myself, underneath the door of his house, some days after I began my investigations.

[COPY OF LETTER.]

"WASHINGTON, Sunday, 4 o'clock.

"Guss—Don't fail to act the moment you receive this. Mr. Chase has ordered your arrest. I have seen the papers. Colonel B. will certainly arrest you within forty-eight hours. For God's sake, Guss, never let this happen. You do not know the movements now on foot; Cornwell was but the beginning. Guss, as you value your liberty, don't suffer yourself to be arrested. Cht. General S. Field and others have been the prime movers. I have been consulted, and know all of the plans, but am not suspected. You are not watched to-day. Get a horse and buggy after dark to-night, and go to Rockville. You will meet a friend this side of the village, who will tell you all. When you read this burn it. Guss, this is not idle talk. For God's sake, heed it.

YOUR FRIEND.

No positive or definite proof has as yet been discovered as to who the writer of this letter is.

Feeling the importance of allowing Mr. H. to hold no communication with those persons alleged to have paid him various sums of money for passing

warrants through the department illegitimately or irregularly, I advised Mr. Field, the Assistant Secretary, not to grant him a leave of absence. Such leave of absence was, however, granted, and during the time that Mr. H. was in New York, he was in daily communication with the very individuals from whom he admits having received some eight hundred dollars for services rendered.

I endeavored, by all means in my power, to obtain from William A. Seaver, one of the persons referred to as being in daily communication with Mr. H., a sworn statement of his transactions with Henderson, after repeated promises on his (Seaver's) part that he would do so. He finally declined altogether; but admitted to me, in presence of his counsel, Mr. John Develin, that he paid Henderson large sums of money in certain business transactions, not naming the nature of said transactions. It will be seen by Mr. Henderson's statement, a copy of which is forwarded with this report, that he (H.) admits having received one hundred dollars from a Mr. Hunter, of Philadelphia, but that he donated the same to some benevolent institution, the name of which he has forgotten.

I regret that there were no means at my disposal to compel the attendance of witnesses, whom I am confident would have testified to the following facts:—

1st. That Henderson did receive from W. A. Seaver a sum of money, for the improper passage of warrants.

2d. That Henderson received from Mr. William Hunter, of Philadelphia, one hundred dollars, in consideration of which he (H.) passed a claim for sixteen thousand dollars. An examination of the books in Mr. H.'s office will show that said claim was preferred to many others then on file; and further, that there was no order requiring Mr. H. to prefer Mr. Hunter's claim.

3d. That the warrant-books in Mr. Henderson's office show that a very large amount of preferred warrants, or claims, have been improperly passed by Henderson. In order to a full investigation of the case, I would respectfully recommend that the United States District-Attorney for this district be instructed to call before the Grand Jury the following named witnesses: Charles Secor and W. A. Seaver, New York; Wm. Hunter, Philadelphia; Messrs. Baldwin, Saville, McCarty, and West.

Previous to the investigation of the committee, I forwarded a number of affidavits, with the subjoined report, to the Solicitor of the Treasury:—

WASHINGTON, April 18, 1864.

Hon. EDWARD JORDAN, Solicitor of the Treasury Department:—

SIR—On the 1st instant I had the honor to forward you a report in the case of Stuart Gwynn. In that report, I found it necessary to refer to, and comment somewhat severely upon, the official conduct and character of Mr. S. M. Clark, Superintendent of Currency Bureau. I now desire to call your attention to certain facts, involving not only the official character and conduct of Mr. S. M. Clark, but his moral and social position. I challenge the records

of any department or bureau ever organized under our Government to show such a system of gross immorality, such a total disregard for even the most common or ordinary respect for decency, as is most conclusively and overwhelmingly shown by the affidavits accompanying this communication. These depositions, however, constitute but a small portion of the great mass of testimony on this subject, which has accumulated within the past few days.

For months past the conduct of S. M. Clark, in connection with certain female employees of his department, has been the subject of street and bar-room gossip of this city, and it was only after most patient and energetic investigations, that the testimony accompanying this communication was so obtained.

An old established rule of the Treasury requires that the names of all persons, both male and female, passing in or out of the Treasury building after certain hours, shall be registered by the door-keeper. Mr. Clark, however, countermanded the order, so far as it applied to female employees.

The reason for Mr. Clark's interference in this matter will be fully understood by a careful reading of the deposition referred to. I desire to state, that no undue or improper influences have been used in procuring the sworn statements of the female employees. On arrival at my office, they willingly and voluntarily made the respective affidavits to which their signatures are appended.

With this very brief statement, and accompanying papers, I leave the case of Mr. Clark in your hands, feeling confident that, when you have fully examined the subject, Mr. S. M. Clark will be summarily, dishonorably, and disgracefully dismissed from the department.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### STARTLING DISCLOSURES IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Miss Ella Jackson's Affidavit—Miss Jennie Germon—Mr. Spurgeon and others—Correspondence with Mr. Garfield, Chairman of Congressional Committee—Minority Report—Concluding Statements.

I now furnish the damaging affidavits in regard to Mr. Clark's moral character, with my own statement of facts:—

*From the Documents appended to the Official Report of Colonel Provost-Marshal Baker, to the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Chase), upon the Printing of the Public Money in Washington.*

[COPY.]

#### *Statement of Miss Ella Jackson.*

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1864.

My name is Ella Jackson. I was originally from Baltimore, Maryland; am eighteen years of age. I went to work in the Treasury Department on the 5th November, 1862. I procured my situation through the Hon. Mr. Kellogg, M. C. from Michigan. I have worked in various rooms in the department; am at present in the numbering-room, where I have been about six months. I know Mr. S. M. Clark, Superintendent of Currency Bureau. I also know Mr. G. A. Henderson.

Some time last fall, I think in September, I had a conversation with Mr. S. M. Clark and Mr. Henderson, in relation to them (Clark and Henderson) procuring two suits of boy's clothes—one suit for myself, and the other for a girl named Jennie Germon, who was then working in the Currency Bureau. Clark and Henderson were to furnish the male suits, and Jennie Germon and myself were to put them on and accompany them (Clark and Henderson) to the Canterbury, a place of amusement in this city, where females are not allowed, owing to the nature of the exhibitions or plays usually in vogue at that place of amusement. On the evening agreed upon between Mr. Clark, Henderson, Miss Germon, and myself to attend the Canterbury, as stated above, Mr. Henderson sent me a note written in pencil, in which he stated, as near as I can recollect, that the suit could not be obtained that night, but would be all ready by Monday noon; that C. could not go that evening to the Canterbury, but would join us during the evening and go to supper. That the carriage

would stop at our door at seven o'clock, and we, Jennie Germon and myself, should come down alone and get into the carriage.

This letter was signed, I think, H. Mr. Henderson did call at seven o'clock, as arranged. We went down, got in and drove to Georgetown, back to the Capitol, and stopped at the corner of First Street and the Avenue, got out and walked to the Buhler restaurant, where we found Mr. Clark in waiting. We all had supper, which occupied nearly two hours. Messrs. Clark, Henderson, Jennie Germon, and myself, then went direct to the Central Hotel, corner of Sixth Street and the Avenue. Mr. Clark and Henderson went in and registered names on the hotel register. I do not know what names were registered. Jennie Germon and Mr. Clark occupied a front room; I think, the fourth floor. Mr. Henderson and myself occupied the next room adjoining. We all remained until about three o'clock, when Mr. Henderson got up and stated that he was going home. Mr. Clark, Miss Germon, and myself, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, went to the Buhler restaurant, where we all got breakfast; came down stairs; Mr. C. left us at the door, and went away, and we went home. Miss Germon was then employed in the press division in Mr. Clark's bureau. Miss Germon was not discharged by Mr. Clark, but left of her own accord, as she was about to be married. Some time in the month of December, 1863, Mr. Henderson first mentioned to me the plan of going to Philadelphia. After Mr. Henderson mentioned the matter to me, I spoke to Laura Duvall about it; she was willing to go. A short time after Mr. Henderson mentioned the subject, Mr. S. M. Clark spoke to me on the subject, and asked me if I was willing to go. I replied, yes. Afterward, Clark, Henderson, Laura Duvall, and myself, consulted together, and agreed to all go on the following Saturday. Miss Duvall and myself were to go on the three o'clock, p. m., train, and Clark and Henderson were to follow in the next train. Miss Duvall and myself went down to the depot, but found, on inquiry, there was no three o'clock train, and at once returned to our house, No. 276 Pennsylvania Avenue. Miss Duvall then wrote a note to Mr. Clark at the Department, and sent it by a boy named Willie, who lives at my house. After the boy had delivered Miss Duvall's letter, I sent one to Mr. Clark by the same boy, stating there was no three o'clock train, but that Miss Duvall and myself would leave in the five o'clock train. Mr. Clark sent back a reply to my note by the boy referred to, telling us to go on, and that he and H. would follow by the next train. Miss Duvall and myself took the five o'clock train. On our arrival in Philadelphia, we went to the Continental Hotel, and registered our names, Miss Duvall and Miss Percival. I did not like to register my own name, as I had relations residing in Philadelphia. I do not recollect the number of the rooms we occupied. We had no baggage, in consequence of which the clerk asked for our bills in advance; which request we complied with. Mr. Clark did not arrive until morning, owing to a delay on the road. Mr. Henderson did not come on, owing to the arrival of some of his friends from Baltimore that evening. Mr. Clark and Miss Duvall occupied a room together from about ten o'clock, a. m., until about seven o'clock, p. m. (this was on Sunday). Mr. Clark went out, and was absent until about seven o'clock in the evening,

when he returned. Mr. Clark, Miss Duvall, and myself, were all in the same room, until about nine or ten o'clock, when we all went to the depot together. We left Philadelphia, I think, at eleven o'clock, and arrived in Washington about six o'clock, A. M.

I have frequently worked at the Department late at night; have also worked on Sunday, when Mr. Clark asked me to do so. Clark has very often asked the two Miss Duvalls and myself to *drink ale* in his private office; this has usually been done after eleven or twelve o'clock at night. I don't think I ever drank more than two glasses at a time in Mr. Clark's room. Don't think I was ever drunk in the Department. In the conversation I had with Mr. Clark and Henderson about going to the Canterbury in male attire, both Mr. Clark and Henderson informed me that they had seen Mr. Sinn, the proprietor, and made an arrangement for a private box. I was confident I could carry out my part of the programme.

In making this statement, I desire to say, that I have not done so under any threat, intimidation, or promise, of any kind or nature whatsoever; but knowing that I have done wrong, and have acted very imprudently both with Mr. Clark and Henderson, I desire to give a truthful and open statement of all my intrigues and improprieties with the gentlemen alluded to.

E. JACKSON.

On this 9th day of April, A. D. 1864, personally appeared before me Ella Jackson, who, being duly sworn, on her oath said: That the foregoing statement she had heard read, and knew the contents thereof; that all the statements therein contained are true, of her own knowledge; that they are made freely on her part, without fear or threat, or promise of reward or favor of any kind whatsoever.

A. G. LAWRENCE, Notary Public.

#### EXHIBIT E.E.

##### *Statement of Miss Jennie Germon.*

WASHINGTON, April 12, 1864.

My name is Jennie Germon. I have been employed in the National Currency Bureau since it first went into operation. I think I was the first lady employed in that department. I reside with my sister, Mrs. Hutton, at No. 556 G Street, in this city. I was formerly employed in the Government Printing Office, but left and went home to my mother's to live. One day when I returned to the house my mother informed me that a gentleman named Clark, from the Treasury Department, had called to see me; that gentleman desired me to call at his office on the following morning. I went as desired, called on Mr. Clark; he informed me that he (Mr. Clark) wanted me to go to work for him in his bureau. I went to work, and worked until the 21st of September last. I have carefully read and heard read the statement of Miss Ella Jackson, in reference to Messrs. Clark and Henderson making an engagement with Miss Jackson and myself to attend the Canterbury in male attire, also in relation to going to the Central Hotel. I further positively swear that

all that portion of Miss Jackson's statement referring to me is true in every particular.

Some time in the month of May or June last, as near as I can recollect, and just after I had recovered from a severe fit of sickness, which kept me from the Department for nearly six weeks, Mr. S. M. Clark came to me in the office, and asked me to come to his private residence, at the same time informing me that his (Clark's) wife was in the country. I did not at first comply with his request. On the next Saturday night, I do not recollect the day of the month, I went to Mr. Clark's house about eight o'clock in the evening, he (Mr. Clark) having given me his address, and also described the house. When I arrived, I found Mr. Clark at supper. Mr. Clark and myself occupied the same room until morning. I left Mr. Clark's house about seven or eight o'clock in the morning. I saw but one servant at Mr. Clark's house, and she was a colored woman. The room we occupied was a second story back room, the same occupied by Mr. Clark and his wife when she (Mrs. Clark) was at home. About two weeks after my first visit to Mr. Clark's house, he (Mr. Clark) again asked me to go to his house and spend another evening with him; this request I complied with. I recollect distinctly a conversation I had with Mr. Clark. He said his (Clark's) wife was very jealous, and at one time told him (Clark) that she (Mrs. Clark) believed that the Treasury Department was nothing more nor less than a house of ill-fame.

Mr. Clark has been invariably very kind. Soon after my marriage I sent Mr. Clark a note, asking him to send me some money; he did send me, I think, eight dollars.

On another occasion that I recollect, Mr. Clark has paid me as high as forty dollars; these amounts were independent of my wages earned in the Department.

I desire to state that I have made this statement voluntarily, without fear, or promise of reward of any kind or nature whatsoever; but, rather than forswear myself, I freely confess my shame and disgrace, trusting that no publicity will be given to my statement.

JENNIE GERMON.

Sworn and subscribed to this 12th day of April, A. D. 1864.

A. G. LAWRENCE, Notary Public.

#### EXHIBIT FF.

##### *Statement of Miss Laura Duvall.*

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1864.

I am eighteen years old; I reside with my mother at 332 G Street, in this city. I have worked in the Treasury Department since the 18th of November, 1863. I procured the position on a letter written by Mayor Wallach, of this city, to Mr. S. M. Clark, Superintendent of Currency Bureau. When I first went to work in the Department, Mr. Clark put me up stairs in the press-room in Mr. Neal's department. I remained there but two weeks, when Mr. Clark put me down stairs in the numbering-room. In this room I first made

the acquaintance of Miss Ella Jackson, who was in the same department. Mr. Clark first introduced me to Miss Jackson. Some time last fall or winter an arrangement was made between Mr. Clark, Miss Jackson, and myself to go to Philadelphia. It was understood that Miss Jackson and myself were to go on in the three o'clock train. We went to the depot, but found that there was no three o'clock train, and came back to Miss Jackson's room, No. 276 Pennsylvania Avenue. Miss Jackson wrote something on a card, and sent it to the Treasury Department by a boy. Miss Jackson and myself took the five o'clock train for Philadelphia, and on our arrival there went to the Continental Hotel, in accordance with the previous arrangement made with Mr. Clark. Mr. Clark, it was understood, would follow in the next train. He did not arrive at the Continental Hotel until about nine o'clock the next day (Sunday). On Sunday evening, at eleven o'clock, we all left Philadelphia for Washington, where we arrived on Monday morning, about six o'clock, A. M.

I desire to state that I have not made this statement under any threat, intimidation, or promise, but have done so voluntarily, with my own free will and accord.

LAURA DUVALL.

On this 9th day of April, A. D. 1864, personally appeared before me Laura Duvall, who, being duly sworn on her oath, said: That the foregoing statement she had heard read, and knew the contents thereof; that all the statements therein contained are true of her own knowledge; that they are made freely, on her part, without fear or threat, or promise of reward or favor of any kind whatsoever.

A. G. LAWRENCE, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT G G.

*Statement of Miss Ada Thompson.*

I am an actress by profession; my residence is at 276 Pennsylvania Avenue. I first became acquainted with Miss Jackson, I think, on the 12th of September last, when I took rooms at No. 276 Pennsylvania Avenue, as stated above. On the 20th of September last, Miss Jackson came to my room, and, in course of a conversation, she (Miss Jackson) informed me that she and a girl named Jennie Germon had made an arrangement with Mr. S. M. Clark and J. A. Henderson to dress in male attire, and accompany them (Clark and Henderson) to the Canterbury. Miss Jackson asked me to fix her hair, so that she would look like a boy. I did not fix her hair. She went to Madame Dubois, who informed her that she could not arrange her hair without cutting it. While Miss Jackson was at the hair-dresser's, a note was left at Miss Jackson's room. The note was written in pencil, and signed H. Handed this note to Miss Jackson on her return; when she read it, she remarked it was from Henderson. Miss Jackson read the note referred to in my presence. It stated that the suit could not be procured before Monday; that he, Henderson, would call for them, meaning Miss Jackson and Miss Germon, at seven o'clock; that they, Miss Jackson and Miss Germon, should come down and get

into the carriage, and they would all go where they were to go by some previous arrangement. The carriage called and they all went away, and did not return until the following morning. Shortly afterward, Miss Jackson informed me that they went to the Buhler restaurant, met Mr. Clark, had supper, and then all went to the Central Hotel and took rooms. That they all, Mr. Clark, Miss Jackson, and Miss Germon, got up at about nine o'clock in the morning; went to the Buhler restaurant, got breakfast, and then Mr. Clark went away, and Miss Jackson and Miss Germon went home. Some time, I think, in December last, that while I occupied a room adjoining Miss Jackson's and Jennie Germon's rooms, one morning about two o'clock I heard a great noise in their (Miss Jackson's and Miss Germon's) rooms. On the following morning, I asked Miss Jackson why there was so much noise in her room? She replied that Clark and Henderson came home with her and Miss Germon about two o'clock, and they had all (meaning Clark, Henderson, Miss Germon and herself) had a good time at the office (meaning Clark's private office) in the Treasury Department. That they had all been drinking ale, and were drunk. On or about the 20th of December last, Miss Jackson informed me that Clark, Henderson, Laura Duvall, and herself had made an arrangement to go to Philadelphia on the following Saturday evening, viz., December 26. That they (Miss Duvall and Miss Jackson) were to take the three o'clock train, Clark and Henderson were to follow in the next train. They (Miss Duvall and Jackson) went to the depot at three o'clock, but found there was no train leaving at that time. They came back to my rooms. I wrote a note for Miss Jackson to Mr. Clark, informing him that there was no three o'clock train, but that they (Miss Jackson and Miss Duvall) would take the five o'clock train, and asking them (Clark and Henderson) to follow in the next train. Miss Jackson received a note from Mr. Clark, by the boy referred to, saying, "go on, and we will follow you in the next train." Miss Jackson and Miss Duvall did go on, and stopped at the Continental Hotel. Henderson did not go on, owing to the arrival of some friends from Baltimore. They returned to my house at about six o'clock on Monday morning. Miss Jackson frequently informed me that she and other girls working in the Currency Bureau have frequently drank ale in Mr. Clark's private office. During the month of December last, Miss Jackson seldom came home before two or three o'clock in the morning. She stated to me that during these times she did not work later than ten or eleven o'clock; that the balance of the time, to two or three o'clock in the morning, she spent in Mr. Clark's private office. She has often come home very drunk. She told me that Clark kept ale in his private office, and treated her and the other girls. I have often seen in Miss Jackson's possession obscene books, pictures, and prints, which she (Miss Jackson) informed me were given her by Clark. She has also frequently informed me that whenever new girls applied for situations in the Currency Bureau, Clark would come to her and ask her to find out all about them; that she would make the inquiries, and if she (Miss Jackson) reported that she thought they (the girls) could be improperly used by Clark, they were employed.

I have made the above statement freely, without threat, intimidation, or

promise of reward; that I consider it my duty as an honorable and loyal woman to expose a system of the grossest immorality and impropriety practiced by Mr. Clark upon the female employees under his charge.

ADA THOMPSON.

Subscribed and sworn to this 10th day of April, 1864, at Washington,  
D. C.

A. G. LAWRENCE, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT H H.

*Statement of T. C. Spurgeon.*

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1864.

I have rooms at No. 276 Pennsylvania Avenue. I am a printer by trade; work at the job printing office of Mr. Polkinhorn, on D Street, Washington. I know Miss Ella Jackson and Miss Jennie Germon; they had rooms on the same floor I had. I have carefully read the sworn statement of Miss Ada Thompson, and certify to the principal facts therein stated. I have heard Miss Jackson say that she went to the Central Hotel, in this city, with Clark, Henderson, and Miss Germon; but when Henderson called for them (Miss Jackson and Miss Germon) to take them to the Central Hotel, that a strange man got on the carriage behind and saw where they went. I have heard Miss Jackson say that the man referred to, who followed the carriage, as stated above, had a sister or cousin in Mr. Clark's employ, but he had some time previous discharged her; that the man who followed them said he would go to Clark the next day and tell him (Clark) that if he did not at once take his sister or cousin back into his (Clark's) employ he would expose him (Clark); that Clark did take the girl referred to back at once, and that she (the girl) is still in Mr. Clark's employ. I do not know the name of the girl, having never heard it mentioned. I also heard Miss Jackson make a statement concerning her trip to Philadelphia, the substance of which is stated in Miss Thompson's affidavit. I have often seen Miss Ella Jackson come home late at night, or early in the morning, drunk, and have repeatedly heard her say that she was drunk from the effects of ale given her by Clark, in his private office, in the Currency Bureau.

T. C. SPURGEON.

Sworn and subscribed to before me this tenth day of April, 1864.

A. G. LAWRENCE, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT I I.

*Correct copy of the Diary of Miss Ella Jackson.*

Friday, January 1, 1864. It is now the first day of the new year, clear and beautiful, but I am not happy; every thing reminds me of my dear mother. Oh, why did you not take me with you? Took a lesson in Bianca. At night took a lesson at the office.

2d. The day is beautiful, but very—oh, I am tired of working, and am now

suffering with a bad cough. It is now eight o'clock, and I am working that infernal membrane machine. Had a glass of ale, and went home at half-past twelve.

3d. Very cold, but clear; sad day for me. Mr. English called, and stayed three hours. Mr. S. was here in the evening. Oh, *ma, ma*, why did you leave me!

4th. Snowing very hard all day. Received \$62; worked at night; took a lesson in Medea. Mr. T. gave me a pack of cards. Had a glass of ale with S. M. C.

5th. Stopped snowing; felt badly all day; the sun shone beautiful in the afternoon. Poor Mr. C. went to see Charlotte Thompson play the Hunch-back; can do better than her myself.

6th. Have a wretched headache; Frank gave me her picture; worked at night; took a lesson; drank a glass of ale with S. M. C.; got home at one o'clock; was very tired and sleepy.

7th. Laura is sick; I am not very well myself; worked at night; was snowing when I went home; held a conversation with Captain Hudson; like him very much; could *like* him more; but am afraid.

8th. Still snowing; am very sleepy; bought me a pearl-colored silk; saw Mr. English; he is a nice man; the afternoon is beautiful; worked at night; went home with Emma and staid all night.

9th. Got to the office late; presented Mr. Droughten with a — and broke down in my speech; drank wine; I could not see the Captain; Captain Hay came to see me; worked at night.

10th. Arose at ten; dined at two; Captain Hudson came home with me last night; Mr. English was here; went to the concert with Captain Hudson, and liked him very much; he is sweet.

11th. Bought a pair of kid gloves; came to the office; had an awful headache all day; went to the theater with Captain Hudson; had supper; I liked him very much in reality, but he is only put on.

12th. Feel badly; went to Russell's to dinner; went home, and heard something that worries me very much; would that I were dead! Went to the office in the morning; got home at eleven.

13th. Feel very badly; oh! sick—why do I live? I am nearly crazy; went home at twelve; Captain H. came to see me in the evening; brought me candy and grapes. Oh, God! that I were dead.

14th. Feel wretched both in body and mind. Oh, God! what a life to lead; I am nearly mad; Captain H. spent the evening with me, and I told him all; Mr. T. called to see me; I went to bed at one o'clock; the Major X. called.

15th. Am worried. My God! did any poor devil ever wish for death as I do? but I suppose I must be content to live; if it were not for the sins, I would so end my miserable existence. Captain spent the evening with me.

16th. Am very well indeed; went to the theater with Phil to see Mrs. D. P. Bowers play Bianca; he came home with me and staid until three o'clock.

17th. To-day is my birthday; I am 18 years old; received a letter from M. Raguet, which made me feel sad all day; Phil spent the evening with me; he is sweet; I am now his; how long will this happiness last?

18th. Very rainy; saw Phil at the office; he spent the evening with me; I love him, and he says he loves me; but I doubt if he does love long; will it last? God knows, if I had my say it would last forever!

19th. Cloudy; left the office at two o'clock; Phil came to see me in the evening; took me to the theater; came home and . . . until morning; God knows, I love that man dearly.

20th. Got up at half-past seven; feel quite bright; received a note from Phil; how very kind he is; I believe he loves me; he was to see me in the evening; he was here until . . . ; he is sweet; I love him.

21st. Got up at seven; feel very well; Miss Bull came down to see me; Phil invited me to go to the concert; I feel sad; I cannot live without excitement; Phil came about nine o'clock; staid . . . ; he is sweet.

22d. Worked in the office all day; received a note from Phil; I love him; he came here at night; he is the only man I love in the world; he says he loves me; how long will it last?

23d. Did not go to the office to-day; Phil came in about one o'clock to see me; went to the theater in the evening with Phil; went to Wilkins's, and had supper.

24th. Got up at half-past ten; went to sleep in the afternoon; Frank called to see me; felt sad; in the evening dear Phil came and staid until . . . ; God knows, I do love that man.

25th. The day is beautiful; Alice came to see me; was vaccinated; went to the theater with Phil to see Vestvali; he came home and staid until twelve; how I hated him to go; it had to be.

26th. Feel like the devil; left the office at one o'clock; was not able to work; Phil was here in the evening; had a very pleasant chat; Ada and Charley were here until ten; Phil staid . . . ; God! how I love that man!

27th. Feel a little better; am not going to the office to-day; am not able; Mr. T. was here in the evening; Phil was here until . . . ; God bless him, don't I love him! he is sweet; I love him.

28th. Bought a pair of shoes; Phil was here of course; staid until . . . ; Great Heaven! how I love that man.

29th. Was in a good mood all day; Phil has got a son. My God! will that change his love for me? Went to the soiree; had a very nice time; he came home with me; how I do love him!

30th. Gloomy day; Phil leaves to-night; what will I do without him? My darling has gone; went to the theater at night; had the blues most awfully; how I do miss Phil.

31st. Missed Phil very much; how I do love that man! should he cease to like me, what would become of me? God only knows how dearly I love him.

February 1st. Received my money, \$52. Phil did not come home until eleven o'clock; bought a set of coral jewelry; in the afternoon took dinner at Russell's; took a bath in the evening.

2d. How glad I am that Phil has come. I did miss him so much. We went to the theater.

3d. Feel very well indeed; was at the office all day. Phil came, and

brought Lieutenant Waterbury. Maggie Duvall was here. We had a nice time.

4th. Was at the office until two o'clock in the evening. Maggie and Lewis and Phil and myself went to see Vestvali. We had a box. Phil came home.

5th. Was at the office all day; in the evening went to the soiree; left at twelve; was very tired.

6th. At the office in the evening. Mr. Teel came to see me; brought me cloth for slippers; gave me a ticket to go to Baltimore. Phil came about nine o'clock.

7th. Got up at eleven. Mr. Teel called, and brought me a bottle of champagne. Phil came at eight. God knows, I do love that man. How will I give him up?

8th. Spent the day in Baltimore; saw Mr. Ford. He has promised me to play; saw Mr. Grover; left at eight. Phil met me at the depot. He is sweet.

9th. Went to the office; staid home all the evening.

10th. Maggie was here with Mr. Williams. I don't like him. We took dinner at Russell's.

11th. Went to office. Phil came to see me in the evening. God knows, I love that man.

12th. Was at the office; Maggie and L. were here. Phil came at ten, and brought his Uncle Harry. I like him. Oh, Phil, how I love you, darling!

13th. At the office. Maggie has gone to Philadelphia. God! I hope nothing will happen to the poor girl. Phil came in the evening. I love him.

14th. Got v.p at eleven. Phil came back at one; staid until three.

15th. Hav<sup>n</sup>t not heard from Maggie yet. Phil was here at night. Fannie took the room.

16th. Phil was here at night. Oh, God, how I love that man! Maggie has come back. Captain Hay brought me a pair of tights.

17th. Very cold. My darling came at nine o'clock. How I do love him!

18th. Saw H. at the office; had a quarrel with Phil. Great God! how could I give him up? What would I do?

19th. Saw H. at the office. My darling watched me very closely. Does he love me as much as he pretends? I hope so, for I love him dearly. He knows it.

20th. Left the office half-past one; came home; dressed; called on Miss —; could not see her. Phil has been taking Mrs. Clark to the theater. He came home at twelve.

21st. Feel very well; was weighed to-day; weight, 120 pounds.

22d. Maggie called here; have a bad headache.

23d. Called at Mrs. Forrest's; took a walk with Maggie; had my picture taken; dinner at Russell's. Phil was here at night.

24th. My Phil is going away to-night. How I will miss him! My darling has gone; went to the office.

25th. Engaged to spend the day with Mrs. Forrest; had a nice time; went to the theater; got home at half-past two. H. saw me home.

26th. Went to the office; miss Phil very much; got a letter from him.

27th. Staid all night with Mrs. B. God knows, I wish Phil would come home.

28th. Got home at tea. Maggie was here.

29th. At home all day. My darling has returned.

*Copies of Letters addressed to Miss Ella Jackson.*

NOTE FROM HENDERSON.

The suit can not be obtained to-night, but will be all ready by noon on Monday. As C. can not go this evening, and your suit not being ready, we will postpone Canterbury until Monday night; but to-night, at seven o'clock, we will take a ride, and C. will join us at supper, and then go where we did not go in last night. When the carriage stops at the door, come down in your ordinary dresses, and I will be there, but will not get out. H.

When you and Miss Norton have examined this, please take care of it, and give it to me this evening. It was lent me by Captain Pope. We will read it together this eve, *if you have no objection*. Did you try to exchange rooms? Do so, if possible.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:—

You seem to be much sought after this morning and last *evening* in very critical cases, that I am inclined to believe you might cure my severe headache, if you would try; but to be in *earnest*, if I was ever mad in my life, it was to see you, dear Ella, consulting with that d——d puppy, whom you know I dislike so much, and whom you *pretend* to dislike also. I hope it won't occur again. If it does—so be it.

MY DEAREST ELLA:—

I discovered the mistake you made, just in time. I discovered it in Samuel's hands, and took it away and burned it up. I knew your head ached so, my darling, that you did not know what you were about, and I was just about sending you word about it, for fear you might worry, when your friend arrived here after it. It will come down early. Tell Spurgen (I don't know how to spell his name) that I expect him to be at home to smoke with me God bless you, my dear Ella. Affectionately, your own

PHIL.

P. S.—Please don't give this to any one by mistake.

NEW YORK, January 31, 1864.

MY DEAREST PET:—

I arrived here this morning, as well as a man could be after such a tedious ride of twelve hours, with no one to talk to that I cared for. How many, many times I thought of you, darling, in the little room at 276, and wish I was only there with you.

I found Mrs. H. and the "boy" as well as could be expected, and, I must say, *I am proud of my work*, for he is as pretty as a small baby can be, and will be a beauty—so the old nurse says; he has got my eyes, but is not old enough to have the teeth, as you say.

Dear Ella, you little know how much I miss you to-day. Would to God I could call on you at the usual time; but, as I can't, I must make the best of it. I shall leave here at ten o'clock to-morrow, which will get me in Washington about ten, or half-past, to-morrow evening. I shall come right to your room, and hope to find you there *alone*; if not, I shall wait for you to come. I should leave in the early train, but have some business to attend to in the morning.

*Remember your promise, dearest,* and make Addie take a house with us. I will willingly pay half the expenses she goes to.

With much love, believe me, yours ever,

PHIL.

January 15, 1864.

MY DEAR ELLA:—

What are you going to do this evening, and will you please tell me candidly whether you have or expect any engagement? You know, dear Ella, that I am only happy when with you; but, much as I love you, I don't want to call *too often*, so you will lose what *little* friendship you may now have for me. You little know what a perfectly wretched night I passed. You appeared so *cool* to me when I bid you good-night, that I could hardly keep from crying. You will *laugh* at this, I know, as you always do when I talk serious to you, but whatever I say I mean, and I do say I am *madly, deeply* in love with you, dear, dear Ella, and if you don't believe me, why I can't help it; but one thing I do pray of you to do, and that is, to tell me when you do not wish to see me. Ella, can't you trust me with a secret; if you can't, why did you tell me what you did? God knows, I would die before I would even tell or hint what you told me; I love you far too well for that, dear Ella. But because I know what I do, I don't want you to feel obliged to treat me well, for if I never saw you again, or if you were to get mad with me, I would then die sooner than tell what I know of you.

Hoping you will believe what I have said, dear Ella,

I am, ever yours, truly,

PHIL.

Please answer some time to-day.

MY DEAR ELLA:—

Would you like to go to Grover's this eve? I hear the play (*Ticket-of-Leave Man*) is applauded. If you would like to go, send me word, and I will go down and get seats; that is, if you are not in fear of Colonel Baker. Please write me all about what you hear—I am very anxious to know. Give my compliments to Miss Boswell, and tell her I say go to —, a very warm place.

PHIL.

EXHIBIT J J.

*Statement of Mano Lulley.*

WASHINGTON, April 11, 1864.

I am by birth a Hungarian. I came to this country with Governor Kosuth, in 1851. Have lived in Washington twelve years; at present reside at

406 K Street. Have seven sons, all in this city; I have also three daughters. On the 16th of July, 1863, I applied to the Hon. Mr. Harrington, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Department, for permission to build a small building in front of the Treasury Department, on Fifteenth Street, for my son, who was a cripple, for the purpose of selling soda water; this permission was granted by Mr. Harrington, and I had the building put up. Some time in September, 1863, I applied to S. M. Clark, through Mr. Plantz, the private secretary of Mr. Chase, for a situation for my little daughter, aged sixteen years. Mr. Clark asked me to bring my daughter to his office and he would see. I took my daughter to Mr. Clark as requested, and Mr. Clark put her to work in the bronzing-room, where she remained three weeks and three days, when Mr. Clark discharged her, and without assigning any reason for her discharge.

A few days after my daughter's discharge, I went to Mr. Clark and asked him why he discharged my daughter. He replied there was no work. I then went to Mr. Plantz, and asked him why my daughter was discharged—whether she had done any thing improper or wrong. He (Mr. Plantz) replied that he had spoken to Mr. Clark about discharging my daughter, and he (Clark) said that Lulley's son, who kept the soda stand in front of the Treasury, had, on a certain night, followed him (Clark) and another gentleman and two ladies on Pennsylvania Avenue into a certain restaurant. Mr. Plantz said he told Clark that was not right, that he (Clark) should not take advantage of the little girl in that way; that she (the girl) was not to blame. About three weeks after the conversation with Mr. Plantz referred to, I went again to Mr. Clark, and asked him again to take my daughter back, stating at the same time that I had heard the reason why he (Clark) had discharged my daughter was because my sons had seen him (Clark) and another gentleman and two ladies enter a certain place on the Avenue. Clark said: "Bring back your daughter on Monday, and I will set her to work again."

On Monday I took my daughter to the Department, and Mr. Clark put her to work. My daughter worked there one month. In the mean time, however, Mr. Clark had directed my daughter to work very late, until ten o'clock. She worked, I think, six nights, when I refused to allow her to go to the Department at night at all. During the time my daughter worked nights, Mr. Gray, Superintendent of the Sixteenth Division, under Mr. Clark, made the following proposition to my daughter: That if she (my daughter) would go with him (Gray) to a certain hotel in this city, and submit to his (Gray's) wishes, he (Gray) would raise her (my daughter's) salary to seventy-five dollars per month.

During the month referred to above, my daughter was absent from work ne half-day. In compliance with the rules of the Department, I went the following morning, and reported to Mr. Clark that my daughter was sick. He (Mr. Clark) replied: "She must be here in the morning; work is very brisk." At the end of a month, my daughter was again discharged. Mr. Gray wrote a note to Mr. Clark, in consequence of which Clark discharged her.

I have made this affidavit voluntarily, and of my own free will and accord,

feeling that my daughter has been foully wronged by the base and shameful propositions made to her by Mr. Gray, and I am fully satisfied that Mr. Clark would never have taken my daughter back into his employ, but for the fear of being exposed by my sons, who saw Mr. Clark with two girls employed in the Department, as stated in this deposition.

MANO LULLEY.

Sworn and subscribed to, this 11th day of April, A. D. 1864.

A. G. LAWRENCE, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT K K.

*Statement of Anthony Lulley.*

WASHINGTON, April 11, 1864.

I am the son of Mano Lulley. I have carefully read and heard read the statement of my father. I am employed as a clerk in the store of S. Grosenheimer, at No. 385 Seventh Street, Washington.

Some time in September last my brother and myself closed our soda stand about eight o'clock in the evening. We then walked down the Avenue together. When we arrived opposite the Kirkwood House, we saw Mr. S. M. Clark standing on the sidewalk in front of No. 276 Pennsylvania Avenue. While standing there I saw two ladies come down stairs. Mr. Clark took one of these ladies and the other gentleman the other. My brother and myself followed the party down the avenue to Russell's restaurant. We then turned around to come up the Avenue, when we met Messrs. Dugan and Hogan. They asked us who that was that went up stairs. We replied, Mr. Clark and Miss Jennie Germon; the others we did not know. Some time after the conversation referred to above, and after my sister had been discharged by Mr. Clark, I met Mr. Dugan, a detective officer, and informed him that my sister had been discharged by Mr. Clark from the Department in consequence of Clark having heard that I followed him (Clark) at night. Mr. Dugan replied that he had not told Mr. Clark any thing about it.

I have made this statement voluntarily, without promise of reward or compensation of any nature whatsoever.

ANTHONY LULLEY.

Sworn and subscribed to this 11th day of April, A. D. 1864.

A. G. LAWRENCE, Notary Public.

EXHIBIT L L.

*Report of the Solicitor of the Treasury upon the report of Colonel Baker and the affidavits "D," "E," "F," "G," "H," "I," "J," "K."*

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, SOLICITOR'S OFFICE, April 19, 1864.

SIR—I have the honor herewith to transmit a report made to me by Colonel L. C. Baker, together with a number of affidavits, affecting the conduct and character of S. M. Clark and G. A. Henderson.

In accordance with your instructions, I exhibited these affidavits to Mr. Clark, stating to him that I did so by your direction, and in order that he

might have an opportunity to make such explanation or reply as he should deem proper. His reply to me was, that as to any thing alleged against him impeaching his conduct or character as an officer of this Department, he denied it utterly; and that as to any other matter, he scorned to make any answer.

I have further, in obedience to your order, called before me most of the persons whose affidavits are herewith transmitted, and made such other inquiries as it has been in my power to make, touching the matter stated in the affidavits, and the result is an entire conviction that the most material of those statements are true, particularly those contained in the affidavits of Ella Jackson, Jennie Germon, and Laura Duvall.

What action, if any, ought to be taken, in view of these facts, is, of course, not a question for me to consider.

I have the honor to be, with high respect,

EDWARD JORDAN, Solicitor of the Treasury.

Hon. S. P. CHASE, Secretary of the Treasury.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### UNFOUNDED CHARGES—MY OWN AND THE MINORITY REPORT.

Alleged Conspiracy against Government Officers—My Reply—Mr. Garfield—Minority Report—A. C. Wilson—My Trial and Acquittal.

MANY of my readers will doubtless recollect that, in the report of the Congressional committee, I was indirectly charged with a conspiracy against Government officers. In answer to this, I addressed the papers below to the Secretary of War and the Chairman of the committee :—

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1864.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :—

SIR—My attention has just been called to what purports to be a Majority Report, made by the Treasury Investigating Committee, of which the Hon. James A. Garfield was Chairman, in which certain charges are made affecting my official conduct in connection with investigations in the Treasury Department.

The apparently responsible and respectable source from which these charges emanate, and the serious nature of said charges, viz., a conspiracy against certain officials of the Treasury Department, seems to require that I should ask for an immediate investigation.

I have, therefore, to request that the matter be referred to the Judge-Advocate-General, with instructions to make out charges and specifications, in order that my case may be brought properly before a military court-martial.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

WASHINGTON, July 4, 1864.

Hon. JAMES A. GARFIELD, Chairman Treasury Investigating Committee :—

SIR—I have to-day seen what purports to be a Majority Report of the Treasury Department Investigating Committee, of which you were Chairman. This report charges me with conspiracy against certain officials in the Treasury Department.

I have this day requested the Honorable Secretary of War to refer the case to the Judge-Advocate-General, with instructions to prepare charges and specifications.

The apparently responsible and respectable source from which these seri

ous charges emanate, seems to require that I should demand an immediate investigation by military court-martial. I have, therefore, respectfully to request that you will, at as early a moment as convenient, forward to the Judge-Advocate-General such proofs as you may have in reference to this charge of *conspiracy*.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

It is hardly necessary, perhaps, to add, that the Hon. Mr. Garfield made no reply to this letter. After signing a report, as Chairman of a Congressional committee, and giving it to the people as a document emanating from the highest official action, and after being called upon to sustain the grave accusations, affecting both public and private character, he refuses to reply. The conclusion is irresistible, that the honorable gentleman did not care to notice a request from so plebeian a source, although he had pronounced judgment upon my official statements and fidelity. He knew well, that there was not a particle of evidence, nor a single fact elicited, during that long and exhausting scrutiny, which gave the shadow of plausibility to an impeachment so serious. But his *friends* in the Treasury Department must be protected, whatever became of their humble accuser. In the entire history of my connection with the Government, I have never known a baser and more wanton attack upon a defenseless officer in its service.

The success in defending a system of fraud and grossest immoralities, in his view, it would seem, demanded the sacrifice of the reputation of any inferior person who came in the way of his purpose.

When General Garfield was desired to furnish charges and specifications, *why did he not do it?* As a military man, he was familiar with the requirements of military law, and the penalty of conviction. As a patriotic citizen, and a Member of Congress, it was clearly his duty to have complied with a just and courteous demand for proof of the allegations—the right of the humblest, poorest man to legal conviction or honorable acquittal.

I shall conclude this painful record with extracts from the action of the committee:—

Mr. Brooks, of New York, from the minority of the committee, presented the following

MINORITY REPORT:

That, in pursuance of the resolution of the House, April 30, 1864, they have attempted to give the subjects therein mentioned the investigation required by the House; but they regret their inability so to do, if not from want of time, from the resolutions and conclusions arrived at by the majority of the committee, that their powers were much more limited than the minority seem to think they are, under the words of the broad resolution—

"To investigate and report upon the allegations (set forth in the preamble of the resolution), and *any other* allegations, which *have been, or may be made, affecting* the integrity of the Administration in the Treasury Department."

One of the members (Mr. Brooks), before entering upon an examination of the testimony, protests now, as he protested upon the floor of the House, April 30, against the misrecitation of his remarks in the House, April 29, made by Mr. Garfield, in the resolution creating this committee as to the printing of the public money. Mr. Brooks did not allege, as stated in the resolution passed under the pressure of the previous question, that this printing had "led to the sacrifice of millions and millions of the public money," but, as officially reported in the *Globe*, did say—"had led to the *peril* of the sacrifice of millions and millions of the public money."

The coinage of a country, and the superintendence of that coinage, is the highest trust which can be given to mortal man—and hence at all times, in our own country, and in all ages in other countries, ingenious and effective checks and counterchecks have not only been devised for man to watch man, but it has ever been the effort of wise and honest administrations of Governments to install men in such trusts whose antecedent and existing characters have been such as to command not only unlimited but universal confidence. The Mints of the United States have now been in operation over seventy-one years, and the whole amount of their coinage, gold, silver, and copper, as shown in the December (1863) report of the Secretary of the Treasury, was, up to the end of the then fiscal year, but eight hundred and eighty-nine million six hundred and thirty-five thousand four hundred and ninety-seven dollars. The suspension of specie payments having banished this coin from circulation, all but the copper (a very small portion thereof), the vacuum was filled by paper. Of this paper, as shown by the testimony annexed to the report, eight hundred and fifty million dollars have been furnished by Spencer M. Clark, from the Treasury Note Office, within the short period of only twenty-one months—an amount in paper within thirty-nine millions of the whole seventy-one years' coinage of the United States Mints. The trust, therefore, reposed in this Mr. Clark has been, in about a single year, equal to that which has been hitherto divided for seventy-one years among numerous superintendents or directors of the Mints, while the opportunities for dishonesty or fraud in printing are in the ratio of the power of the printing press, operated by hydraulics or steam, to the crucible or matrix of the Mint. Hence, in the selection of a Superin-

tendent of the Printing Bureau of Currency and Securities, not only the present but the antecedent character of that superintendent should be of the very highest order—while the checks upon him from without and within should be as severe and searching as human ingenuity can devise. It appears by the testimony, that in one night in May, sixty-four million dollars was in the vault, under the custody and control of the superintendent.

THE ANTECEDENT CHARACTER OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF MONEY PRINTING.

The committee, therefore, in order to ascertain whether such a vast trust and treasure as this were in proper hands, felt it their duty, first, to investigate the antecedents of the superintendent, and, next, his administration of by far the most important bureau in the great Department of the Treasury. Their attention was first called to an official report of the Committee on Expenditures on Public Buildings, in 1862 (Thirty-Seventh Congress, Second Session, Report No. 137), in which it appears that this Mr. Clark was then acting engineer in charge of the Bureau of Construction under the Treasury Department—a place given him, it appears by the testimony submitted by that Department, without any training or previous qualification as an engineer. This report distinctly and effectively charges and proves that the now Superintendent of the Bureau of Printing the Public Money was, in June, 1861, guilty of gross collusion and fraud, and, as engineer in the Treasury Department, connived with contractors (Edward Learned & Co.) to defraud the United States in the matter of marble contracts for the Charleston (S. C.) Custom House, out of very large sums of money, in which they were thwarted then, but in a small part only, by the intervention of the then Secretary Dix. It is unnecessary here to recite this testimony, as it is already matter of record in the archives of the House of Representatives, and can there be seen and read at length. The committee then (and a committee, too, created by a Republican House) unhesitatingly advised the removal of this S. M. Clark.

This disclosure, in an important official document, led your committee into a further investigation of the character of the now Superintendent of the Printing Bureau; and it appeared, by his own testimony, that serious charges had been made against him to the Secretary of the Treasury, officially, or semi-officially, by Alexander C. Wilson, of New York. These charges are of the gravest character, and such as, if made against any man, in any position, deserve inquiry. They affect the whole business and moral career of Clark. They show him to have no qualification whatever for the very high and immensely responsible position in which he is placed. They affect both his private and public life, and declare him to be both a bankrupt in business and in morals. The fifth allegation is of "immorality," with specification and detail, and of such a nature that your committee deemed it proper to have it investigated, and for that purpose the following resolution was submitted, May 25:—

"Resolved, That in order to verify the fifth allegation, that of immorality (alleged by A. C. Wilson), Daniel Buck, of Hartford, Connecticut, be subpoenaed to appear before this committee."

Which resolution, your committee regret to say, was voted down, and the following substituted:—

*"Resolved,* That the allegation of Mr. Wilson against S. M. Clark relates to matters of general character prior to his official appointment, not to his conduct since his appointment, and the committee decline to investigate them.' (Ayes 4, noes 3.)

#### THE EXISTING CHARACTER OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF MONEY PRINTING.

This resolution precluding and forbidding any investigation of the qualification and character of S. M. Clark, and seeming to sanction, that, no matter what may have been a man's private life, all *that* is no disqualification for the greatest public trust ever given to any one man (such as that of the superintendence of the printing of nearly nine hundred millions of money)—your committee were obliged to give up all further investigation into the antecedents of S. M. Clark, and to confine themselves to matters within the brief period of his money superintendence.

But this brief period discloses, officially, very important and very suggestive facts—even under all the restraints that have been put upon the investigation by the resolution to close the testimony submitted and passed in the sitting of this committee, June 1 (ayes 4, noes 3). Your committee, under that resolution, have been limited as to all investigation into character, with but one exceptional case, to the official reports made to the Secretary of the Treasury, first, by Colonel Lafayette C. Baker, a provost-marshall of the War Department, and, next, by Edward Jordan, Esq., the Solicitor of the Treasury, who reinvestigated the report of the provost-marshall, Baker.

#### OFFICIAL REPORT OF PROVOST-MARSHAL BAKER.

It appears from the testimony that, in December last, one Charles Cornwall, a clerk in the Redemption (Treasury) department, was detected in stealing some thirty-one or thirty-two thousand dollars, and that, about that time, one G. A. Henderson, in the Requisition Warrant department, was detected in misplacing for money the order of bills on file to be paid, wherefor he received no inconsiderable rewards. These frauds, or rather crimes, creating a good deal of alarm in the Treasury building, the Secretary of the Treasury, by letter marked "Confidential," December 24, 1853 (see testimony), asked the Secretary of War to direct Colonel Baker "to make such investigations and arrests and exercise such custody of persons arrested as I (he) may find needful," &c. Colonel Baker having been put at the service of the Treasury Department, as thus confidentially requested, he commenced his investigations as shown in his report to the Secretary of the Treasury, with the papers annexed.

#### CONFIRMATION AND INDORSEMENT OF THAT REPORT BY THE SOLICITOR OF THE TREASURY.

This report was subsequently submitted to the Solicitor of the Treasury, Mr. Jordan, who, in a letter, April 19, 1864, writes to the Secretary:—

"I have further, in obedience to your order, called before me most of the

persons whose affidavits are herewith transmitted, and made such other inquiries as it has been in my power to make, touching the matter stated in the affidavits, and the result is, *an entire conviction that the most material of these statements are TRUE, particularly those contained in the affidavits of Ella Jackson, Jennie Germon, and Laura Duvall.*"

THE DISCLOSURES IN THESE REPORTS OF GROSS IMMORALITIES IN THE TREASURY.

These affidavits disclose a mass of immorality and profligacy, the more atrocious as these women were employees of Clark, hired and paid by him with the public money. These women seem to have been selected in the Printing Bureau for their youth and personal attractions. Neither the laws of God nor of man, the institution of the Sabbath, nor common decencies of life seem to have been respected by Clark in his conduct with these women. A Treasury bureau—there, where is printed the money representative, or expression of all the property and of all the industry of the country—there, where the wages of labor are more or less regulated, and upon the faith and good conduct of which depends, more or less, every man's prosperity—is converted into a place for debauchery and drinking, the very recital of which is impossible without violating decency. Letters go thence, arranging to clothe females in male attire to visit "the Canterbury." Assignations are made from thence, &c.

The facts set forth in these affidavits are vouched for by a military officer (Colonel Baker) of the Government, who has now been three years in the confidential employ of the Secretary of War, and who seems to have his unlimited confidence. Indeed, the Secretary of the Treasury had such confidence in this officer, and in the value of his services, that he "confidentially" requested the use of his services in the Treasury Department. The Solicitor of the Treasury, another high and acute legal officer of the Government, and trusted by it in the most important and confidential matters, after a strict and personal investigation, expresses "an entire conviction" that these affidavits are true. But beyond this official testimony, is collateral evidence, confirming and strengthening the testimony of these women. It appears that in September last, on or about the 18th or 20th, a note signed "H." (marked No. 8 in the testimony) came into the possession of Miss Ada Thompson, an actress, then residing at 276 Pennsylvania Avenue, and who is presumed by Colonel Baker to be a person of good repute. This note invited Miss Jackson, then an employee in the Treasury Printing Bureau, to go with him, "H." (Henderson), then also an employee in the Treasury, and with "C." (stated to be Clark in the testimony of Miss Ada Thompson), to some place well known to the parties. This place turned out to be "the Central Hotel," a hotel in this city (Washington) indicated as a disreputable place. The hotel register, September 19, shows the names of four persons who that night occupied rooms 27 and 28. The handwriting on the register is shown by Hamilton Seville, an experienced clerk in the Treasury Department, and an apparent expert in handwriting, to be that of Henderson, who, while assuming names for himself and Clark, and the women with them, vainly attempted to disguise his handwriting. Seville also swears very positively that the note signed "H." is in Henderson's handwriting. The testimony of Anthony Lulley then goes to

show that, in September, between the 18th and 20th, he (Lulley) saw Henderson with Clark in a restaurant, as stated in the affidavits of Ada Thompson and T. C. Spurgeon, whence they all subsequently went to the Central Hotel. Such corroborating testimoy as this—a note, handwriting, the affidavits of parties whose characters are not questioned, one woman and two men, the eyes of one of them seeing Henderson and Clark together with women employed in the Treasury, and the hotel register in Henderson's handwriting—are, of themselves, without any other testimony, irresistibly convincing. When to all this we add the examination and the report of the Solicitor of the Treasury, of his "entire conviction," who can doubt that S. M. Clark is an unfit man to be trusted with the printing of nearly nine hundred millions of the public money?

This testimony was so convincing to your committee, that they would not, of themselves, have deemed it necessary to go a step further, but for the intimation thrown out by some of the majority of the committee, that it was not conclusive to them. Hence they acted upon a letter from Col. Baker, May 19, 1864, to the Chairman of the committee, and caused to be summoned a lady now married, Mrs. Betty Pumphries, formerly Miss Weedan, and whose associations seem to be all of the most respectable character. Her father is a worthy mechanic, employed in the Navy Yard; her husband is a policeman, and accompanied her to the Committee-room. She swears, positively, that a colored woman, named Catharine Dodson, offered her money, when employed by Clark, a hundred dollars at one time, and a thousand dollars at another, in the name of, and in the presence of Clark, which she rejected with indignation. Clark subsequently came to her and said, "So you do not want to speak with me any more." "He made a good friend, but a bad enemy." "Talk with Catharine." "Catharine can talk with ladies better than I can." Miss Weedan, now Mrs. Pumphries, was employed in the printing department five months, and left of her own accord. The testimony of this lady, however, is positively contradicted by the colored woman, Catharine Dodson, who, it is but proper to add, is stigmatized in the letter of Colonel Baker referred to, as "Clark's procress."

There is other testimony from two other ladies of good character, Miss Sarah Lulley and Miss Clara Donaldson, implicating the conduct of Mr. Gray, Mr. Clark's superintendent of the bronzing department, and Mr. Dougherty, Mr. Clark's assistant. It is unnecessary to refer to them, save to show that Miss Lulley, the daughter of a distinguished and honorable Hungarian, who came over with Kossuth in 1848, and whom Kossuth highly cherished, was dismissed from a place of value to her father, solely because her brother had traced Clark and Henderson, together with Ella Jackson and Jenny Germon, to a restaurant on the 19th of September, whence they subsequently went to the Central Hotel, or because she "would not comply with the wishes of Mr. Gray," representations concerning which was made to Mr. Clark himself; or, to show that Miss Donaldson again connects Clark with Laura Duvall (as well as Dougherty, his trusted assistant in immoralities), in the matter of selecting out Miss Duvall and Miss Jackson from all other ladies, and sending them, in the Treasury, oyster suppers at night.

At this stage of the testimony, as to the conduct and character of Clark, and of his sub-superintendent, in the Printing Bureau, your committee regret to be obliged to state all further examination upon this subject was closed by order of the majority of the committee. No opportunity was given to fortify what had been proved, or to go further and establish additional facts. It was not necessary to go further to satisfy the minority that Clark was an unfit person to preside over a printing money bureau where were two or three hundred ladies, but the regret is expressed because the opportunity was not given to bring the majority to a like conclusion.

#### THE PRINTING BUREAU—FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.

These examinations having been pursued as far as permitted, your committee then directed their attention to the condition of the Printing Bureau, as a mint, or coiner of currency. What first arrested their attention was the fractional currency. The report of the Secretary of the Treasury, December, 1863, exhibits the silver coinage of the country to have been, from 1793 to the close of the year ending June 30, 1863, in all, \$132,954,860, of which only \$4,251,720 was in dollars, the remaining being in small coins, from fifty cents to three cents. The copper coinage was \$3,241,923. The silver coined at the mints of Philadelphia, New Orleans, and San Francisco, under the act of February 21, 1853—from 1853 to 1863—is reported, in December last, to have been, in these eleven years, \$49,655,730. The Secretary of the Treasury, in estimating on his December report, 1862, what resources he should have from the fractional currency, then ordered by Congress, says:—

“The issue of fractional currency has reached the sum of \$3,884,899. The best lights lead to the estimate that, before specie payments can be resumed, not less than \$4,000,000 will be required by the wants of the community. The sum of \$36,115,200 not yet issued may, therefore, be counted on as an additional resource.”

A very low estimate, inasmuch as, by the law of currency and of circulation, paper, when supplying this vacuum of coin, ever runs far beyond the displaced coin, in amount of issue, and of loss by circulation. The small silver coins of our country were purposely made by Congress inferior in real value to gold, to prevent their exportation, and hence were, prior to our suspension of specie payments, rejected by the banks, and by merchants generally, who had deposits to make in bank, thus limiting their circulation, and the demand upon the Mint for their coinage. The silver dollar (few or none of late years coined) must weigh 412½ grains, whereas the half dollar weighs but 192 grains, and the quarter but 96 grains. It was then fairly to be inferred that when this coin went out of circulation, and with a nominal value considerably higher than its real value, and a paper circulation as legal tender took its place, of full value, that the volume of paper would considerably outrun the volume of displaced silver. Some estimates ran up as high as sixty millions of fractional currency, many to fifty millions, and hence the forty millions' estimate of the Secretary was far within the limits of the general expectation.

## PERILOUS MODE OF PRINTING MONEY.

Your committee were amazed to find, upon examination, that in April last, when this committee was created, the recognized issue of the fractional currency was under twenty millions! They cannot account for this discrepancy of reality and of estimate. Upon the discovery, however, of the great discrepancy, they directed their attention to the mode and manner of printing this fractional currency, which to them is utterly unsatisfactory. The white paper upon which it is printed has been very loosely purchased and received, and very loosely handled. It came into the hands of one lady in the Bureau of Printing, and instead of being turned out to the public in a far different direction, returned all of it to her hands, and she passed it over to Mr. Clark. Whatever system of checks and balances Mr. Clark may have for his own guidance, there is no check over him. He keeps no ledgers, balances no books, for an accountant to see and understand at a glance. The eye is wearied and the mind fatigued by innumerable figures of his, but no clear, close ledger, such as every merchant or corporation has, shows continuously his day's work, or the summary of that work, to be detected by a single glance of his eye. The whole arrangement of this, the most important of the Government, is loose, slovenly, unsatisfactory, and susceptible of a considerable amount of fraud. A plate printer of his, James Lamb, selected at random from the fractional currency workmen, testifies: "There was no security to prevent the fractional currency from being taken or abstracted," when he was at work on the hydrostatic presses; and he adds, "I could have taken off ten sheets a day, from October to December." Mr. Lamb was very sharply cross-questioned, but adhered to this testimony to the end. Nor has there been shown to your committee any satisfactory disposition that had been made of the numerous spoiled sheets of the fractional currency, sheets of the fifty-cent sort, say, upon which two or three parts may be damaged, while the remaining parts are good. Indeed, the whole "spoilt sheet" management of Treasury notes and of bonds, especially of the *coupons*, seems to us to be in a very unsatisfactory, if not dangerous state.

We are fortified in these views by a report of January 2, 1864, to the Secretary of the Treasury, marked D and E, and signed by Mr. Field, the Assistant Secretary, Mr. Taylor, the First Comptroller of the Treasury, and Mr. Chittenden, the Register of the Treasury, and subsequently countersigned, February 19, 1864, by a Senator from Rhode Island, Hon. Mr. Sprague. These gentlemen, in this report, offer many valuable suggestions and recommendations to the Secretary of the Treasury, which is *not* done as advised. They desired that some distinctive mark should be placed upon each sheet; which is *not* done. They detail the mode and manner by which Mr. Clark should be held responsible for every sheet put in his possession; which is *not* done. They recommend a system of checks upon requisitions for paper; to which no attention has been paid. They deem it desirable that daily returns should be made to the Secretary as to each and every sheet; which is *not* done. They find, as this committee found, that, through the hands of Mr. Clark alone passes all paper into, and out of, the several divisions, and they

recommend another counting division; to which no attention has been paid. They recommend, and think the existing laws demand, that the imprint of the red seal should be affixed in the office of the Secretary himself, under his especial direction, by an officer directly responsible to him—an imprint now done by Mr. Gray, the appointee and employee of Mr. Clark alone. Six distinct and very important recommendations are offered by these gentlemen, holding high offices in the Treasury, to no one of which has any attention been paid.

MISPRINT OF BONDS—LOSS OF \$20 NOTES—ACCIDENTAL ISSUE AS TO TIME OF  
INTEREST-BEARING NOTES.

The inattention to these recommendations and the neglect of these precautions are greatly to be deplored—for, without them, an unscrupulous man may rob the Treasury of thousands and thousands of dollars. Apart from the perils of fraud, the existing system tempts and leads to carelessness and theft. Mr. John Oliphant, who has charge of the loan branch in the Treasurer's office, exhibited to the committee a \$1,000 ten-forty bond, erroneously printed, which, with all others of the like kind, Congress, since this discovery, has been obliged to legalize by statute. The number or amount of these in circulation he did not know. Mr. Clark, it would seem, discovered this error some time before it was made known to the loan branch in the Treasurer's office. The peril of error in the printing of large bonds is obvious without comment, and again demonstrates the necessity for separation of work, and of check and counter-check. The testimony of Mr. John G. Clark, a teller in the banking-house of Riggs & Co., also discloses the fact that an interest-bearing note of twenty dollars (if not other notes) had been issued without any date of issue upon it, or any series of numbers. Taken to the Treasury Department by the teller, Mr. Clark, the remark there was, "It was evidently stolen. It must have been stolen from the bureau over which Mr. Clark presides." Four or five of these notes were reported to be missing from the bureau. Clark explained that the twenty-dollar note, and three or four others, had been stolen by a scrubbing woman employed by him, and that the sheet upon which it had been printed had been put into the vault as mutilated money. There would seem to be no need of emigrating to the *placers* of California when scrubbing women can thus pick up twenty-dollar notes. Mr. John G. Clark further testified that, in April, four thousand dollars of interest-bearing notes were paid him, dated in advance, the 12th and 16th of May. The Treasurer told him they had got out *by accident*. "They were intended for San Francisco, but *by accident* they got out here." These are but accidental illustrations of a "perilous" printing of the public money.

TESTIMONY OF REGISTER OF THE TREASURY AND OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY.

The testimony of Mr. Chittenden, the Register of the Treasury, is, as to this business of printing money, very significant, as well as important. Henderson and Clark, it seems, there again turn up as companions—"intimate associates." Mr. Henderson advanced in his style of living very much—far beyond what heads of departments were able to afford. He was understood

to keep two or three horses, to have bought a fine house, and to have furnished it elegantly. "I heard yesterday (May 3) he was in Clark's division, though not employed there"—and there, in a money bureau, after being removed for gross frauds in his duties as requisition or warrant clerk—*there*, where not even a Member of Congress can go, without a written order from the Secretary himself!

The responsibility, or power, which Mr. Clark has, in himself, or of himself, that is, exclusively in himself, are worthy of note. It seems, by the testimony both of Mr. Chittenden and of Mr. Field, that in Mr. Clark's department is done all the printing of the interest-bearing Treasury notes, of the bonds of the United States, of the certificates of indebtedness, and of other securities, even to the affixing of the red seal, which was once thought to be a great check and security. The apparently written names of Mr. "Chittenden" and of Mr. "Spinner" are printed by Mr. Clark. The red seal was formerly affixed under the direct supervision of the Secretary, but Mr. Clark has had the "machine" sent down stairs, and placed in his (Clark's) possession! Mr. Field expressively says (holding a fifty-dollar one-year interest-bearing note):—

"The paper on which it is printed is contracted for by Mr. Clark. The paper is delivered to him. The printing is done under his direction; and the *fac-similes* of the signatures of the Register of the Treasury, and of the Treasurer, are affixed under his direction; and the seal is impressed under his direction. So that this, which comes to him as blank paper, contracted for by him, leaves his hands with all the attributes of money, in the form of perfected and perfect obligations of the Government. The engraving of the plates is also done under his direction."

Nearly nine hundred millions of money and of obligations have been thus printed by this Clark! Mr. Chittenden and Mr. Field are very emphatic in their criticisms upon this mode of making money. Clark himself said to both Messrs. Chittenden and Field, "Nothing hindered him from taking any sum of this money, and putting it into circulation, and passing it as money," though, he adds, "It would not be forty-eight hours before, under his system, an over-issue would be detected;" but by this time he might be across the rebel lines, or be off to Europe, with large sums converted into gold. No language can adequately condemn such irresponsibility—even in a superintendent of unimpeachable and irreproachable character.

We have labored under some difficulty in the procuring of witnesses in Mr. Clark's department, because "a very intelligent man," a Mr. Corbin, Mr. Chittenden reports, was dismissed by Clark, because, upon his (Chittenden's) request, he (Corbin) drew up a statement of fact, in writing, upon Clark's hydraulic printing. Another expert, Charles A. Jewett, has been sharply attacked, and deprived of employ, because of his disbelief in Clark's capacity or purity. We have already shown how and why two ladies were dismissed. Such action on the part of Clark seems to have struck both the males and females under him with a species of terror, for fear they should lose their, to them, valuable places. But while terror is thus inspired on the one side, reward is given on another. To Mr. John D. Larman, who seems

to be a worthy man, having charge of the machinery in the bureau, a valuable gold watch was presented by Clark since this investigation commenced.

There is a mass of testimony before us as to the cost of printing, and upon controversies or alleged controversies said to exist between Clark and certain bank-note companies, Clark having represented himself, at an early period of the examination, as the victim of a conspiracy by these bank-note companies. The most of this testimony seems to us irrelevant, though necessarily taken after Clark began the assault. We have little or nothing to do with costs or controversies of this nature. As a general thing, in every department, it costs the Government more to do work than it can have it done for by contract, or by private individuals—but the important question here is not “cost,” but “character,” “security,” &c. Is a man like Clark, with his antecedents and present character, a fit man to be trusted with the almost irresponsible printing of millions upon millions of public securities? Are the checks and guards upon his bureau powerful enough to force him to be honest? We do not object to the Secretary of the Treasury keeping a money printing office, if he thinks best, though we deem the Treasury building a very unfit place for such printing—but we insist upon its being printed by a man of irreproachable character, and with all possible guards and checks even upon *him*. The “cost” is nothing when compared with safety and security. If, as Clark alleges, the bank-note companies attempted to buy him off, or bribe him off, as to which there is no proof, but much proof to the contrary, all this is nothing to us, if, as Clark states, he has not been bought or bribed. The singular susceptibility of Clark, however, to approaches of the kind is worthy of note. In the matter of the Charleston Custom-House job, there was a conspiracy against him in the last Congress. In this Congress, the bank-note companies are conspiring against him. He seems ever to be the victim of conspiracies, and the conspiracy now is not only of the bank-note companies, but of about every officer in the Treasury building working with him. The Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. McCulloch, employs the bank-note companies to print the forthcoming three hundred millions of currency of the new National banks, and finds no fault with these “conspirators.” One of these conspirators, the Old American Bank-Note Company, has printed money for years, holding the dies and bed-plates, not only for about all of the State banks, north and south, over a thousand banks in number, but for the banks of Canada and the British Provinces, and for the South American States, and for Russia and Greece, in Europe. The whole world has borne tribute to their high art as designers and engravers, and to their honesty, purity, and reliability. What civilization and art everywhere confide in, Mr. Clark sets down as a conspiracy against him!

#### MEMBRANE PAPER, HYDRAULIC PRINTING, ETC.

Nor have we much to say upon the experiments with hydraulic printing, and membrane paper, going on in the Treasury building. These are novelties, expensive novelties, far better fitted for the study and the laboratory of the experimenter than for practical work in these times. The worst that can be said of them all is, that it wastes time and expenditure, and damages and

endangers the Treasury building itself. While the experiments were going on in the Treasury building, the Secretary of the Treasury was compelled, by his inability to have printed there in time his interest-bearing Treasury notes, to make a six per cent. temporary loan of fifty million dollars. The loan was made September 8, 1863, and was not finally paid till June 12, 1864—the interest at six per cent. all the while accruing, because this Secretary could not obtain in time fifty millions of legal tender notes from the Printing Bureau. To show the cost of the delay resulting from these experiments, we annex the report of the New York Clearing-House upon thirty-five millions only of this loan, the other fifteen millions having been taken in Philadelphia and Boston, at like cost to Government.

NEW YORK CLEARING-HOUSE,  
Saturday, January 16, 1864. }

\_\_\_\_\_, Esq., Cashier:—

SIR—Interest upon the temporary loan of September 8, 1863, to the Treasury of the United States has been received by the Loan Committee, at the rate of six per cent. per annum, from September 8, 1863, to the several dates upon which the two-years five-per-cent. legal-tender Treasury notes were paid to the committee by John J. Cisco, Esq., Assistant Treasurer U. S., and as per the following statement, viz.:—

1864.

January	5—	6 per cent. on \$14,560,000 for 119 days,	\$205,600 00
"	6—	6,160,000 "	120 " 121,846 15
"	7—	4,620,000 "	121 " 92,146 15
"	8—	3,217,000 "	122 " 64,693 52
"	9—	1,655,000 "	123 " 38,554 67
"	11—	3,518,000 "	125 " 72,486 26
"	12—	1,270,000 "	126 " 26,376 93

Amount of loan, \$35,000,000      Interest, \$696,703 68

Estimated on the basis of 182 days for the six months from September 8, 1863, to March 8, 1864.

From the above-named amount of interest, that which has accrued upon the two-years legal-tender five-per-cent. U. S. Treasury notes, from December 1, 1863, to the dates of payment, at the rate of two and a half per cent. for the 183 days, from December 1, 1863, to June 1, 1864, has been deducted as follows, viz.:—

1864.

January	5—	5 per cent. on \$14,560,000 for 35 days,	\$69,617 49
"	6—	6,160,000 " 36 " 30,295 08	
"	7—	4,620,000 " 37 " 23,352 45	
"	8—	3,217,000 " 38 " 16,700 27	
"	9—	1,655,000 " 39 " 8,817 62	
"	11—	3,518,000 " 41 " 19,704 65	
"	12—	1,270,000 " 41 " 7,286 88	

Principal, \$35,000,000      Interest, \$175,774 44

Total amount of interest on Loan at 6 per cent. .... \$696,703 68  
 "                  "                  Notes at 5 per cent. .... 175,774 44

Cash Balance received by Loan Committee..... \$520,929 24

The interest thus received has been divided among the Associated Banks in proportion to the interest of each in the joint loan of September 8, 1863.

The interest apportioned to your bank is \$———, and will be paid to you by George D. Lyman, Secretary of the Loan Committee, on and after this day.

Respectfully yours,

C. P. LEVERICH,  
Chairman Loan Committee.

To this loss in interest of \$520,929.24, should be added the loss of interest on the fifteen millions paid in Boston and Philadelphia.

In conclusion, your committee have to say, that upon all that branch of the investigation, charged upon the committee by the House, and involved in the remarks of the Hon. F. P. Blair, now in our military service in Georgia, we have not been permitted to take any testimony whatever. An effort was made in committee, June 3d, to investigate the alleged fraudulent subscriptions for the eleven millions excess of the five-twenty bonds, said by Mr. Blair then to have been twelve per cent. above par, and to have yielded a million and a quarter dollars profit to the takers—but the resolution to investigate was voted down—ayes 3, noes 4. We regret that, in this respect, we have failed to discharge the duty imposed upon us by the House, but it is not our fault, as the record shows.

To show, however, our further sense of the high duty imposed upon us by the House, and our desire to discharge that duty, we again, on the 27th June, made another effort in the following resolution:—

Whereas, Major-General Frank Blair, in several letters read by him, on the floor of the House of Representatives, from persons he vouches for as responsible, has charged that—

Treasury officials, by means of outsiders, are now engaged in the most gigantic robberies of modern times, exceeding the former operations of Clive in India.

And whereas, specifications by name and place are given in several of these charges: Therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the committee, and devolves upon it, by the ample powers given in the House resolution creating it, to enter upon a full and complete examination of these charges.

The resolution failed to pass by the following vote:—

Ayes—Brooks, Stuart, Dawson, Steele.

Noes—Garfield, Wilson, Fenton, Davis.

This painful record is aggravated by the fact, in the very sitting when a gallant officer of the army was thus ignored, the Superintendent of Money Printing, whose character we have above described, was permitted to file a letter denying charges against him, as if in testimony, while to the minority of your committee was refused the opportunity again to bring Clark before us, and to re-examine him, or others, as to the denials made, though such a re-examination was apparently desired by him, and earnestly desired by us. Your committee are, therefore, constrained to say that they have not been permit-

ted, in spirit or in fact, to examine into but a very small portion of the allegations made by the newspaper press, or by Mr. Brooks, or by General Blair, on the floor of the House.

Your committee, in conclusion, beg leave to offer the following resolutions:—

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed at the earliest practicable day to carry into execution, in the Money Printing Bureau, the recommendations of Mr. B. Field, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and L. E. Chittenden, Register of the Treasury, as set forth in a report signed by them June 2, 1864, and subsequently reconsidered and recommitted by them, and the Hon. W. Sprague, Senator from Rhode Island, February 19, 1864.

*Resolved*, That Spencer M. Clark, the Superintendent of the Money Printing Bureau, is an unfit man to preside over that bureau.

JAMES BROOKS,  
JOHN T. STUART,  
W. G. STEELE,  
JOHN L. DAWSON.

Mr. FENTON submitted the following report:—

The undersigned, a member of the select committee, of which the Hon. Jas. A. Garfield is chairman, to examine in relation to matters connected with the Treasury Department, begs leave to say that he concurs in the conclusion of the committee as to the policy of doing the work of the printing of the public securities, obligations, and national bank currency, in the Treasury Department, and as to the care and generally correct manner in which such work has been there conducted; nor does he see any reason, from the evidence submitted to the committee, to dissent from their conclusions with reference to the immoralities charged to have been committed in the Printing Bureau of the Treasury Department.

The undersigned, however, is not able, upon the testimony which has been submitted to the committee, to agree with the majority in their conclusions in reference to the conspiracies of the New York bank note companies to get Mr. Clark out of the Treasury Department, and to prevent the publication of the public securities, obligations, and national bank notes in that department, in order to secure the same to themselves.

R. E. FENTON.

#### EXHIBIT B.B.

*Response of Alexander C. Wilson, of New York, to the Secretary of the Treasury, calling for charges against S. M. Clark.*

NEW YORK, August 27, 1868.

SIR—In response to your demand for my charges against Mr. S. M. Clark, of the Treasury Department, I had the honor to say, in my letter of the 17th instant, that those charges relate not merely to Mr. Clark's present position in your service, but to events in the course of his entire career, which prove

his unfitness to hold any office of trust under Government. The facts are far more abundant than this present recapitulation will indicate; but the difficulty of inducing men to testify, without the compulsion of a *subpoena*, prevents me, *at present*, from offering testimony; and, therefore, I refrain from reciting statements in regard to which the evidence is not immediately accessible.

In the case of Mr. W. L. Ormsly, the honorable Secretary laid down the indisputable principle, that no man should have any thing to do with the manufacture of government money upon whose character there rests the slightest taint. Mr. Clark is no subordinate in this manufacture, as is Mr. Ormsly. He holds a foremost place. Every thing is confided to his integrity. He occupies a position requiring spotless honesty, the highest skill, and the utmost ingenuity.

The record of Mr. Clark's career will show that, wherever he has been known, out of Washington, he would be invested with no office of trust; that wherever he resided and conducted business, prior to his employment in the Department, he left behind him a tainted reputation—a reputation for questionable honesty, for enormous extravagance, for bad personal habits, for addiction to visionary and unsuccessful projects, for being, in fact, a reckless pretender and charlatan.

This general reputation, I undertake to prove, adheres to him still, even in his actual employment in your service.

My charges against Clark are as follows, viz.:—

1. *Reputation for dishonesty and unreliability.*—Inquiry at the localities where he has done business, among which are Hartford, Brattleboro', Simsbury, and New York, attests that those who know Clark thoroughly decline to trust him, and believe him to be freely accessible to corrupt influences.

2. *Actual dishonesty.*—The failure of the flour-dealing firm of Clark & Coleman, in 1855, elicited from the insolvents an offer to pay seventy cents on the dollar: fifty per cent. in the paper of Ezra Clark, Jr., a brother of Morton, who was said to be a debtor of the firm, and twenty per cent. in the paper of Coleman & Clark. None of these notes were paid. Coleman paid his proportion, and obtained from his creditors a release; but nothing whatever was paid by Clark or his brother. I find, from inquiries made of leading mercantile houses in the flour trade, that the failure was, and is, regarded as disgraceful, if not fraudulent, and as utterly destructive of Clark's credit.

A transaction in connection with the improvements in the Assistant Treasurer's office in this city, raises an irresistible presumption of fraud on the part of Clark, who was superintending some of the work, subject to the directions of the Assistant Treasurer. Though instructed to do nothing without the explicit orders of Mr. Cisco, Clark privately, and on his own responsibility, proceeded to make a contract for the safes, selecting a pattern, the patent right of which belonged to the Messrs. Cornell, machinists, of New York. The natural course for him would have been to have contracted with the Messrs. Cornell. Instead of doing so, however, he made a contract with one North, a *lockmaker*, at New Britain, Connecticut, and left North to

sub-contract (of course, with a handsome profit to himself) with the Messrs. Cornell.

3. *Dishonesty or incompetency.*—The report of the House Committee on Expenditures on Public Buildings, June 10, 1862, convicts Clark of either one or the other of these qualities; and as the Honorable Secretary promptly removed Clark from the post he then occupied, we are to assume that, at that time, he believed him to be either dishonest or incapable. A cursory reading of a printed letter, addressed by Clark to the Secretary, and marked "private," doubtless to keep it out of the hands of members of the committee, who would be likely to resent its scurrilous flings and innuendoes, impressed me at first as a successful refutation of the report; but upon referring carefully to the report itself, I find the so-called reply leaves the material points untouched. That report I therefore make part of my case.

4. *Business incompetency.*—Clark has failed in every business enterprise he ever undertook, and in every case inquiry shows the failure was due to his visionary, unpractical character, combined with improvident and extravagant or immoral habits. He failed as a maker of rules at Hartford and Brattleboro'; he failed as the superintendent of copper smelting-works at Simsbury, Connecticut; he failed as a flour merchant in New York. Prior to his employment in Washington, his only success seems to have been as clerk and bar-tender at the Carleton House, a second-class hotel of this city, where he was engaged in those capacities for three or four years.

5. *Immorality.*—An incident which occurred during the latter portion of Clark's residence in New York, did as much as any thing else, unless his reckless speculations be excepted, to destroy the credit of the firm of Clark & Coleman, and procure its failure. The facts, which were reported in the papers of the day, may be briefly stated as follows: a brothel in the Eighth Ward had made itself especially offensive to the police, as the resort of the most profligate and dissolute of the community. It was found necessary to break it up. A descent was planned, the inmates were arrested, and among them was S. M. Clark, the subject of these charges. On the following day he was placed on the stand and compelled to testify: and this confession of his guilt—the guilt of a married man, past middle age, with a grown-up family, was printed in all the newspapers. With such a stain upon his private character—and the facts were in the mouths of everybody at the time—it can hardly be wondered at that the credit of Clark & Coleman declined, until it reached the point of failure; and that the ill repute of Clark was a principal cause of the disaster is not only currently alleged by merchants in the same line of business, but may justly be inferred from the circumstance that Coleman, resuming business after the failure, has since been a successful and prosperous man.

6. *Charlatanism and imposture.*—The unsafe and unprofessional manner in which the Treasury building had been carried on, reasonably prompted the House Committee, in the report already referred to, to question Mr. Clark's attainments as an engineer. In reply to an inquiry on this head, he is reported as saying: "I have qualified myself for duties of engineer, but never adopted it as a profession."

*Question.* Have you ever been engaged in practical duties of engineer?

*Answer.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Where and when?

*A.* In Brattleboro', Vermont, Hartford, Connecticut, and New York city.

*Q.* In what connection at Brattleboro', Vermont?

*A.* In planning, laying out, and erecting a water-power and factory.

*Q.* What factory?

*A.* One for the manufacture of rules and mathematical instruments—the first of its kind started in this country.

*Q.* How long were you so engaged there?

*A.* I think about six years in Brattleboro', in constructing water-power, in building factory, making machinery for carrying on the business, and then carrying on the business. The rest of the time that I was in Brattleboro' I was cashier of a bank.

*Q.* Were you ever employed by anybody as an engineer while in Brattleboro'?

*A.* I was frequently consulted upon engineering, but never professionally employed.

*Q.* In what public work were you engaged at Hartford, Connecticut?

*A.* No public work. There was none building there.

*Q.* In what were you engaged as an engineer in that city?

*A.* In planning and building a mill for the reduction and separation of ores from copper-mines in that vicinity, and also in designing some private dwellings, but not professionally.

*Q.* Do you remember the size of the mill?

*A.* I think it was about one hundred and twenty by sixty feet, but it is only a matter of recollection. It had two steam-engines, one of twelve and one of twenty horse-power, running day and night.

*Q.* What was its height?

*A.* It was all in one story.

*Q.* Do you remember how long you were engaged on the work?

*A.* On the work, and superintending running of machinery, for about two years.

*Q.* How long in constructing the building?

*A.* Somewhere between six months and a year.

*Q.* Of what material was the building, and what its cost?

*A.* The basement portion was of stone; the upper portion of wood. I think the building and its appurtenances cost from twelve to fifteen thousand dollars.

*Q.* How high above the ground line did the masonry work extend?

*A.* About six feet.

*Q.* Were you interested as owner or proprietor of business in the factory?

*A.* I was to have been interested as a compensation, but my employers failed in carrying out their enterprise, and no interest has ever been awarded to me.

*Q.* Were you engaged on any public work in New York?

*A.* My occupation of this character there was confined to consultation with others in reference to dwellings.

*Q.* Do you remember to have been consulted officially about any public work then going on in New York?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Had you the professional charge of any public building or work there?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* What was your salary at Brattleboro', Vermont, or your pay for construction of building?

*A.* It was my own. I first began it in connection with a partner, and subsequently acquired full title.

We remarked, that it is true that S. M. Clark was proposed as cashier of the Bank of Brattleboro'; but, on account of his bad character, was totally unable to procure the legal bond, and never signed or acted as cashier. It is true that he superintended a small rule-shop in Brattleboro', but it is untrue that he had any thing whatever to do with the construction of that or any other building in the village. The building he refers to as erected near Hartford, was simply a small wooden shed of unplanned boards to cover one or two steam-engines. Thus a man, through whose hands a thousand millions of money will probably pass during the coming year, was unable, in the town where he was born and thoroughly known, to procure the security required for the cashiership of a county bank. The cutting-machine used in separating the notes in the Department is not the invention of Clark; similar machines have been used in this city for twenty years. Such paper as Clark manufactures in the Department, with so many securities to preserve the secrecy of the method, the company for which I act will contract to deliver to Government, at a much lower rate than its present cost. With the same audacity as made him claim to be an engineer on the strength of having built an engine-shed, he claims to be an engraver and printer of bank notes, and yet he required us to engrave two vignettes for surface printing, and only abandoned the project when the impossibility of doing the thing was demonstrated. And it is the universal opinion of experts, who are conversant with Clark's preparations for dry printing, and who have been acquainted with the machine he uses for a number of years, that upon any thing of a practical scale the experiment will be a failure. His visionary and superficial character has now, in fact, full swing, enjoying, as it does, the generous resources of the Department; but if it fare no better than it has done in the conduct of his private business, it must result in disaster to the Government. These are my charges. I am quite sensible, sir, that some of them are unattended with the weight of evidence they may strike you as demanding. Other allegations I have already intimated I might easily make, could I extort the truth from witnesses whom we are not at liberty to compromise, but who would testify freely before a properly authorized tribunal. With the approval of the honorable Secretary, I therefore propose to procure a committee of investigation, either in the Senate or House, early in the approaching session of Congress; and I undertake to prove, with the aid of the process which such committee will have at its command, every point I now allege as to the unfitness of Clark to occupy the position he fills under Government. I have referred to the warm friendship Clark exhibited toward us in the earlier part of our inter-

course--a friendship dictated, as he took frequent occasion to say, by his irrepressible dislike to the American Company, and its practice of corrupting everybody surrounding the honorable Secretary. He would have no intercourse with them; he would see that, however sincere their repentance, they should never again have work from the Department; that while he intended to print the banking currency in the Department, he would influence the entire printing of Treasury notes to us. In making this pledge, which was wholly unsolicited, he took occasion to mention that he had been thrown out of his position in the Department; that although he would be ultimately cared for by the Secretary, he would be obliged to live for the present on borrowed money; in short, he presented the matter in such a form that I would have been blind not to see that he was inviting the tender of a bribe from this company. Be assured, sir, no such tender was made. On the same afternoon, namely, of June 25, Mr. Clark visited the American Bank Note Company, was admitted to a scrutiny of all their interior arrangements, and from that day the kindness we had previously experienced from him has been converted into rudeness, if not downright insult, and marked unfriendliness, if not open hostility. Corruption is easily concealed; but we cannot shut our eyes to the inference that a change so abrupt had causes independent of the public interest. In submitting these charges, I consider it of great importance that the Secretary should comprehend the motives that actuate me in the affair. It is not of my own seeking. Mr. Clark's peculiar mode of doing business forced it upon me. I bear Mr. Clark no malice, but I do feel an honest indignation that a man, whose notoriously bad reputation and personal dealings with myself have convinced me that he is entirely unfit for the responsible position he occupies under the Secretary, should, in the plenitude of the power he knows he unworthily holds, assume, in the most offensive, arrogant manner, to be the arbiter of the fortunes of the company of which I have the honor to be president. When the Continental Bank Note Company commenced with the Government, it laid down the rule not to corrupt or be corrupted, and by that rule it will stand or fall. I have never asked any favor of Mr. Clark, neither would I lay myself open to any arrangement where there could be any reciprocity of *illicit* favors. I never, by insinuation or request, endeavored to obtain any thing from Mr. Clark, except what rightfully belonged to the company under its engagements with the Department. It is Mr. Clark's sudden change, from apparently excessive friendship to actual excessive hostility, based, I am convinced, on bad motives, and manifested by a highly improper and unjust course in his dealings with me as President of the Continental Bank Note Company, that forces me to resist his action, and in so doing undertake to satisfy the Secretary that his confiding nature has allowed Clark to obtain too much of his confidence. It is therefore from a sense of duty to the company over whose interests I preside, and to the Secretary, with whom I have important and confidential relations, that I act in this very disagreeable business.

I have the honor to be, &c., &c.,

ALEXANDER C. WILSON.

Hon. S. P. CHASE, Secretary of the Treasury.

I wish now to refer to a most singular episode in the course of the investigation. It will not be forgotten, first, that my connection with it was not of my seeking; but I was called to it at Mr. Chase's special request. When it was discovered—as I claim, and challenge evidence to the contrary—that I would not bend to party dictation, and shield the guilty, my official acts and labors were not only ignored, but an attempt deliberately made to brand me before the Committee as a conspirator. Second, that, notwithstanding Stewart Gwynn was arrested and committed to the Old Capitol prison, and then released by order of Solicitor Jordan, he was induced and encouraged to begin and prosecute four different actions against me, in the criminal courts of the District, by the very men who had earnestly invoked my aid in the exposure of his frauds.

The records of the Court before which I was tried, but honorably acquitted, exhibit the testimony of the Solicitor in no enviable light. It was a topic of general remark among members of the legal profession, that, when on the witness stand, he was evasive and indirect in his answers, and clearly driven to *dodge* the plain facts in the case.

I have thus briefly recorded the foregoing experience, that the merits of a controversy may be understood, in the progress of which I was the target of unjust and cruel censure. I doubt not, the people will be surprised to learn that a conspicuous object of this inquiry, S. M. Clark, still holds (June, 1866) his position in the United States Treasury Department.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### A PERILOUS ADVENTURE.

Pope's Defeat—Banks's Advance—The Importance of communicating with him—  
The Successful Attempt—Rebel Pursuers—The Escape.

ONE of the most disastrous defeats of the Union army was that of General Pope, when he was driven through the mountains of the Blue Ridge by General Lee, in the autumn of 1863. General Banks had left the Shenandoah Valley, but knew nothing of the perilous condition of the army he was hastening to join, nor the danger that would attend his advance, with Lee's entire army across his path. To save his battalions, it was necessary to communicate to him the movements of the two armies. Excepting the route from Washington to Centreville, the rebels had full possession, and the road was exceedingly perilous. Innumerable rumors were floating about Washington, to the effect that Banks had met Lee, and was annihilated. The Secretary of War was unable to obtain any information of him. He had dispatched two messengers with instructions to him not to attempt a junction with Pope. One of them was captured, and the other came back, after several fruitless attempts to get beyond Centreville, and refused to risk his life further.

Secretary Stanton, in this emergency, sent for me, and asked me if I had a man on my force daring and sagacious enough to carry the dispatches to Banks.

"If you will prepare your messages," said I, "I will see that they are delivered; or, at any rate, that an attempt is made to deliver them."

I got ready at once for the uncertain excursion, and reported to Mr. Stanton for orders. He gave me the dispatches, which I concealed under my clothes, next to my

body, and, mounting the celebrated racehorse "Patchen," I galloped away from the Capital at six o'clock in the evening, reaching Centreville at ten. I reported to General McDowell, and requested a fresh and fleet horse. I waited an hour, when the black clouds, which had been gathering overhead for some time, began to pour down a steady rain, and the air grew chill and dismal.

The darkness was almost impenetrable to the vision. The roads were in a wretched condition—muddy, broken, and frequently obstructed. No horse, fit for such a journey—a journey requiring one sure of foot, swift, and perfectly trained—could be found at that hour of the night, in the disorder of the army, and "Patchen" had already carried his owner thirty-five miles along a rough and toilsome route.

These were the considerations which urged me to remain at McDowell's head-quarters until the journey might be commenced with better auguries of safety. The darkness, however, in itself was not unfavorable to the enterprise. By its help, I might hope to pass through regions occupied by the rebels, which would be utterly closed to me in daylight or moonlight. I could depend on "Patchen," in every emergency, to the extent of his strength, while a strange horse might give me infinite trouble, and involve me in great danger. But, above all, Banks's army must be saved, and hours were precious.

As the only alternative, I remounted "Patchen," and plunged into the darkness. It was eight miles from Manassas by the direct route, but I took the Gainesville road, which would increase the distance to twenty-four miles. After pursuing my benighted way, often guided solely by the instinct of the noble animal that bore me, at daybreak I came upon traces of the army for which I was searching. An interview with General Banks immediately followed, which conveyed to him the first intelligence of Pope's defeat, with orders to march for Alexandria as rapidly as possible.

Having accomplished the object of my adventure—to the great relief of that officer, who was intensely anxious to hear from Washington—within an hour I was on my way with dispatches to the Secretary of War. I determined,

without delay, to risk a daylight journey back, and retraced my way to Bristow Station, from which, to avoid a circuitous course, I started for the rebel lines. After riding two miles, I caught a glimpse of the rebel army, in rapid march eastward, toward the old Bull Run battle-ground. There were infantry, cavalry, and artillery, in detached squads, occupying the entire country ahead, with occasionally a small opening between them. Prudence would have dictated a speedy retreat, and as wide a circuit as would really be necessary for safety; but I was very anxious to save the distance. I rode down to within three hundred yards of the line, and attempted to discover an opportunity for slipping through.

I loitered in the rear for three-quarters of an hour, and finally observed an opening—a break in the train; and, though I should certainly be seen, and must take my chances with the bullets, I determined to make the effort to pass at this point. I took my six-shooter in my right hand, partly concealing it at my side, grasped the reins firmly with my left, and started, at first slowly and cautiously, down the road. Before I had gone far, I was discovered and hailed. I made no answer, and immediately became a target for every soldier within hearing distance. I now nerved myself for a quick and desperate venture, and gave my horse the spurs. It was necessary either to turn back, or to pass within thirty feet of a whole squad of infantry—that being the only opening. I again lay down upon the neck of “Patchen,” who shot by like an arrow. As he passed the troops, they fired, and the bullets flew thickly about him; but horse and rider escaped unhurt. I raised myself in the saddle, and, with pistol in hand, waved an adieu to my disappointed foes; then bending again to “Patchen’s” neck, he bore me rapidly from their sight. A cavalry force, who had heard the firing, now appeared in the distance, and began to discharge their carbines at me.

The cavalry at first numbered as many as forty. They continued the pursuit for a mile, when, one by one, they began to lag behind, firing generally an ineffectual parting shot. It was not long until only six or eight, who had

remarkably good horses, followed me, and they were too far behind to fire with any accuracy of aim. Sometimes, however, I became entangled in brush, or temporarily impeded by mud ; and, on two or three occasions, the foremost man rode to within twenty yards and fired.

For nine miles I did not slacken my pace. Only three of the party were now chasing me, the rest having fallen behind. My horse was covered with foam and dust, and began to show signs of failing strength—the necessary result of so long travel, at so rapid a pace. My powers were strained to their utmost capacity. I had ridden almost continuously over a hundred miles, through mud, and rain, and darkness ; but this closing excitement called up the latent powers which every man possesses, but which only lend their aid in the direst emergency. I saw a little hill ahead, and spurred on to get fairly over it before the other party reached its foot. I passed over, and was out of sight for the minute. I wheeled sharply round, and turned into a thick clump of pines, a little to the right, and there dismounting, stood holding by the saddle.

I remained perfectly still, and the party rode past. They went on for a considerable distance, when one of them, perceiving that there was nobody ahead, turned his horse about, and rode back. He came toward the pines, glancing eagerly this way and that. He was not more than twenty yards from me, when a movement of "Patchen" revealed his hidden man. My pursuer saw at a glance my position, and raised his carbine to fire.

A crisis had come in the encounter, and, raising the pistol still in my hand, I discharged it at my enemy. The horse sprang forward, and his rider fell. I then leaped into the saddle, gave the wounded man, who was on the point of rising, another shot, and rode out into the beaten path. The other two, hearing the report of the pistol, returned to the pursuit, while I struck off, at a right angle with the path, to pass them unobserved. They saw me, however, and dashed forward with great speed, one of them firing his carbine, in the desperate endeavor to prevent my escape. Each backward glance revealed the frenzied excite-



COL. BAKER CARRYING DISPATCHES TO GENERAL BANKS



ment of my foes, and their determination, at all hazards, to take me, either dead or alive.

I now came to the banks of Bull Run, where the final struggle for dear life and liberty was at hand. The stream was swollen, and it would require the best exertions of my good steed to swim it. I knew that if the pursuers reached the bank before I reached the other side, I should be at the mercy of their bullets. On the other hand, I knew that the Union forces occupied the opposite side of the stream—that being the boundary of the picket line—and that if I should succeed in getting across safely, the peril for that day was over.

I spurred my horse to his final effort of speed, and was well ahead when I arrived at the stream. I plunged into it, and "Patchen" bravely breasted the swift current. It was only eight or ten yards wide, and this distance was soon accomplished; but the bank on the north side was almost perpendicular, and the horse made two or three ineffectual efforts to scale it. I heard distinctly the shouts of the two men behind me, and, cheering "Patchen" with encouraging words, which he evidently understood as well as his rider, he sprang forward, and in a moment stood proudly on the top of the bank, while the echo of a shot, intended for me, died away over the waters from which I had just emerged.

I dismounted, and went to the edge of the declivity to watch the movements of my pursuers. The first galloped down to the margin of the stream, and, after considerable urging, his horse commenced swimming across. Before I had occasion to fire, the Union pickets upon the bluff, having heard the enemy's shot, made their appearance. I shouted to them, and told them I was the bearer of dispatches to the Secretary of War, and was chased by rebels. Immediately four or five bullets were on the way to the Confederate horseman, who was midway in the stream. He tumbled from his saddle, and floated down the river, whose current was tinged with his blood. His comrade took the hint and disappeared in the distance.

Relieved from the peril of pursuit, I remounted "Patchen," and moved leisurely toward Washington, where I arrived at three o'clock, P. M., and reported to the War

Department. I had ridden one hundred and twenty-four miles since about six o'clock of the preceding afternoon, without a moment's sleep. I went to my quarters utterly prostrated with exhaustion. From the time the pursuit began, to have my pistol ready in my right hand, I had constantly held the rein in my left, which became so badly swollen, it required careful dressing for more than a week. Poor "Patchen" looked more dilapidated than his master, and required good nursing for over a fortnight.

Mr. Stanton expressed his satisfaction at the result in a characteristic manner, by simply saying to me, after reading my dispatches and hearing my story: "Well, go and tell Mr. Lincoln."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### COTTON SPECULATIONS.

Mania for Speculation—Law of Congress in regard to Owners of Cotton—Illict Traffic at Norfolk, Virginia—Frauds committed by a Paymaster and his Associate—Reports of their Cases.

ONE of the most remarkable facts noticed during the rebellion, was the general tendency of the mercantile world to plunge headlong into speculation. It would not be assuming too much, indeed, if I were to say that men of all classes, and in all circumstances in life, ventured into the wide and tempting field, regardless of every other feeling but the sordid one of amassing wealth, at the expense of the very life-blood of this then distracted country—a sad commentary on the patriotism and self-abnegation of a free people, who assume to be the first in the rank of enlightened nations; and did, truly, make noblest sacrifices.

Probably never in the world's history were the opportunities so many and great for speculation as during the secession war, nor more extensive operations than in the "land of cotton," through the permits granted for traffic in the staple of the South.

A law of Congress, dated July 2, 18—, regulating the traffic, explicitly sets forth that no permit can be granted, excepting to those who are actual *bond fide* owners of cotton; that applications for it must be accompanied by the sworn affidavit of the applicant that he has cotton located at a given point in the rebellious States, and that he has not aided or abetted the revolt in any way. On such conditions alone, permits were granted to trade in cotton. To attempt to detail, or even refer to the numerous instances of fraud would be impossible here. I shall confine myself to a few only.

At Norfolk, Virginia, I found a number of persons carrying on an illicit and surreptitious traffic with the disloyal States. I communicated the subjoined documents to the Secretary of War:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 20, 1865.

Hon. C. A. DANA, Assistant Secretary of War:—

SIR—Some days since, a communication was referred to this office, from the War Department, for investigation in relation to certain parties and illegal transactions at and in the vicinity of Norfolk, Va.

As soon as practicable, I sent two officers to Norfolk to make investigations, who have procured a statement from one John Daniels, a citizen of Norfolk, Va., substantially as follows:—

That during the latter part of the last year, one G. M. Lane, upon the recommendation of Major-General Butler, procured permission to carry to North Carolina articles not of a contraband nature, consisting of cordage, hoop-skirts, ladies' wearing apparel, &c., which could be of no service to the Confederates, to sell the same, and receive in exchange cotton, tobacco, &c., with the privilege of shipping the same to any northern port.

Upon the application for this permission being approved by the President, Mr. Lane appointed one J. G. Holliday, of Portsmouth Va., to go within the rebel lines. Holliday went, and after making arrangements for the delivery of the cotton, returned. Lane then proceeded to load his steamer, the *Philadelphia*, not with the articles specified in the permit, but with coffee, salt, pork, molasses, army shoes, hats, &c., and cleared for , but proceeded up the Chowan to Nottaway River, to a point as near the rebel head-quarters at Murfree's depot as the steamer could go (about one and a half mile), where the exchange of these goods was made with Major J. R. White, agent of the Confederates for supplies, Mr. Lane receiving on board cotton to the amount of two hundred and fifty-five bales.

Thomas J. Hobday, a citizen of Portsmouth, Virginia, was present during the discharge of these goods and the exchange of them for this cotton, and saw the cotton when it was brought down in the Confederate government wagons.

Under the protection of this permit, Lane has received and shipped probably three or four hundred bales of cotton, for which he has received large fees from R. B. Smith & Co., of Norfolk, and has thus deprived Mr. Farrington, the appointed cotton agent for the United States Government, of the one-fourth thereof.

General Butler's brother-in-law, Mr. H., is the partner of this Lane, and has received from parties for shipping cotton, in one case, a fee of seven thousand dollars, and other fees in other cases.

Witnesses, E. L. Bishop, a citizen of Norfolk, Virginia, and C. L. Cole, President of the First National Bank at Norfolk, C. C. Poole, George A. Johnson, late adjutant-general under Major-General B. F. Butler, and J. C. Jones, have several stores at and near Corn Jack, Canituck County, North Carolina,

and are reported to have sold in two months about \$200,000 worth of goods, a large portion of which sales are believed to have been of contraband goods.

The above-named parties are familiarly called Shipley, Johnson & Co.

Upon protection being afforded to Roach and Hutchins, detectives on the provost-marshal's force at Norfolk, they will testify to the full particulars of the transactions of the above parties, who are reported to be especial favorites of Brigadier-General Shipley, in command of the district at Norfolk.

The following several firms doing business at Norfolk are generally understood to be enjoying peculiar privileges for shipping cotton through Lane and his partner Hildreth, viz.: "Renshaw & Boot, Kobb & Nash, R. B. Smith & Co. (Smith, George J. Wallace, and S. Fisher), H. W. Presby, Thompson, Harney & Dunlow, Lane, Hildreth & Holliday, before mentioned, Sherman & Co. (Sherman, Logan, Hurst, and James Carr), Mr. Kennedy, McKay Baker Richmond & Whitlock."

Mr. Kennedy is the pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church at Norfolk, and, having a permit to bring salt to Norfolk, has shipped it to North Carolina.

An investigation was being had at Fortress Monroe, in reference to the illegal trading in cotton by Richmond & Whitlock, during which time, detectives Roach and Hutchins obtained authority to proceed to North Carolina for the purpose of arresting such parties as could testify thereon, and made the arrest, among others, of one Mr. Jourdan, who is now believed to be at Portsmouth, who stated that information had gone out from military head-quarters to the Confederate agents of the mission, with a description of the persons of said detectives, who, upon learning that fact, desisted from their efforts to make further arrests.

Information was given by Samuel Patterson, navy contractor in Norfolk, to the officers sent there by me, that overtures had been made to him (Patterson), by parties in Norfolk, to go to North Carolina, and there make arrangements for shipping cotton. On inquiring into the probable profits to arise from the business, Mr. Patterson received a detailed statement, in which one-half of all the profits were designated to go to H. A. Risley, supervising special agent of the Treasury Department.

In view of these and many other facts in this case, which will be developed by a further investigation, I have respectfully to ask for an order which will authorize the attendance of such witnesses as may be required to give further testimony in this case.

That there has been carried on by the parties referred to, and at the points designated above, a very large unlawful contraband trade, is susceptible of the strongest possible proof.

It can also be clearly shown that a large portion of the goods referred to have gone directly to the rebel General Lee's army.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Agent War Department.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 22, 1865.

Lieutenant-General U. S. GRANT, United States Army:—

SIR—On or about the 1st inst. there was forwarded to this office from the War Department, for investigation, a communication in reference to an alleged illegal or contraband traffic being carried on by treasury agents, commissioned officers, and others, between Norfolk and Richmond, Virginia, *via* the Dismal Swamp and Albemarle Canals.

On the 20th instant, I had the honor to forward to the War Department the result of my investigations.

Mr. Dana, the Assistant Secretary of War, informs me that the parties implicated will be tried by a military commission, at Norfolk, Virginia.

With a view to elicit all the facts connected with this important case, I have respectfully to ask that my agents, who have worked up the case thus far, be directed to report to the Judge-Advocate of said commission, with such facts and testimony as they may have obtained.

If a rigid and thorough investigation is had, sufficient will be shown to prove, very clearly, that the supplies shipped from Norfolk under the permit of H. A. Risley, Supervising Special Agent of the Treasury Department, and with the knowledge and approval of General Shipley, at Norfolk, have gone directly to Richmond, and have been purchased by rebel quartermasters and commissioners, for the use of General Lee's army.

I am, General, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 30, 1865.

Hon. E. B. WASHBURN, Chairman Committee on Commerce:—

SIR—Herewith I have the honor to forward a brief statement and series of questions, which I trust will materially aid your honorable committee in the prosecution of their investigations.

A law of Congress was passed July 2, after which all trade with insurrectionary districts was prohibited.

Nothing was then done in the cotton business until some time early in September, when a party, composed of D. Randolph Martin, General W. P. Dole, Indian Agent, Mr. McCulloch, Mr. Harrington, and Simeon Draper and his brother, met on several occasions, to devise some plan to make money on cotton.

It was then decided that the law could only be evaded, or, they could only avail themselves of the evasion, by getting parties who owned cotton in the South to make affidavit to that effect, and the contracts with the Government to be made in their names, and contracts made with parties making affidavits, to give one-half the profits (after giving the quarter to Government) to them, for their influence in getting the necessary papers.

This was done in some instances, copies of which are annexed, marked "A."

This has been a slow and tedious business at best; few persons could be found who would make necessary oath; various interviews were had and various suggestions were made, and finally it was concluded that the oaths might be dispensed with, and the party need only say he owned or controlled any given amount of cotton or other products, and then they could safely say *they* controlled cotton, and could get the necessary papers out in their own names, thereby simplifying matters materially. Finally, the *regulations* were agreed upon, but it was thought best not to have them made public, until parties inside of the ring could secure large amounts of cotton at low prices; and notwithstanding that the Executive order bears date September 24, 1864, it was not made public until December 2, 1864, when it was published in the *New York Herald*; and during that long interval, Mr. H. A. Risley, of the Treasury Department, made various contracts and issued various certificates with the Executive order attached, similar to the one accompanying this report, marked "B."

One to T. C. Durant, for seven thousand bales of cotton, to come out of the ports of Pensacola and Fernandina.

One to D. Randolph Martin, for five thousand bales, at the same place; one to A. H. Lazare and others, for seven thousand bales; one to Samuel Norris, and others for thirteen thousand bales.

Norris and Lazare having made affidavits that they owned cotton, their names were inserted first in the permits, they to have one-half of the profits, B. F. Camp two-sixths, and the parties who really got the scheme up, only one-sixth of the profits. Who Camp represented I am unable to say.

No agents were appointed under the order of September 24 for about a month, and then Mr. Draper's friend, Mr. Cuttler, was appointed for New Orleans, with whom his brother now is; and, at the request of Mr. Martin, Mr. Ellery was appointed at Memphis, and Mr. Adams at Nashville. No other appointments were made at that time, notwithstanding there were the ports of Pensacola, Fernandina, Beaufort, Port Royal, and Norfolk named as places of purchase.

Soon after, however, Mr. Risley was appointed for Norfolk, a place very convenient to Washington, but not in a cotton district, and where, in no event, could a bale of cotton be brought without passing other ports named in the order of the President. Mr. Risley then commenced making contracts for all ports of the Confederate States, from Matamoras to Nashville; and all attempts to appoint agents for other points seemed unavailing, as Mr. Risley's friends got all the facilities they wanted through him, while the parties that the law contemplated to aid, were compelled to sell their cotton to such men as Mr. Risley chose to favor with authority. And here I make the assurance that no permit has ever been granted to any person actually owning a bale of cotton in the Confederate States, excepting in one or two instances, and then in very small amounts; and, from the best information I can obtain, Mr. Risley has contracted to purchase from speculators who claim to own cotton, a larger amount than there is in the whole Southern Confederacy.

Mr. Risley has given to parties in New York, and elsewhere, special permission to load vessels with goods, and has appointed agents, or agreed to

appoint them, to go in said vessels to superintend the exchange of cargoes of goods for cotton, which, in fact, makes a *wholesale* trade with the Confederacy, and virtually breaks the blockade.

The parties to whom Mr. Risley has extended his favors most liberally, are represented by the following gentlemen:—

Leonard I. Sweat, Marshal Lamon, Thurlow Weed, Wm. P. Dole, D. Randolph Martin, B. F. Camp, Prescott Smith, and his former clerk, Mr. Connatty; and it appears that any favor they have asked has been granted. One permit has been granted to Mr. Weed's friend, Colonel Noble, of two hundred and fifty thousand bales of cotton, extending all over the Confederate States, and the one to his clerk, Connatty, which *now* calls for fifty thousand bales, but was originally issued for only fifteen thousand.

It will be recollect that the clerk, Connatty, is not at this time in the employ of Mr. Risley, but received his cotton permit while he was the confidential clerk of Mr. Risley. He (Connatty) probably knows more about the administration of Risley's department than any other person, but, I think, will testify with a great deal of reluctance.

If you desire, I will write a series of questions to be propounded to Risley, B. F. Camp, J. Randolph Martin, and others; but I think the answers to those already propounded will suggest those to be asked the other witnesses named above.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

From the voluminous testimony elicited by the Congressional Committee, I extract that of three witnesses:—

LEONIDAS HASKELL called, sworn, and examined.

By the Chairman:

*Question.* Be good enough to state to the committee your residence and business.

*Answer.* I am living temporarily in Washington; my residence, however, is in New York. I have no particular business at this time; I was in the army last summer.

*Q.* In what capacity were you serving in the army?

*A.* As major.

*Q.* In what branch of the service?

*A.* As a staff officer of General Fremont.

*Q.* Have you, since the breaking out of the rebellion, been connected in trade with the rebellious States? If so, when, with whom connected, and to what extent?

*A.* Within a few months, about September, I undertook to do something under the law regulating the trade between the United States and the insurrectionary States. About that time I resigned my commission. Before General Fremont withdrew from the Presidential canvass, I had conversations

with Mr. Martin, of the Ocean Bank, and Mr. Dole—with Mr. Dole first, and Mr. Martin afterwards. Mr. Dole wished me to use all the efforts I could to induce General Fremont to withdraw. It did not require any effort on my part; I did, however, express my opinion to him. He did withdraw. Mr. Dole expressed himself very much gratified, and said any thing he could do for me in regard to the cotton trade he would be very glad to do. He introduced me to D. Randolph Martin. I had been in the army for a long time, and made no money. The representations made to me by Mr. Martin were flattering rather than otherwise. We were talking over the matter. He told me about the regulations that would be adopted, and made suggestions about them. He told me how these regulations would operate, &c. It looked very fair. I had known parties who professed to have bought out cotton. It was finally decided that, for their influence in getting this permit, which I foresaw would take considerable time and trouble, Mr. Martin and his friend should have two-sixths of the profits of the transactions; that, as a sort of brokerage, I should have one-sixth of the profits, and the other half go to the parties who had out the cotton. I spent considerable time and labor in the matter, and got up a couple of applications of that kind, or got parties to make out applications. There seemed to be a long delay in getting the regulations fixed and the permits signed. The result was, Mr. Martin informed me that these two particular cases could not be got through; that the President or Secretary would not sign them; but as his friend Ellery was appointed at Memphis, if I would go there he would do any thing he could do for me. But after making some investigations, I saw plainly I could get no cotton in Memphis. It was a kind of business I could not very well do, and I declined to go to Memphis, so that the matter with these gentlemen all fell through. They got their permits and went on, but I had nothing to do with them. My mind had been directed to making something out of cotton, and I disliked to abandon the project. I met B. F. Camp accidentally, and learned something of the manner of getting these things. He said to me that if I would give him the same interest I had agreed to give Mr. Martin he would get me a permit. I told him to do it, and Mr. Camp undertook it. After quite a long time Mr. Camp did bring me two permits, or whatever they are called, that he had obtained.

*Q.* In whose names were these permits or certificates issued?

*A.* The first one was to Lazare, Camp & Brooks, and the second to Norris, Champion & Camp.

*Q.* Who are Champion and Camp?

*A.* J. D. Champion and B. F. Camp.

*Q.* Who is Lazare?

*A.* Mr. Lazare is a gentleman I got acquainted with at Cairo, in the winter of 1861; he had a contract for baking bread for the post of Cairo. I met him in New York, and in the course of conversation he told me he had cotton in Mississippi, and that he had General Sherman's permit to get it out, or permitting the party of whom he had purchased it to bring it out. His representation was very fair, and the order of General Sherman seemed to be valuable.

*Q.* Did you see General Sherman's order?

*A.* Yes. When the permits came back, this one for Lazare, Camp & Brooks, Lazare, not understanding that Brooks was to be a partner, declined to have any thing to do with it. Mr. Brooks is a young man from California, son of a very warm friend of mine. I wanted to be represented in the business some way.

*Q.* And Mr. Brooks's name was put in for yours?

*A.* Substantially for me.

*Q.* Is that the contract you refer to?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Who is the certificate given to now?

*A.* It appears now to be given to Henrie Lovie, Camp & Brooks.

*Q.* Is it the same contract originally given to Lazare, Camp & Brooks?

*A.* It is the same paper.

*Q.* How did Mr. Lovie's name come to be there?

*A.* I will explain all that I know about it. Mr. Lazare concluded not to have any thing to do with the matter. Martin was to have half of the net profits, provided that permits were obtained that would allow goods to be taken into the rebel country. Martin presumed that that permit would take goods in where cotton was to be brought out. Mr. Lazare did not so understand it. He concluded he could get a permit as well as Martin, and declined to sign the contract. This paper was handed to me by Camp, at the Treasury Department, and was taken to New York to be signed, but Lazare declined to operate on this, and declined to sign the contract. It went along that way for some time. I felt very much annoyed about the matter; I had spent a good deal of time in reference to it. I finally found a Mr. Tibbits, who was stopping at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. He appeared to be a very fine man. He said he could make use of the contract and operate under it. He said he would introduce me to his partner, and he did so. I found his partner to be Mr. Lovie, an old acquaintance of mine. It was proposed that Lovie should take the place of Lazare in the operation. I told Camp there was an impediment in the way; that I would not advise any one to operate under the permit without Lazare's consent at least. Camp said if I would give him the permit, he would get the President's authority to alter it. As the certificate had not been signed, I saw no objection to that, any way. The same day I met, for the first time, Mr. Conatty, who was there, at the Astor House, with Mr. Risley, doing some business. I said to him, that Mr. Camp desired to send these papers back to Mr. Risley to have some alterations made, and that if he would go down with me I would introduce him to Mr. Tibbits, who would explain to him the alterations he would like to have made. We went down to a Mr. Kimball's office in Wall Street. I handed Mr. Conatty the papers. Mr. Kimball said the only alteration required was to have Mr. Lovie's name substituted for that of Mr. Lazare. Mr. Conatty took the papers, came on to Washington, and in a few days they were returned as they are now. I should have remarked that Tibbits said, that if we could get a part of Louisiana it would be a great advantage to us. Subsequently Tibbits and Camp had a conversation, in which I do not believe they agreed

well, and after that Tibbits declined to have any thing to do with it. The contract had been reduced to writing, but it had never been executed; nothing more was done about it; I took the papers; Camp asked me for them several times, but I kept them; the last I knew of them they were at my boarding-house, at the Irving House, New York.

Q. Do you understand that the regulations of the Treasury Department require some man to say that he has cotton in his control before any certificate can be granted?

A. So I have understood. I suppose parties made general statements in regard to the matter. I would not like, myself, to say I controlled a certain amount of cotton unless I had it within my control.

Q. Lazare was the man who was supposed to have cotton within his control, was he not?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he was the one upon whom this whole thing was bottomed?

A. Yes, sir; upon him entirely.

Q. The certificate was issued upon the ground that he had purchased and had the control of cotton?

A. Yes, sir. You will find his affidavit in the Treasury Department, that he had cotton in his control.

Q. Was it the rule in the Treasury Department that such an affidavit should be filed before a certificate could be issued?

A. It is not now, as I understand. We presumed it would be then, and therefore the affidavit was filed.

Q. What other reasons had Mr. Lazare for drawing out of the transaction beside the one you have stated?

A. I do not know of any thing else; I had but little conversation with him after I found he was dissatisfied with the arrangement that had been made.

Q. Was this alteration made at your suggestion?

A. Not on my suggestion. Camp told me he could have it made.

Q. Did you speak to Mr. Conatty about it?

A. I told Mr. C. to see Mr. Tibbits, and handed him the papers.

Q. Was the alteration made there?

A. I do not know where the alteration was made.

Q. Did you talk with Mr. Risley about this?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you tell Mr. Conatty that you had talked with Mr. Risley?

A. No, sir; I told Mr. Conatty that Mr. Camp had said, not that Mr. Risley could make the alterations, for I did not suppose Mr. Risley could alter any thing except his own certificate, but that he could get the alteration made.

Q. Who was it proposed should make the alteration?

A. Mr. Camp said he would get the President to have the alteration made; I presumed it was made by his order, and up to the present time I have no knowledge that it was not made by order of the President.

Q. Are you certain you never told Mr. Conatty that you had talked with Mr. Risley, and obtained his consent to have the alteration made?

*A.* No, sir; I had not seen Mr. Risley; I have never had fifteen minutes conversation with him.

By Mr. Perry:

*Q.* Was not this change made at the Astor House, New York?

*A.* I cannot tell; I gave the papers to Mr. Conatty, who came on here, and while he had the papers the change was made. I do not know when it was made, or who made it.

*Q.* How long were the papers out of your possession?

*A.* I suppose not more than three or four days at most.

*Q.* Do I understand any thing was ever done under that contract?

*A.* Not a thing.

*Q.* Be good enough now to state in regard to the certificate in which the name of Norris appears. Who was Norris?

*A.* Norris was an old Californian from 1842; a man of a great deal of property in real estate, and well known. He became deaf from pounding given him by squatters. Subsequently, he traded his farm for land in Texas, and his property in Texas was taken by the rebels. When General Banks proposed to go there last year, he went in advance of the army, secured some cotton, and paid for it, as he alleges, and as I have reason to believe he did; some six thousand bales in all. The rebels told him they would not burn his cotton, but would let him get it out, if he could. I met him at the Metropolitan Hotel, in New York, and told him about this proposed venture. It occurred to me, as I knew he was a loyal man, and a man who really owned cotton, or controlled it, at any rate, he would be a good man to be interested with. He made an affidavit that he owned cotton, which affidavit is on file in the Treasury Department. I asked Mr. Martin to obtain a permit for Mr. Norris, to get his cotton out. Norris had agreed also to give Mr. Martin one-half of the profits, but, as I remarked before, Mr. Martin failed to get the certificate.

*Q.* Was any thing further done with that certificate?

*A.* Yes, I gave that case also to Mr. Camp.

*Q.* For how many bales?

*A.* Thirteen thousand. Mr. Norris only claimed six thousand, but when the certificate came back it was for thirteen thousand, and the names of Champion and Camp were also in it.

*Q.* Who had the other seven thousand bales?

*A.* I do not know.

*Q.* Were Champion and Camp in situations to own or hold property in the rebel States?

*Q.* Champion may have been; I do not know. I should suppose Camp was not. I do not know why it came back in that way. Norris declined to have any thing to do with it in that shape, and nothing was ever done under it.

*Q.* Have you been connected with any further transaction in relation to this matter?

*A.* Yes, sir; one other.

*Q.* State the circumstances, and what was done.

*A.* Some time after this meeting with Conatty in New York, in January, I think, Conatty told me he could get me a permit to operate in Augusta. There was a man from Augusta in New York, who told me he had cotton there, and gave me a memorandum of the place where his cotton was in Augusta. He told me he would give me an interest in that cotton, and I agreed to go into it. Mr. Conatty proposed that he should have one-quarter of the profits, to which I assented. He asked me if he should use my name. I said yes, and Mr. Conatty then got a permit, in the name of Conatty & Haskell, for twenty thousand bales of cotton. I never saw Mr. Risley about it at all.

*Q.* Who made the application?

*A.* Mr. Conatty. I had no words with Mr. Risley on the subject.

*Q.* Have you that permit now?

*A.* It is in the hands of a man from Savannah.

*Q.* In whose hands is it in Savannah?

*A.* In the hands of a man by the name of Bell.

*Q.* Who is Mr. Bell?

*A.* He was years ago in California. He was an elector in 1856, on the republican ticket, in California. I think he has been in the East ever since.

*Q.* What did you send out to purchase this cotton with?

*A.* Nothing.

*Q.* Who was going to furnish the money?

*A.* Mr. Bell was going to furnish the money.

*Q.* What were you and Mr. Conatty to do?

*A.* Nothing at all. We put in our talent—nothing else.

*Q.* Have you heard any thing of the operation since?

*A.* I heard indirectly from Bell, but I do not think he has been doing any thing under the permit.

*Q.* Are these the only transactions you have had, in reference to this description of trade?

*A.* Yes; they are the only transactions I have had any thing to do with.

*Q.* Have there been any transfers made to you, in connection with any cotton transactions with other parties?

*A.* Yes; Mr. Norris gave me a contract for one-sixth interest in his cotton, which contract I suppose he has abandoned, as he has done nothing under it.

*Q.* Do you know of any cotton transactions in which Beverley Tucker has been engaged?

*A.* I know of one in which some parties undertook to have him engaged.

*Q.* Who were the parties who undertook to have him engaged?

*A.* Mr. Durant.

*Q.* Who is the Beverley Tucker you refer to?

*A.* There is only one I know of by that name.

*Q.* Who do you understand him to be?

*A.* I understand him to be a rebel, in Canada.

*Q.* What do you understand the transaction between him and Mr. Durant to have been?

*A.* I understand Mr. Durant undertook to contract with Mr. Tucker to get out cotton.

*Q.* What do you know about it?

*A.* I know he undertook, through Colonel Baker, to make some arrangement with Beverley Tucker, but it was not carried out, as I did not suppose it would be.

*Q.* What arrangements were there?

*A.* The arrangements were, as I understood them, to make a contract by which Mr. Durant was to deliver a certain amount of goods for a certain amount of cotton, to be delivered by Beverley Tucker.

*Q.* What kind of goods?

*A.* Pork, I think it was; there was some talk about salt, but I think pork was the article to be contracted for.

*Q.* How large a contract?

*A.* It strikes me, for ten thousand bales of cotton.

*Q.* Will you state what you know about this paper, which purports to be a draft?

#### No. 1.

"For and in consideration of one dollar, to me in hand paid by Leonidas Haskell, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and for other valuable considerations, I hereby agree to pay over to the said Haskell one-tenth part of all profits which may be made in any transaction with Beverley Tucker, in ten thousand bales of cotton, as well as in any other cotton, or any other merchandise taken in or out of the Confederate lines, under the regulations of the Treasury Department, in which said Durant and Tucker may be interested. The profits shall be estimated by reckoning the actual cost of the merchandise and the actual cost of the cotton at the point of purchase, adding only cost of transportation and United States taxes. No other charge shall be made against the business. I also agree to pay said Haskell fifteen hundred dollars on demand, for expenses. A true and accurate account of said business shall be kept, subject to examination by said Haskell."

*A.* Yes, sir; that is a copy made by Mr. Durant himself, which was never fulfilled.

*Q.* Was an instrument of that kind signed?

*A.* I think so; I never saw it, but I think it was signed.

*Q.* And by that you became interested to the extent of one-tenth?

*A.* Yes. Mr. Durant proposed to give me an interest to that extent.

*Q.* Do you know what further has been done in the matter thus far?

*A.* I do not think any thing has been done with it.

*Q.* Was there any other instrument between you and Mr. Durant?

*A.* No, sir; none that I know of.

*Q.* Any thing of this kind?

#### No. 2.

"For and in consideration of one dollar, to me in hand paid by Leonidas Haskell, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and for other valuable

considerations and services to be rendered, I hereby agree to pay over to the said Haskell, one-tenth part of all the profits which may be made out of the proposition of Beverley Tucker to contract for ten thousand bales of cotton, in payment of which he is to receive a certain amount of pork; as well as in any additional number of bales of cotton, to which the proposed contract with the said Tucker may be extended, and taken out of the Confederate lines, under the regulations of the Treasury Department; or upon any purchase of cotton by exchanging merchandise, or otherwise, in accordance with said provisions and regulations, through said Tucker.

"I also agree to pay said Haskell fifteen hundred dollars, on demand, for expenses. A true and accurate account of said business shall be kept, subject to examination of said Haskell, after the cotton is sold and accounts made up, which shall be done within four months.

"And if nothing can be accomplished within sixty days the contract is void.

"October 10, 1864."

A. I think that is the one he altered, and the one which he subsequently signed, if he signed any.

Q. Did he ever pay you this fifteen hundred dollars?

A. No part of it.

Q. For what reason?

A. I never asked him.

Q. Would he have paid you if you had asked him?

A. I think he would if I had asked him.

Q. In whose hands is the paper which is signed?

A. The paper is in the hands of R. W. Latham; I have a receipt for it, although I have never seen it; I am very sure that this draft "No. 2" is the one that was signed.

Q. What explanation do you give of the interlineation in this draft of the words, "or otherwise?"

A. I knew Mr. Durant had a permit to get out cotton; I did not want to be confined to a partial interest in the transaction.

Q. Did there a difference grow up between you and Mr. Durant as to how much this covered?

A. There was never any controversy. I never had a word with Mr. Durant.

Q. Did not Mr. Durant make the point, "that you were to have no profit out of any cotton not obtained in exchange for merchandise?"

A. Mr. Latham told me so. Afterward there was a sort of contract, of some sort or other, about it, but I abandoned the whole thing.

Q. Will you look at that memorandum? See if it is a fair statement of the matter.

"The Durant and Tucker cotton matter stands about this way:—

"Durant has an order to bring out two or five thousand bales of cotton from Florida. D. R. Martin also has an order to bring five thousand bales out of the same place. Those orders are suspended, and will be held until

they obtain Mr. Seward's decision that *Tampa Bay* is a tributary of *Pensacola Bay*, which Martin feels confident of getting, after a while. Now, neither of them have any cotton, and do not expect to get any out, unless they can get some one to arrange on the rebel side, and T. is the only man they rely on. My contract with Durant is as follows: (The one I handed him to sign is marked No. 1; the one he did sign is marked No. 2.) You will see there is a difference, and the point Durant makes is, that I get no profits out of any cotton that is not obtained in exchange for merchandise under the Treasury regulations, excluding me from any interest in the profits of the cotton on the orders he has obtained from the President. The paper was not given me until after my friend went into the room, and then it was too late to make a row. As I feared the thing might burst up, and as I felt sure that the orders for the ten thousand would be paid, I protested against the alteration when I saw Durant, and he promises it will be all right, and if he will insert the words 'or otherwise' in the agreement, I shall be satisfied, and one word from you will get that inserted. I write this, that you may understand it, and I would like to arrange to take out, say, five thousand bales, by giving thirty cents per pound, in greenbacks, delivered at our lines, and then give him one-third of the net profits of the operation."

A. Yes, that is a fair statement of the matter.

Q. Did you ever have any correspondence with Beverley Tucker, directly or indirectly?

A. No, sir; neither directly nor indirectly.

Q. Do you know what correspondence Mr. Durant had?

A. I never saw any correspondence, and I never heard him talk of any correspondence with Beverley Tucker.

Q. What did Mr. Durant say in reference to this arrangement with Tucker?

A. He thought it legitimate. He claimed that it did not make any difference, under this law, who brought out the cotton—that Jeff. Davis might bring out cotton under this law.

Q. And receive pork in return?

A. And receive goods. There was a question about pork. I believe Mr. Durant thought he could receive pork as well as any thing else; but as to the contract with Tucker, I did not believe he could make it to give pork. Train told me he had arranged all this matter.

Q. By this arrangement you were to be interested one-tenth, in consideration of valuable services rendered. What services were they, which were to entitle you to one-tenth interest in the profits?

A. I do not know that any services were specified.

Q. Were you to have one-tenth profits without any particular services?

A. I do not know. You know that a person gets into these things without really understanding how.

Q. You say you could have fifteen hundred dollars of Mr. Durant by asking. Why do you think you could have the money, if nothing has been done in the matter?

A. I do not know why; I never asked him.

By Mr. Perry:

*Q.* Have you contributed your part of the expenses for working the thing up?

*A.* No general expenses. I have paid my own private expenses.

*Q.* Did not each partner pay his proportion of the general expenses?

*A.* Each paid his own personal expenses.

*Q.* You say Mr. Martin failed in this instance in procuring permits. Do you infer from that that it is a difficult thing to procure these permits?

*A.* Yes, sir. It is so difficult that I have not been able to do so myself.

*Q.* Are they considered valuable if they can be got?

*A.* Yes, sir, they are considered very valuable. I think they have been sold at high prices. So I heard; I never offered any for sale.

*Q.* Do you know of any being sold?

*A.* Not of my own knowledge. I heard of one man's interest being sold out for money.

*Q.* For how much?

*A.* A check was handed to him for two thousand dollars.

By the Chairman:

*Q.* Who was that?

*A.* Moore, of Conatty's firm. I was told that a check for two thousand dollars was given Moore for his interest.

*Q.* Given by Mr. Cooke?

*A.* Yes, by Mr. Cooke.

*Q.* Do you know of any further transactions in connection with trade with the rebel States?

*A.* I might state many other matters, but nothing of importance.

*Q.* Do you know a Mr. Olney?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Where does he live?

*A.* In Brooklyn.

*Q.* What is his first name?

*A.* J. W., or J. N.

*Q.* Where is he to be found?

*A.* No. 17 Nassau Street.

By Mr. Perry:

*Q.* Do you know of any parties who have brought out cotton under these permits?

*A.* I heard of one man this morning, a Mr. Palmer, who had brought out three hundred bales to New Orleans. He is about the first I heard of.

*Q.* Has Mr. Olney had any connection with this trade?

*A.* He has not; there was a conversation in reference to him. Mr. Camp asked me if I knew any one who knew of cotton, or had facilities for getting it out. I had been acquainted with Mr. Olney. His wife was in the Southern Confederacy somewhere. I talked with him about it; introduced him to Mr. Camp, and they had some conversation in regard to the matter, but Mr. Olney would not have any thing to do with it.

*Q.* Have you seen Mr. Olney recently?

*A.* I have not seen him since that time.

*Q.* Have you seen him within a few days?

*A.* No; I do not think he has been in this city for some time. The last time I saw him was in New York, some ten days ago.

THURSDAY, February 2, 1865.

Members present:—

Representatives.

Mr. WASHBURN, Chairman;  
ELIOT,  
WARD,

Representatives.

Mr. LONGYEAR,  
DIXON,  
PERRY.

Colonel L. C. BAKER called, sworn, and examined.

By Mr. Washburne:

*Question.* Please state your residence and position.

*Answer.* I reside in Washington, and am special agent of the War Department. I have charge of the National Detective Police.

*Q.* How long have you occupied that position?

*A.* Since February, 1862. Previous to that, since July, 1861, under Mr. Seward, of the State Department.

*Q.* Have you at any time had any knowledge or connection with the subject of trade with the rebellious States? And if so, state what knowledge you have, what connection, and what persons you know of being engaged in it.

*A.* In the month of November last, previous to the election, while I was stopping at the Astor House, New York, I was approached by Mr. Haskell and Mr. Latham, for the purpose of procuring a permit to get Beverley Tucker from Canada, and pass him through our lines. I was told by Latham and Haskell, that Mr. Durant, Mr. Dole, Ward Lamon, and Mr. Swett had made application to the President to procure a pass to allow Beverley Tucker to pass through our lines, ostensibly for the purpose of seeing his family, but really for the purpose of assisting them in getting cotton out. I gave them no direct answer at that time. I came to Washington, saw Mr. Dana, the Assistant Secretary of War, gave him verbally the conversation I had had with these gentlemen, and told him I was satisfied they were attempting to use me for improper purposes; that I was satisfied there was a great deal of irregularity and rascality in regard to these cotton permits. He gave me his sanction, and the approval of the War Department, to make such arrangements and such investigations as I thought proper. I returned to New York, and was introduced to Mr. Durant by Latham and Haskell. Durant wanted me to go to Canada, and bring Tucker to his house in New York, to remain six hours, alleging that he could make his arrangements with Tucker in five or six hours. I was then to take Tucker, and cross him over the Potomac, below here, and take him within the rebel lines, for which I was to receive a contingent interest in all the cotton got out under this arrangement. I came back to Washington, and reported to Mr. Dana, of the War Department,

detailing to him the conversation I had had. I then met Latham and Haskell. Haskell gave me a note for one thousand five hundred dollars, which was to be received by me in payment of personal expenses and incidental expenses incurred in getting Tucker through the lines. The note was signed by Haskell. There was appended to it, on the same sheet of paper, a memorandum or agreement, between Haskell, Latham, and Durant, as to what Durant was to do. I understood from Latham that Durant refused to sign the note for me, but gave Haskell a guarantee, in the shape of an order, for the amount he should pay to me. There was also a letter given me from Mr. Latham. I carried that letter of Latham's, the statement of Haskell, and the note, to Mr. Dana, who, I suppose, has them still; I left them in his possession. I was to have met Tucker at St. Catharine's, opposite Niagara Falls. I was to have met Tucker, George Sanders, and Jake Thompson. I took one of my detectives, by the name of John Odell. I had an order from the War Department in my pocket, and Odell had an order from General Dix, for the arrest of these parties: when Tucker came across the bridge with me he was to arrest us both. I stopped at the Falls, and sent a dispatch over to St. Catharine's, to ascertain if Tucker was there. I received an answer to that dispatch, signed by a man by the name of Cox, stating that Tucker was not at St. Catharine's, that he had gone to Montreal, but that he, Cox, would see me. I went over the suspension bridge that day, and remained all day on that side; but Mr. Cox did not come. While at the bridge, I do not recollect whether I had a dispatch or a letter that the parties were at Montreal. I immediately returned to New York; and, instead of going to Durant, and reporting to him, I came direct to the War Department, and reported to Mr. Dana. I informed Mr. Dana that I was going to Montreal, with his approval, for the purpose of getting Tucker. On my way to Montreal I stopped at New York, to see Durant. In the mean time, the report had been circulated by Tucker and Sanders that Stephens, the rebel vice-president, was on his way to Montreal, and they gave that as the reason why they left St. Catharine's, and why they did not see me—that they wanted to see Stephens first. I had a long conversation with Durant in New York. When I went into his room he locked the door. He had heard the story with reference to Stephens being in Canada. He said, whether the report was true or not, there could be a fortune made out of it by certain operators in gold on Wall Street, if they had definite information that Stephens was there or on his way; that when I got to Montreal, if I would send a dispatch that Stephens was there, and send it to no one else, he would make one hundred thousand dollars, one-half of which was to be placed to my credit. He sat down, in my presence, and wrote a long letter to Tucker, which I carried to Tucker myself. I took Odell to Montreal, with the expectation of getting Tucker through the lines at Rouse's Point, where Odell had his instructions to arrest him. I arrived at Montreal some time during the morning, went to the St. Lawrence Hotel, wrote a fictitious name on a card, as from Washington, and sent it by a waiter. The waiter came down, and told me to walk up to a room, which was not Tucker's room; Tucker was in bed. The room I was taken to was Sanders's room. Tucker, after a few moments, came in. He said he had received advices from Durant

that I was expected there, and that he had sat up nearly all night awaiting my arrival. He was glad to see me. He hoped now that his cotton operations would come to a focus. He had been in correspondence with Durant for a long time, but had failed to bring him up to the mark. He did not want to be engaged in it until the contract was signed by Durant. He was afraid that if Durant had him through the lines, and got him in his power, he would not divide the profits with him. He had written to Durant several times, asking him to make a contract that should be executed. I asked him if he was ready to go through the lines. He said he was; said he, "I suppose this thing is understood: I understand that, from what Durant has written me, you are all right; that you have the means of carrying out this operation, and, if I go with you, I will be personally safe." I told him that I had an understanding with Durant. He sent down stairs for Sanders. Sanders came up, and they went into another room, and were gone for, perhaps, an hour. I was not present at that interview. Tucker came back and said, "That, under the advice of his friends, he did not think he would go; that he was not satisfied with the way Durant was treating him. That Durant had failed to make a written contract with him; and that, while he was willing to trust me, he would decline to go South until the contract had been executed." He then asked me a great many questions as to parties who were interested with Durant, and a great many other questions I do not recollect. He asked me to go and dine with him. We went to a saloon, and had dinner. I spent the afternoon with him. He treated me very handsomely. He was to have met me at Rouse's Point. This was on Friday. He was to have met me at Rouse's Point on the Sunday night following; but when I got to Rouse's Point I received advices from Washington to come home, and I came home.

*Q.* Was that the end of the whole thing?

*A.* That was the end of the whole thing.

*Q.* What advices was it that brought you home?

*A.* It was some matters of my own, in reference to an investigation I was conducting in New York.

*Q.* And did you not wait for Tucker?

*A.* I did not wait for this reason, not so much on account of my own business as because I believed Tucker would not come.

*Q.* Do you know whether he did come or not?

*A.* I do not.

*Q.* What took place afterwards?

*A.* I did not call on Durant when I came back to New York. I came direct to Washington. I found Latham, Haskell, and two or three others, who, it appears, knew I had gone to Canada. They came and asked me if Tucker had come with me. I said no, that Tucker refused to come, for the reason that he was not satisfied with the way Durant had treated him; that he thought Durant was trying to get the advantage of him, and he would not come. During the time I was carrying on this operation I became very well posted as to all their plans. It appeared that it was known among all the cotton speculators, and they would come to me and talk with me confidentially about the matter.

*Q.* You say you took a letter written by Durant to Tucker. Can you state the contents of that letter?

*A.* It was simply introducing Colonel Baker, and asking Tucker to come on with him; that he was satisfied he could trust himself in my charge; asking him to come with a view of perfecting a contract. It was a long letter; I do not recollect the whole of it.

*Q.* Did you ever see any other letter from Durant to Tucker?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* What were its contents?

*A.* I saw a number of letters in the hands of Tucker. He showed them to me. They were all in reference to cotton speculations.

By Mr. Eliot:

*Q.* Were they signed by Durant and addressed to Tucker?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* What did the letters state?

*A.* They were in reference to cotton, and in reference to Tucker's coming south. Durant writes in one letter that he had secured sufficient influence to procure a permit from the President. I am not certain, but I think he gave the names of the persons who would go to the President and get this permit.

*Q.* Do you recollect who they were?

*A.* I do not recollect who they were; my impression is, that Randolph Martin was one, and that Mr. Swett was another. He also, in his letters, stated that there would be a fortune made out of these cotton permits, if he (Tucker) could be passed through the lines.

*Q.* Was there any thing said in any of these letters in regard to military movements?

*A.* I think there was, in general terms, but I would not undertake to say that. I tried to get possession of some of these letters, but I did not succeed. I was not on the right side of the lines.

*Q.* Did you ever see the letters written by Tucker to Durant?

*A.* Yes; Durant, I think, read me one letter from Tucker, but I do not recollect what it was. I think he read portions of two or three letters. In talking with Durant about his arrangements with Tucker, in this cotton trade, he told me what Tucker wanted, and some of Tucker's suggestions as to how the thing was to be done, and then read me portions of letters.

*Q.* State what it was.

*A.* I do not recollect what it was. This was at the first interview I had with Durant, and I did not attach as much importance to it as I did afterward.

*Q.* What appeared to be the object of Tucker?—Was it to make money for himself, or for the purpose of getting supplies to the rebels?—Was he acting as a rebel agent, or for himself individually?

*A.* He told me he was an agent of the rebel government, and, in speaking of that government, he always used the expression, "our government," and that "our government" was willing to let cotton come out, and that "our

government" was willing to do so and so. These were the expressions he used.

*Q.* Did he appear to be acting for himself, making a private speculation of this matter, or as an agent of the rebel government, for the purpose of letting cotton go out, and letting supplies come in?

*A.* I inferred, from all his conversation, that he was an agent of the rebel government.

*Q.* What supplies were talked about? In what was this cotton to be paid for?

*A.* There were several articles mentioned. I think pork and bacon were spoken of. I think in one of the letters Durant read to me from Tucker, Tucker mentioned pork; I am sure of it. My position was such with these parties, in relation to the whole matter, that I could not get papers into my possession. I could not attempt that, as that would have defeated my object. My sole purpose was to catch Tucker.

*Q.* Was this transaction contemplated to be upon a large scale?

*A.* Very extensive.

*Q.* How large?

*A.* I do not know. Tucker told me he could get five hundred thousand bales out. He told me that there were about sixty thousand bales on the Tombigbee River. The man, he said, was in Canada, and had been talking about that lot of cotton. He described it to me, and also how it could be gotten out; that boats were to run up for it, and that he (Tucker) had exclusive control of that cotton. That was to be a portion of the cotton gotten out in this transaction.

*Q.* Did you understand, during this time, that Durant was acting with the assent of the War Department, or Government, in making these contracts with Tucker?

*A.* Not at all. No such conversation was had in my presence. I talked to Durant very freely, or with him, in reference to this whole matter. I had long conversations with him.

*Q.* How much money was it considered you would make if you went into it?

*A.* Haskell thought I would make about eighty thousand dollars for my share.

*Q.* What was the reward of Haskell and Latham to be?

*A.* They expected to make about the same. I think my share was one-sixth.

*Q.* What other parties were in the matter? Were those who went to see the President?

*A.* I cannot say about that. The only ones I know positively about, are Haskell and Latham. I had no conversation with the others at all. It appears that Haskell and Latham were in constant communication with "the ring," as it is termed, and they were the medium through which I communicated.

*Q.* Who comprised "the ring"?

*A.* I do not know; a great many.

*Q.* Were the responsibility and risks you incurred to be the consideration for your share of the profits?

*A.* I think I stated that my engaging in it would involve great risk and great responsibility, as an officer of the Government, and that its exposure would be a very serious thing, to myself as well as to him. I talked with Mr. Dana several times about it before I went into this thing. I was very anxious to get at these parties, and in my business I considered that any thing was legitimate and honorable that would bring to justice a clique or company of men, who were banded together for the purpose of swindling the Government.

By Mr. Washburne:

*Q.* Do you know of G. F. Train being mixed up in this matter?

*A.* Only from what Durant told me.

*Q.* Did you see any parties with Durant, except those you have named, in New York?

*A.* No others, I think. My interviews with Durant, except the first one, were private, alone by ourselves.

*Q.* Was Durant's clerk with you

*A.* No.

*Q.* Did he speak of sending him as a messenger to see Beverley Tucker?

*A.* No. It was proposed, at one time, that Latham should go. Latham was in Durant's employ. Latham proposed that himself, and Durant spoke to me about it. I opposed it. I said I did not think it was advisable.

*Q.* Why not?

*A.* I did not think he was a proper man. He is a man who talks a good deal; not a discreet, judicious man, by any means.

*Q.* Do I understand you that Latham has been in Durant's employ?

*A.* Yes, and I suppose he is now. I do not know any thing to the contrary. He pays him two hundred dollars a month. He told me that himself.

*Q.* You state that Durant showed you some letters received from Beverley Tucker; do you remember whether he took them from his files?

*A.* I do not recollect where he took them from now. I recollect he had some trouble in finding one letter, and that it was buried up in a lot of papers on his desk.

*Q.* Did you see Beverley Tucker's name signed to the letters?

*A.* I did not. He read them to me, though, as letters coming from him. There is no question about his receiving a great many letters from Tucker.

*Q.* Where did this proposition to go into this transaction originate?

*A.* I think it originated in New York, at the Astor House.

*Q.* Who originated it?

*A.* I think Latham was the first man that mentioned it to me.

*Q.* What did Latham say?

*A.* He said a great deal of money could be made, provided Beverley Tucker could be got through the rebel lines, and that a great effort had been made to bear upon the President, to get him to permit Beverley Tucker to go through the lines to Richmond. He said: "Now, Colonel, you can do this thing for

us; I have been talking with Durant, and you can make all the money you want." I asked him: "How?" and he said: "Let us go up into your room, and I will tell." He went up into my room, and he then opened his plans to me. He said he had been talking to Durant, and he had assured Durant that I was a safe man; that he thought I could be trusted. He wanted me to go and see Durant the next day. I said I could not; and I then came to the War Department and reported what I have said.

*Q.* Then I understand you to say, that the object of bringing you into this transaction was the influence you would have in getting Tucker through the lines?

*A.* Latham told me I was the only man who could safely undertake this thing; that I was the only man Tucker would go with.

*Q.* When you visited Tucker, did he seem to know all about you?

*A.* Certainly; he said he knew all about me; that he sat up all the night before, waiting for me. He made that excuse for being so late in the morning.

*Q.* What idea did these men have, that you had betrayed your trust as an officer of the Government?

*A.* They had come to the conclusion that I had betrayed my trust for the amount I was going to receive; that I was in earnest, and that Tucker was really going to Richmond in my charge.

*Q.* Have you seen Durant recently?

*A.* No; he came up to my rooms at the Astor House, about a week or ten days ago, and wanted to know whether I knew any thing about the news of negotiation for peace. It was about the time the President was down at Fortress Monroe. Said he: "If you can let me know, there can be a great deal of money made."

*Q.* Has that note for one thousand five hundred dollars arrived at maturity?

*A.* I believe it has. I had a great many other matters on my hands at the same time, a great many investigations going on, and my memory is not as distinct on that point as it would otherwise be.

*Q.* Have Durant or Latham ever offered to pay money to you?

*A.* Yes, they have pressed it upon me, but I have not taken a dollar. When I came back from Canada they wanted me to take five hundred dollars, but I said, "Wait until this thing is closed up." When I came back the second time, Durant wanted me to take a check for one thousand dollars. He took his check-book and said, "I think you ought to have some money," but I had been advised by Mr. Dana not to take any money. I was told that all my expenses would be paid by the War Department.

By Mr. Eliot:

*Q.* Did you not have some reason to know that other parties were connected with Durant?

*A.* Durant had two permits which, I believe, Haskell was supposed to be interested in, and others had permits which Durant had nothing to do with, though in procuring those permits, and in getting cotton through the lines, it was understood that Tucker was to assist Durant, and was to have a share in

the cotton gotten out under his contract; that he was to act as a sort of general agent for the whole of them. I know that matter was talked over.

By Mr. Longyear:

*Q.* Do you know the names of any parties holding permits, who were to receive the benefit of that arrangement?

*A.* I only know from what Latham told me. I have had a great many interviews with these cotton men. They expected my influence, and they bored me nearly to death.

*Q.* Do you know of any agents or employés of the Government who are engaged in these cotton transactions?

*A.* I know nothing of my own knowledge.

*Q.* You do not know of any officers or employés of the Government who have been interested in these transactions, or have received any money or have been promised any money for their influence in getting through contracts or permits?

*A.* I have no knowledge of my own of any.

*Q.* Do you know of anybody who does know of any?

*A.* I suppose Haskell knows of money being paid at the Astor House.

LEONIDAS HASKELL recalled and examined.

By Mr. Washburne:

*Question.* In respect to the agreements which you produced here when last examined, can you state whether or not at the time they were made there were any indorsements of any thing across their face in red ink by Mr. Durant?

*Answer.* No, sir; they were not original agreements, but copies, but there was nothing on the original agreement that was not on the copies, except the signature of Mr. Durant.

*Q.* Do you know of any thing having been written across these agreements at the time they were executed?

*A.* I know there was not; the agreement was left in the hands of Latham; what has been done since I do not know. I have his receipt to deliver it up on the joint order of Mr. Durant and myself.

*Q.* If there has been any thing written across the face of the agreement there in red ink it has been written since its execution?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Do you know who the parties were who were interested in getting these permits for Mr. Durant?

*A.* Mr. Martin, I think, and I believe Mr. Corwin and Mr. Stewart. Stewart acted in the matter as far as I know.

*Q.* Do you know of any money being paid to any person connected with the Government in connection with these contracts and certificates?

*A.* I cannot say that I do know of any.

*Q.* Do you know of any money promised to be paid?

*A.* Only by rumor. I have no knowledge of any thing of the kind. I think there are parties who do know; but I do not.

*Q.* What parties know?

*A.* I think Mr. Latham knows more about that.

*Q.* Where is Mr. Latham now?

*A.* I suppose he is in New York.

CHARLES A. DANA called, sworn, and examined.

By Mr. Washburne:

*Question.* Be good enough to state what position you occupy?

*Answer.* Assistant Secretary of War.

*Q.* Do you know Colonel L. C. Baker?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Has he held any position in connection with the War Department; and if so, what?

*A.* He has been employed as special police agent of the War Department.

*Q.* Was he such agent in October and November last?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Do you know any thing of an arrangement which he made, or intended to make, with any party or parties in New York or Canada in relation to getting out cotton from the rebellious States; and if so, state particularly and fully all your knowledge in relation thereto?

*A.* Colonel Baker came to me some time—as nearly as I can now recollect—in the month of October, and reported to me that certain parties, who had obtained permits to bring out cotton from the rebellious States, were anxious that he should assist them. What they especially desired of him was that he should get Beverley Tucker through the lines from Canada to the Southern States, in order that Tucker might complete the arrangement in the South for delivering cotton, which they had already made with him for buying it. He, Baker, stated that he had received proposals which he wished to report fully to me. That these parties had proposed to him to get Tucker through by permission of the War Department, on condition that Tucker should furnish information of great value to the War Department. If that was refused, they had proposed to Baker that he should smuggle Tucker through, and that in that event they had offered to pay him ten thousand dollars for smuggling him through. I inquired who these parties were, and he told me that he knew of a Mr. Latham, Mr. Ward Lamon, Mr. Swett, and some others, whose names I do not now recollect. I think he told me that Mr. J. B. Stewart, Mr. Risley, Thomas C. Durant, and Leonidas Haskell, were also concerned in it. I understood from Baker that he had seen Latham and Haskell in regard to this proposition. Baker showed me no original writings from any of them; this was a mere rebel report. He desired to have from me instructions in the premises. I said to him that I would have no stool-pigeon operation; that I would not authorize him to make any arrangements by which Tucker should be induced over into the United States in order that he might be arrested, but I instructed him to go on and possess himself fully, if possible, of all the designs of these parties, and if he should know that Tucker was coming over to inform me of it, in order that I might take measures to

have him arrested, as I regarded it important that he should be arrested, if he should come within the territory of the United States; but I instructed him explicitly that Tucker would not be passed through the United States to go within the rebel lines, and that no deceptive proceedings to seduce him here for the purpose of arresting him would be authorized. Baker afterwards reported to me from time to time, and brought me copies of various papers.

*Q.* Did you see, among the papers presented to you, a note for one thousand five hundred dollars?

*A.* My impression is that there was a copy of a note, or a memorandum of a draft of a note, but I have not had any original note. I have not had an original signature of any of the parties Colonel Baker has reported as being engaged in this transaction, nor have I any evidence that they were so engaged, except his verbal report.

*Q.* Did he make any further report to you except such as you have stated?

*A.* He has reported to me at various times that B. F. Camp was engaged in trade with the rebel authorities, and corresponding with them, but he has never brought me any papers to prove it. He reported to me from New York that at such a date Tucker was going to cross the Niagara River, and orders were thereupon sent to General Dix to have him arrested; but Tucker did not come, and was not arrested.

*Q.* What did you understand Baker's object to be when he came to you in the first instance?

*A.* I understood his object to be to perform his duty by reporting to me what was going on, in order that the Secretary of War might give such directions as he thought necessary.

*Q.* And that he had taken these measures in order to get information in regard to these transactions?

*A.* I understood Baker that they approached him in the first place, and that they proposed that he should get permission from me for Tucker to go through the lines.

*Q.* And the purpose of that was to enable them to carry out this contract with Tucker?

*A.* Yes; Baker has reported to me, also, that agents from Tucker have been in New York to see Durant within his knowledge. I have had several reports from other secret agents in New York, that men from Tucker, or other rebel representatives in Canada, have been in New York, and have there had interviews with Durant, but I never got any information of a sufficiently positive character to act upon it, in the way of proceedings before a court-martial or military commission, which would be the regular way of treating such cases.

*Q.* What is the course usually pursued by the War Department, when parties are found in contraband trade with the rebels?

*A.* The evidence is taken and submitted to the Judge-Advocate-General, and action is taken in accordance with his report. If he reports the evidence as sufficient to bring the parties before a military tribunal, they are tried; if he reports that it is not sufficient, then we wait until we can get more evi-

dence. No parties are ever proceeded against by military justice without his report. All such cases are submitted to him before they are acted upon.

*Q.* Was the case of Durant ever made up and submitted to him?

*A.* Never; for the reason that the evidence was never sufficient. It was all of a hearsay character.

*Q.* Had Durant at any time any authority or permission from the War Department to correspond or negotiate with any person or persons within the rebel lines, or elsewhere, to carry on trade with States in rebellion?

*A.* No, sir; neither directly nor indirectly.

*Q.* Did he, to your knowledge, ever apply for such permission?

*A.* He never did.

*Q.* Has Durant, to your knowledge, ever kept the War Department informed of his proceedings with Beverley Tucker, or with any person or persons?

*A.* Never.

L. C. BAKER recalled and examined.

By Mr. Washburne:

*Question.* Since your last examination, have you any thing further to state in regard to the note and letter you spoke of?

*Answer.* Nothing, except to produce the documents themselves, which I had supposed were on file in the War Department, but which were afterward found in my office, and are as follows:—

\$8,500 00.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 11, 1864.

For value received, I promise to pay to the order of \_\_\_\_\_, eight thousand five hundred dollars, out of the first moneys received out of the profits of an agreement made with T. C. Durant, in reference to cotton operations, made in New York City, on November 10, 1864.

LEONIDAS HASKELL.

NEW YORK CITY, November 10, 1864.

T. C. DURANT, Esq., No. 13 William Street:—

Please pay to the order of \_\_\_\_\_, fifteen hundred dollars, as per agreement made with you this day.

\$1,500 00.

LEONIDAS HASKELL.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., November 2, 1864. }

Colonel BAKER:—

MY DEAR SIR—I was hurried off last evening, and had no time to call and see you, or to write.

I have agreed with General Stanton, that he and General Dole shall see the President to-night, and, with my letter in regard to what you have done laid before him, insist that, without delay, your services and fidelity shall be rewarded by your appointment as brigadier-general.

Please *bluff* any party that may come to you about B. T., unless it shall be Major Haskell; in that case, you can hear him as you would me.

Your friend,

R. W. LATHAM.

*Q.* In whose handwriting is this note?

*A.* It is in the proper handwriting of Mr. Haskell; I know it as such.

*Q.* Do you know the handwriting of R. W. Latham?

*A.* I do.

*Q.* Is this letter you have handed to the committee in the handwriting of Mr. Latham?

*A.* It is.

*Q.* I see that this letter speaks of your appointment as brigadier-general; what is the significance of that?

*A.* That was a part of the consideration for getting Tucker through the lines, as before stated—that I was to have that rank.

*Q.* What does "Please *bluff* any party who may come to you about B. T., unless it be Major Haskell," mean? Who does B. T. refer to?

*A.* To Beverley Tucker. It means that he does not want me to make any arrangements with any other parties outside the ring.

*Q.* Whose name was to be put into the blank of this note filled for eight thousand five hundred dollars?

*A.* It was to be filled with Haskell's name, who was to indorse it over to me. The draft upon Durant was to be filled up with my name.

*Q.* What influence was to be brought to bear in obtaining your appointment as brigadier-general, referred to by Latham in this letter?

*A.* Latham informed me that he had seen Dole, Swett, and Ward Lamon, and they were to go to the President at the same time and insist upon my promotion to a brigadier-generalship.

*Q.* Do you know whether or not they went?

*A.* I was told that they did.

*Q.* What was the result?

*A.* The result was that the President held the matter under advisement.

TUESDAY, February 21, 1865

Members present:

Representatives.

Mr. WASHBURN,

Mr. LONGYEAR.

LEONIDAS HASKELL recalled and examined.

By Mr. Washburne:

*Question.* Have you had a pretty good knowledge of the permits or certificates and contracts which have been made by Mr. Risley?

*Answer.* Of quite a number of them I have.

*Q.* I hand you a list of contracts, which purports to be a full list of all the contracts made by Mr. Risley, as contained in a report from the Treasury Department to the Senate; will you look over it, and then state to the committee if you know of parties who have had contracts whose names are not in that document?

*A.* In the first place, I find several errors in this document.

*Q.* Point them out.

*A.* The first one that strikes me is to Moore, Conatty & Co., for fifteen

thousand bales. That contract, when I saw it, called for fifty thousand bales. In the contract to Leonidas Haskell and T. J. Conatty, my name does not appear at all. No such permit was ever granted to me. There was a permit granted to Thomas J. Conatty for twenty thousand bales. The contract with Nathaniel F. Potter purports to have been executed December 27, 1864. It was not signed by Mr. Risley until a very long time after that.

*Q.* How do you know that fact?

*A.* I lived by the side of Mr. Potter last summer. I had been to Mr. Risley for one of these contracts, and having been applied to by Mr. Potter—I wanted to serve him—I told Mr. F. P. Stanton of the fact. He said he would get one for him. A contract was written out and sent down to Potter, which he forwarded back to me. This was, I think, late in January, 1865. I neglected to hand it to Mr. Stanton for several days, and did not do it until I heard that no more permits were to be granted. I then handed it to him, apologizing for my neglect. Consequently, it could not have been signed until after that.

*Q.* How do you account for the date given there?

*A.* I cannot account for it, unless it was antedated.

*Q.* At the time you handed this to Mr. Stanton, did you understand that instructions had been given by the Secretary of the Treasury that no more contracts should be made?

*A.* Conatty told me so.

*Q.* Is it your inference that the contract was antedated to a time previous to that when the Secretary of the Treasury had issued his instructions that no more contracts should be made?

*A.* I have no positive knowledge of that whatever. I was so informed by this man, who had been a clerk under Mr. Risley. I know the contract was not signed until after that of Samuel Noble was signed, which was dated on the 6th of January, 1865.

*Q.* Do you know any thing about this Mr. Noble?

*A.* I only know that I happened to be in the room when the proof of the contract was being read, and saw him there.

*Q.* Do you know with whom he was connected in the transaction?

*A.* I was told with Thurlow Weed and George Law. I saw these gentlemen round there.

*Q.* Did you see them round there at that time?

*A.* I did.

*Q.* Where was this?

*A.* At the Astor House.

*Q.* What connection did Mr. Weed and Mr. Law have with Mr. Noble?

*A.* They seemed to be with him; they seemed to be one party consulting together.

*Q.* Were they present with Mr. Noble and Mr. Risley in the same room?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* About what time was this?

*A.* It was about the 6th of January, at the Astor House.

*Q.* Have you any other reason to suppose that Mr. Law and Mr. Weed

were engaged with Mr. Noble in this contract, except the fact that they were present and in consultation with him and Mr. Risley?

A. I was told by Conatty, who drew all the papers, at the time, that they were interested with Noble in the contract.

Q. What further did Conatty tell you about this contract with Noble?

A. He referred to its being a good contract, other than in respect to the quantity of bales.

Q. In what respect?

A. In respect to the privileges and facilities that it afforded Noble more than others.

Q. What privileges and facilities did he allude to?

A. It contemplated having an agent to accompany the vessel with goods to the point where the cotton was, to be ready to make the exchange as soon as the cotton was brought out. That was the main feature of it.

Q. How was that agent to go?

A. He explained it in this way: A vessel loaded with goods, not contraband of war, might proceed in charge of an agent, for instance, to Savannah, and then, still in charge of that agent, proceed up the river to Augusta, and there, still under charge of the Government agent, exchange the goods for cotton.

Q. Upon what ground did Conatty suppose this contract would be on better footing than others, other than that you have stated?

A. Not otherwise, except in the number of different points where they might deliver the cotton.

Q. Did you know of Mr. Quintard being connected with this matter?

A. No, I never heard that he was.

Q. What do you see in this document peculiar about the contract of Lovie, Brooks & Camp?

A. I see that it purports to be dated on the 16th of November, 1864. That contract was signed in January, 1865, at the Astor House.

Q. Why was it signed at the Astor House?

A. I heard that it was, from Conatty.

Q. What did Mr. Risley appear to be doing at the Astor House?

A. Doing this business.

Q. How came he there; where was his regular office?

A. I had always been informed that his office was at Norfolk.

Q. Why was he in New York doing this business?

A. I do not know; I know that he was there.

Q. How long was he there?

A. Most of the time, for three or four weeks.

Q. Did he open an office there?

A. No; he had different rooms at the Astor House.

Q. How many different rooms?

A. I have seen him go into No. 4, No. 11, and the large room next to the hall, I think No. 2.

Q. What was he doing in these rooms?

A. I saw people going in and out; it was a matter of notoriety that he was making these contracts.

*Q.* Was he doing a large business?

*A.* Quite a large business; he had a great many people seeing him.

*Q.* What was the understanding in relation to these contracts by the people round there?

*A.* They all seemed to be pretty well satisfied when they got them.

*Q.* Could everybody get them who applied?

*A.* No, I do not think they could.

*Q.* Do you know what the object of Mr. Risley was in changing his quarters from the Treasury Department to the Astor House?

*A.* I have no knowledge on that subject.

*Q.* Were you around the Astor House a good deal at that time?

*A.* Yes. I never was in his room.

*Q.* What was the influence which secured this contract of twenty thousand bales?

*A.* Conatty obtained it.

*Q.* What was the consideration which induced Conatty to take hold of this thing?

*A.* One-fourth interest in it.

*Q.* What was the position Mr. Conatty occupied at that time toward Mr. Risley and toward the Government?

*A.* If there is not a mistake in the date, as given here, he was a clerk in the Treasury Department.

*Q.* Do you know of Conatty having an interest in any other contract except this one?

*A.* Only in this, and in that of Moore, Conatty & Co.

*Q.* What did you consider this contract worth?

*A.* It would have been very valuable if it had been carried out as I hoped; it would have been worth one hundred thousand dollars easy enough.

*Q.* What do you consider it worth now?

*A.* I do not consider it worth any thing. I never had much faith in it, but if it could have been carried out it would have been quite valuable.

*Q.* Do you know of Mr. D. Randolph Martin, President of the Ocean Bank, having been engaged in these matters?

*A.* Yes; he was the first man who called my attention to them.

*Q.* Who are Mr. Martin's associates, as far as you know?

*A.* Mr. Dole. He told me that there were twelve interests, and he gave that as a reason why my interest must be only one-twelfth in any thing he could do with me.

*Q.* Who did he say were the owners of these twelve interests?

*A.* He did not say definitely. He named Mr. Dole, and introduced him to me in that connection. He also introduced me to Mr. Ellery, whom he had appointed agent.

*Q.* Did Mr. Martin say he had had Mr. Ellery appointed agent?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* What were the considerations which induced him to have Mr. Ellery appointed?

*A.* A desire to have facilities for operating in cotton on the Mississippi.

*Q.* Was it understood that Mr. Ellery could furnish him better facilities than others might?

*A.* He told me Mr. Ellery might furnish better facilities to him than to strangers.

*Q.* Did he tell you Mr. Ellery was interested in the matter?

*A.* Not definitely; I have always had that impression.

*Q.* Do you know of Mr. Martin having visited Memphis since Mr. Ellery has been there?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* Do you know of his getting out cotton there?

*A.* I do not; I have not seen him since his return; he urged me strongly to go there with him.

*Q.* For what purpose?

*A.* To operate in cotton.

*Q.* Do I understand you to say that you had this one-twelfth interest promised you in that concern?

*A.* Yes. I introduced him to parties who I supposed could get cotton, in consideration of which I was to have one-twelfth interest. The parties to whom I introduced him were also to give me a portion of their interest, so that I was to have one-sixth altogether.

*Q.* Have you ever received any thing?

*A.* Not a cent.

*Q.* What is the reason you have not?

*A.* No one has ever received any thing, that I am aware of.

*Q.* Where was Mr. Ellery from?

*A.* I think his office was 84 Wall Street.

*Q.* What was his business?

*A.* I should think a broker. He had a small office in the basement.

*Q.* Do you know who else, except Mr. Martin, was interested in getting Ellery appointed?

*A.* Mr. Martin claimed his appointment over Mr. Yeatman.

*Q.* Do you know any thing about a permit issued to Horace H. Meloon?

*A.* I know he had a permit. It was made in the Astor House previous to the 4th of January.

*Q.* Who was this Meloon?

*A.* He was a Californian, and was formerly with Andrew J. Butler.

*Q.* What were the considerations upon which that contract was founded?

*A.* He professed to have cotton and other things.

*Q.* Who was interested with him, if anybody, to your knowledge?

*A.* Other parties in New York, but I cannot say who they were. A person told me he knew, but he would not tell me their names.

*Q.* This contract purports to have been signed the 27th of December, 1864; was this antedated?

*A.* I think that date is right.

*Q.* How did he expect to get out this cotton, turpentine, rosin, and tobacco?

*A.* I was informed that he had a vessel already loaded, with the expecta-

tion of putting such an agent on board as was contemplated in the contract with Noble, and to have followed our fleet into Wilmington.

*Q.* Did he profess to have peculiar privileges?

*A.* Yes.

*Q.* What were they?

*A.* Authority from the commanding general.

*Q.* Did you ever see any authority of that kind?

*A.* No.

*Q.* How did he say he was able to obtain that authority?

*A.* It was well understood that he was a particular friend of the commanding general.

*Q.* What do you know about the contract with Camp, Maddox & Parr for turpentine, rosin, and tobacco?

*A.* Mr. Camp showed me the contract as being a very valuable one.

*Q.* In what did its value consist?

*A.* It consisted principally, as represented to me, in facilities afforded for going through the lines.

*Q.* How were the facilities to be obtained? State all you know about it, from conversation with parties interested, or in any way.

*A.* I had various conversations with Camp in relation to that matter. He told me they were succeeding very well in getting out products and taking in goods. He asked me if I knew of parties who could go into Richmond, and whom it was safe to trust. I told him yes, I did. I asked him what he wanted to do. He told me he could fill three contracts that had been given out by the rebel Secretary of War, Mr. Sedden, for stationery, of ten thousand dollars each, in gold, and that, instead of paying in gold, they would pay in cotton, at nine cents a pound. The difficulty was, to find the point at which that cotton could be delivered and the goods received. He wanted some man whom he could trust, to superintend the transfer, make delivery of the stationery, and receive the cotton; that so far as the other side was concerned, it was all right, and that so far as this side was concerned it was all right. I asked Mr. Camp, if I furnished this man, what interest he could allow. He said that he had to pay, in one instance, forty thousand dollars to secure a passage for one party to go down, and that one-half the whole interest in the business went to parties in Norfolk.

*Q.* To whom was this forty thousand dollars paid, as you understood?

*A.* To the parties in charge of the Government end of the canal, either the military or naval authorities; I do not know which. I asked no questions at all in reference to the matter.

*Q.* To whom was this half interest paid in Norfolk, as you understand?

*A.* To different parties in Norfolk; he did not give me the names.

*Q.* What did you understand him to be the whole extent of this transaction?

*A.* He told me the profits on it would be at least twelve hundred thousand dollars.

*Q.* Did you understand from him that it was already so divided that he could not entertain any other interest?

A. Yes; he would not make any definite proposition.

Q. What was it he wanted you for?

A. He wanted simply to find out through me some party who would go through the lines.

Q. Do you know to what extent Camp and his associates sent goods through the rebel lines?

A. He told me they had a vessel go from Baltimore every Wednesday.

Q. Where did he say the vessel went to?

A. Through the Albemarle Canal to a point in North Carolina, on some river—I think the Chowan. I did not ask as to the gross amount of goods sent through.

Q. What did you infer from what he told you?

A. I inferred that they had been doing an extensive business.

Q. Must it not have been an extensive business to have insured a profit of twelve hundred thousand dollars on one transaction?

A. Certainly; unless the profits were very large.

Q. Who did Camp tell you his associates were in this transaction?

A. He told me the names of several in Baltimore, but, for the life of me, I cannot mention but one.

Q. Who was that one?

A. That one he mentioned on several occasions—Prescott Smith. He told me of other names, which I cannot remember. I asked him if he had never sent a man through before. He told me he had sent a captain, whose name, it strikes me, was Adams (I am not positive), who went through the lines, and was taken sick; that he had just received information, through a lady who came from there, that he was not expected to live, and he, Camp, was feeling very badly about it. He wished I would help him out of the scrape.

Q. Then you understood the reason of his coming to you was to get some one whom he could trust to go through to Richmond, to take the place of the agent who had been taken sick there, and who was not expected to live?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you recommend him to anybody?

A. I told him I could, but I think he made up his mind, after a while, not to do any thing more with me. I asked him what he could do—what guarantee he could give that the man should not get into trouble on the other side. He said he would give him letters to Mr. Sedden, and Mr. Trenholm, such as would guarantee him safety on the other side.

Q. Has there any thing further been said in regard to this matter between you and him?

A. Nothing further has been done.

Q. What was the reason of breaking off?

A. After that I saw a notice of the capture of the steamer *Philadelphia*, which Mr. Lane had. I think I introduced the subject again to Camp, and that Camp told me that the thing had got set back, and that he would do nothing more about it at present.

Q. Have you ever heard any thing since?

A. No; nothing has been communicated to me at all since.

*Q.* Did Camp ever show you any papers, or writing, in this connection?

*A.* No; he only proposed to give them.

*Q.* Did he admit to you that he had been in correspondence with any of the rebel authorities on this subject?

*A.* He did not say correspondence. He admitted to me that he had arrangements with the rebel authorities.

*Q.* Did he admit to you that he had had any connection with correspondence with Beverley Tucker?

*A.* No.

*Q.* What rebel authorities did he refer to?

*A.* None but the two previously mentioned—the rebel secretaries of war and treasury.

*Q.* Did you understand from him that this large amount of stationery went through?

*A.* No; I never did. I do not know whether it went through or not. I only know that he stated to me the arrangements.

*Q.* Are there any other matters that you can state, connected with this investigation?

*A.* I do not know that I remember any other.

It seems incredible that in the midst of the most tragical scenes that war has ever created, the very arena of conflict should be the busy field of mercenary and lawless trade. The civil strife awakened all the passions of men—the best and the worst; and the “spirit of the age” intensified their unparalleled activity.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### SPECULATION AND FRAUD.

Devices of Contractors—Detection of Forage Contractor—Appeal to the President—Further Frauds as “Silent Partner”—Report on Forage and Chartered Vessels—Calumnious Charges Refuted—General Report of Transactions.

MANY of the ingenious devices resorted to by contractors, by which, to gain their fraudulent ends without risk of detection have already been disclosed; but I shall here give another illustration, which, on account of its boldness and success, deserves especial notice.

I detected a conspicuous Government contractor in extensive speculations in the delivery of forage. He was arrested and placed in the “Old Capitol prison.” His father, very indignant at his son’s imprisonment on such an accusation, which he, in simple faith, considered unmerited, and which would inevitably bring disgrace upon his family, applied to the Secretary of War for his release. The father was a prominent politician of Pennsylvania, and, at the time of his interview with the Secretary, was accompanied by Members of Congress, besides other friends.

He appeared to rest in the belief that there would be little or no difficulty in obtaining the acquittal of his son, and strongly urged, as a reason, the absurdity of supposing that a gentleman of character so high, could have designedly defrauded the Government.

But the Secretary of War, having sufficient evidence to be convinced of the guilt of the contractor, was unmoved by his entreaties, and refused to grant his petition.

Not discouraged by the vain attempt, he next made application to President Lincoln. During this interview, the prisoner’s cause was not the only topic of conversation but Colonel Baker’s discipline and rule constituted also a

very important and lengthy one. The patriotic Congressmen denounced the latter in unqualified terms, for having had the audacity to arrest a highly respectable citizen, and confine him within the walls of the American Bastile. They remarked that such outrages, committed by *detectives*, if allowed, would arouse the people, who would hurl from their offices these minions of power.

They seemed to think that, if they could convince the President of the righteousness of their attacks upon the detective system, their work toward the release of the prisoner would be more speedily accomplished.

This, with much more, delivered in a very emphatic manner, made so strong a plea, that Mr. Lincoln thought it necessary to consult me. He accordingly sent for me, and requested me to relate to him all the circumstances connected with the detection and arrest of the contractor.

I gave him as explicit an account as I could, and then asked his permission to hold the prisoner in custody twelve hours longer; adding that if, at the expiration of that time, I should be unable to produce facts sufficiently proving his guilt, and my rightful authority for arresting him, I would consent to his acquittal.

The President approved of this proposition, which was sent to the prisoner's friends; and the next morning, his father, attended by the Congressional delegation, referred to before, called at the War Department, to notify the Secretary that the President had promised to set the prisoner at liberty.

The same morning, I had carried to the Secretary of War an extended and unreserved confession of guilt by the contractor. This was now produced, and read in the presence of the whole company. In it, the writer very minutely related the manner in which he committed the frauds; he also, to prove his sincerity, handed to me thirty-two thousand dollars, one of the items in his speculations at the expense of the Government.

The effect upon so proud a father of the overwhelming intelligence conveyed in this full confession of the contractor, and before so numerous an audience, may be, perhaps, partially, but never fully imagined. The undeniable evidence

of his son's guilt, coming so forcibly upon him, at the very moment that he had fondly anticipated would clear him from all suspicions, and place him higher than before in public opinion, on account of his being so unjustly arrested and imprisoned, bowed him down with shame and sorrow.

The distinguished friends who had accompanied him to the Department, and who, with him, had anticipated a far different issue of their proceedings, were speechless with astonishment and chagrin.

The silence was finally disturbed by a melancholy allusion to the natural depravity of man, and soon afterward the uncomfortable parties dispersed.

This short but sad sketch of the fraudulent undertakings of a contractor, is but a solitary instance, among many others of a similar kind, which might be recorded.

The Secretary of War, wisely judging that the criminal had forfeited all just claim to public benefit, passed an order, which took from him the privilege of making any further contracts with the Government. But so steeped in villainy was his nature, that he concluded to evade the order, and still, though in a more surreptitious manner, pursue his swindling operations.

He submitted a proposal, through a partner in business, to the department quartermaster at Alexandria, to furnish what is called "mixed grain," or oats and corn, in the proportion of twenty pounds of oats and twelve of corn. It will be well to remark that, in this transaction, he took especial care to keep his name secret, and acted, therefore, as the "silent partner."

Oats were worth ninety, and corn forty cents. Up to this time, no mixed grain had been received by the Government. The contractor, therefore, prepared a glowing statement of the advantages of the grain to the Government. His enthusiastic assertions regarding the advantages to be obtained from the mixed grain were so convincing, that, upon the recommendation of the department quartermaster, the Government authorized a contract for the delivery of it, to the large amount of three million bushels.

I was ignorant of the negotiations until the affair had arrived at its consummation. Then, as confident as if I had

been cognizant of the whole development of the transaction, of a fraudulent operation, I immediately commenced the work of its detection.

It is manifest that the difference of price in the two kinds of grain was considerable ; and, therefore, it was an advantage, which the contractor would not willingly let slip by, to deliver a greater proportion of oats than of corn, as the price of the former was so much greater than the other.

The profits in this single contract we may safely estimate at not less than the almost incredible sum of five hundred thousand dollars.

The history of this stupendous fraud cannot better be ascertained than by examining the appended report, which will clearly reveal the method by which it was discovered. The perusal cannot fail to interest the reader, as it is so explicit and truthful in its details.

The report contains, also, a statement in regard to chartered vessels, showing the improper uses to which they were adapted—another taper, at least, flinging its light into the darkness which concealed the workers of iniquity. I quote passages only from the report on the case :—

A sack was taken from each vessel then lying in the harbor, and one sack each from three different warehouses at Alexandria, for the purpose of separating the oats from the corn, in order to determine the exact proportion of each.

The first experiment resulted as follows :—

Thirty-two pounds of mixed grain, when carefully separated, showed 13 pounds of corn and 13 pounds of oats.

Second experiment showed 13½ pounds of corn, 13½ pounds of oats.

Third	"	"	16	"	"	16	"	"
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Fourth	"	"	15½	"	"	16½	"	"
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Fifth	"	"	16	"	"	16	"	"
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The grain from which these samples were taken was then being delivered by a Mr. S., under a contract, as I then understood, with Captain F.

I beg leave to submit a statement concerning the improper expenditure of five thousand twenty-nine dollars and sixty-five cents, on the steamtug *Clyde*, owned in Philadelphia, and for some time past under charter to the Government. It appears that the tug referred to was used almost exclusively by Captain F. and his friends as a pleasure-boat. The sum referred to above was expended in the purchase of fine carpets, oilcloths, chinaware, painting, decorating, &c. The repairs on the tug *Ella* amount to nearly two thousand dollars. She was also principally employed in carrying pleasure parties down the

river, under direct orders from Captain F. It is a well-known fact, that these and other boats under charter to the Government, were almost daily engaged in conveying pleasure parties, composed largely of females of the most abandoned character. It can be shown, by the most undeniable and positive proof, that these boats made frequent night excursions, having on board Captain F., and other officers of his and other departments, each accompanied by a strumpet, or public woman of the town. In fact, I am informed by persons, who are known to be truthful and reliable, that the tug *Clyde* was especially fitted up, under the direction of Captain F., for the accommodation of these characters.

I find, on examination of the bills of lading now on file in the Quarter-master's Department at Alexandria, that no less than twenty-one vessels have arrived at Alexandria, during the past year, containing private cargoes, in which the Government had no interest, directly or indirectly, consigned to Captain F., or Captain S. The object of so consigning them must be apparent to any one giving the matter a moment's reflection. I am informed by the owners of some of these vessels, that they obtained Captain F.'s consent to having these vessels consigned to him, in order to facilitate their shipments, and also to enable them to procure tugs to tow them up the river, when necessary, and also to enable them to discharge their cargoes without delay. During the time that I was engaged in gathering rebel property in Virginia, I took possession of two or three deserted private dwellings, containing very valuable furniture and libraries. This property was turned over to Captain F. From recent investigations, it is proved that the most valuable portion of this furniture was shipped to Boston by Captain F., for his own private use, and other portions were either given away or sold to persons in Alexandria, where it now is. Many of the valuable books referred to can be found in possession of officers or persons in Alexandria in Government employ. With this report, I forward you a number of affidavits, some of which are very important, made by the recent employees of Captain F. From these affidavits it is clearly shown that nearly all the workmen engaged in the carpenter, carriage, harness, and repair shops, were not only knowing to the manufacture of a great variety of furniture, carriages, harness, saddles, bridles, &c., for private individuals, but actually received money from such individuals, in payment for such work. The following are the names of the employees referred to: J. D. and J. F. W. W. (now in the Old Capitol Prison), carpenter shop; J. R., F. B., J. S., and S. S., harness shop; J. E., blacksmith shop.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

I take this opportunity to correct an idea which, I am aware, is very prevalent in the minds of the people; but one which, I am convinced, every unprejudiced person will not entertain when he has patiently given attention to my vindication.

It was thought that while I was, in a measure, responsible to the Government, in common with other officials, a large portion of my service was discretionary, therefore, making it practically my independent action.

There could hardly be a more erroneous impression existing among the people.

My services were generally acts of strict obedience to written orders from the Secretary of War. When otherwise, as was sometimes the case, a report in detail of every act of my bureau, was furnished and indorsed by the Secretary.

So that, it is clear to the reader, the services of my bureau were not independent, but, indeed, quite the contrary; and that the honorable Secretary was as responsible for them as though they were executed in the Department of which he was the official director.

And another matter I take the liberty to bring before the intelligent public and elucidate clearly, as, rather to my surprise, it appears to have been entirely misunderstood.

Considerable fault has been found in regard to the arrests that I have made, or ordered to be made by my detectives, and not a few strong epithets have been applied to me, in consequence.

I must confess I am not indifferent to such a state of public feeling as must necessarily exist, to produce this fault-finding and these bitter invectives I have mentioned.

On the contrary, I am sensitive in regard to my honor, at least in the wish to be considered as not failing in my duty; and I take some pains to eradicate from the minds of my countrymen such unjust suspicions concerning me, and to have them understand, as thoroughly as I can, my true position, and appreciate my intentions.

At the close of each week, a full and carefully prepared report of arrests was made and submitted to the War Department. This report contained a list of the persons arrested, the charges brought against them, the circumstances connected with the discovery and seizure of the arrested parties, and an inventory of all the property found on them.

Irrespective of all this, the superintendent of the Old Capitol Prison furnished daily a written statement of all

prisoners committed to that institution, with a strict account of each case.

With these facts before them, the public cannot judge otherwise than that the War Department must have been cognizant of every significant detail in the transactions of the bureau.

I likewise, at intervals, furnished the Secretary of War with general reports of the operations of my department, of which the following one serves as a fair specimen :—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON, September 8, 1863. }

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :—

SIR—I beg leave respectfully to submit the following report of the actual operations of the department under my charge, from the date of my appointment as Provost-Marshal of the War Department, September 9, 1862, up to and including the 31st day of August, 1863. At an early day in the history of the present war, it became apparent that the vastly increased and increasing operations of the War Department, involving the control and disposition of immense amounts of Government property, its constant exposure to loss and depreciation by the acts of careless or dishonest agents, involved the necessity of a police or detective department, to act under the immediate orders of the Secretary of War, and whose special duty it should be to prevent the loss and damage of the Government property under control of the War Department, to detect frauds, recover the moneys or other property of the Government improperly appropriated, and bring to punishment those guilty of treasonable, corrupt, or dishonest acts. With this broad field of operations open before me, I commenced my active services as Provost-Marshal of the War Department at the date indicated; a year has elapsed, and its results, as connected with this Department, not only establish the soundness of judgment which organized it, but demonstrate fully the absolute necessity of its continuance. I may here be permitted to remark, that while the duties of my office have been arduous in the extreme, their faithful performance has been the prolific cause of innumerable complaints, and the most active and untiring exertions by persons, often of high official position, to interfere with my plans, and bring the office and myself into disrepute at the War Department. Against such attacks, and the embittered assaults of the men whose plans of plunder and treason I have frustrated, I have been sustained by the consciousness of right intentions, and the always fair and unprejudicial support awarded me by the Secretary of War. With the organization of the battalion of Mounted Rangers, it became apparent to me that a decrease in my detective force might be effected without interfering with its efficiency, and I therefore took the liberty of suggesting the propriety of such decrease, and I am now again enabled, with the continued increase of my mounted force, to submit a proposition for a still further reduction. I therefore respectfully recommend that the detective force under my command be

reduced to the following limits: one deputy, two clerks, ten detective officers, one stable and storehouse superintendent, and two stable men; the deputy and two clerks to be paid \$150 each per month, detectives and superintendent \$100 each per month. With this force, and a limitation of the duties to be performed to the suppression and investigation of frauds against the Government, recovery of Government property lost or stolen, and the arrest of contraband traders and traitors, I have no doubt that the detective branch of the War Department will maintain its position as a self-sustaining, indispensable, and thus far, as the following exhibit will show, successful organization. During the year I have recovered and turned over to the proper authorities the following amounts of money, recovered from defaulting clerks, quartermasters, and contractors:—

A. M. W., forage contractor, defrauded the Quartermaster's Department by false forage receipts, turned over to Judge Turner, \$52,500; J. W. H., Assistant Quartermaster Tenth Massachusetts Volunteers, absconded to Canada with \$16,000 Government funds, recovered from him \$10,600; C. C., horse contractor, Baltimore, false bills rendered to the Government, recovered and turned over to Judge Turner, \$1,500; M. H. W., forage contractor, overcharge and bribing clerks to make false entries, turned over to Colonel Rucker, \$9,989.30; G. W. L., forage contractor, received pay for invoice of forage delivered to Government, *twice*, turned over to Colonel Belger, \$6,200; F. A. W., wood contractor, overcharge on his account, recovered from him, and turned over to Judge Turner, \$2,700; F. W., clerk in quartermaster's office, Twenty-second and Ninth Streets, money received as bribes to make false entries on forage receipts, recovered from him, and turned over to Judge Turner, \$2,700; F. W., clerk in quartermaster's office, Twenty-second and G Streets, money received as bribes to make false entries on forage receipts, recovered from him, and turned over to Judge Turner, \$2,000; T. E., recovered from him on forged ice receipts, and turned over to Judge Turner, \$1,800; F. McC., paymaster's clerk, stolen from Major McFarlan, paymaster, in Treasury notes, turned over to Paymaster General, \$40,000; making a total of cash recovered and paid over of \$127,289.30. During the same period I have recovered and turned over to the Quartermaster General, Government property of various kinds of the appraised value of \$284,359, including 695 horses, 70 mules, 4,117 muskets, 375 rifles, 31 carbines, 100 pistols, and 224 sabres, and other property of various descriptions, for a more full and detailed statement of which I beg leave to refer to my monthly reports, on file in the Quartermaster-General's Department. I may be permitted to state, however, that a very large proportion of the arms, &c., recovered by me, as aforesaid, were picked up singly or in small quantities, from saloons, private houses, rum-shops, and other receptacles of stolen property, and were not in any case gathered from battle-fields or abandoned depots.

During the same period of time, the entire expenses of my department have been \$58,760.92, of which \$36,778.69 have been paid for salaries; the balance, of \$21,982.23, having accrued from various incidentals, including rent, transportation, expenses and pay of witnesses attending investigations, courts martial, and military commissions. And I can further say, with entire

truthfulness, that the recovery of this large amount of Government property is due entirely to the active and energetic measures adopted by this department, and but for its existence would have been a total loss to the Government; and also, that the investigations and arrests which resulted in the recovery of the \$127,289 above mentioned, were commenced, carried on, and successfully consummated in and through this office.

A careful examination and comparison of the above statements, and the monthly reports upon which they are based, will suggest the following conclusions:—

1st. That the detective force connected with the War Department has demonstrated its efficiency, and positively established the highest proof of the necessity of its continuance.

2d. That, as an economical organization, it will compare favorably with any other department of the Government, showing a balance of account in its favor, over and above all expenses, for the first year of its existence, of \$352,887.58.

I conclude this report by remarking, that the recent detection of important frauds perpetrated on several paymasters of the United States Army, and the arrest of the parties engaged therein, was the work of this department, and that I am now engaged in the investigation of several matters requiring intelligent and experienced detective action, and important to the interests of the Government and the War Department.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed) L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Provost-Marshal War Department.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

### COUNTERFEITERS AND COUNTERFEITING

Bank-note Paper and Printing—Spider-leg Paper—Gwynn and Clark's Experiments  
—Corrupt Literature in the Army.

THE facts incident to this subject, which I am about to disclose, will exceedingly surprise the greater portion of those who peruse these pages. They cannot fail to be startled and indignant at the extent to which counterfeiting was carried on during the war, and the boldness, added to the respectability of the parties engaged in it.

One of the necessities created by the war, was the circulation of paper currency to a much greater extent than formerly. The Government found it necessary to resort to unusual means of supplying the medium of such financial need.

The case of Stuart Gwynn and S. M. Clark has been narrated ; and it cannot be forgotten that Gwynn's statement, while in prison, treats largely of the plans and shrewd devices adopted by himself and Clark, to make the Government issue proof against the counterfeiters' art. He says :—

“ During my visits to Washington, while getting ready to supply paper according to contract, I learned from Mr. S. M. Clark the *broad plan* that was laid down to make the *issues perfectly safe*. It involved not only a new kind of paper, but a new style of ‘ engraving,’ a new method of printing (if it could be done), new kinds of inks, &c. I entered heartily into the work of assisting by my *very great* (that is admitted by all) chemical and mechanical talents and knowledge to make practical the different parts of the plan.”

These gentlemen had persuaded Secretary Chase that they had found the philosopher's stone in this matter of cur-

rency, and its acceptance would compel the counterfeiters to abandon even the attempt to imitate the unquestioned currency of the Republic. On the contrary, the result was the fruitless expenditure of millions upon the remunerative experiment to the parties undertaking it.

In the whole history of bank-note printing, there never has been a system adopted in all its details, including style of paper, presses, ink, &c., so easily, extensively, and successfully imitated, as that inaugurated by Secretary Chase.

Immediately after the passage of the law creating this note-printing bureau, a large number of applications were made to him for the adoption of some peculiar sort of paper, ink, and presses. The oldest, most respectable, and responsible bank-note companies in the United States, submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury various proposals, each having its own style of paper, type, and form.

About this time Mr. Gwynn appeared in the arena of benevolent and patriotic enterprise, a competitor with the bank-note companies, in this service for the country.

Among all those who submitted plans to the Secretary of the Treasury, he was the most visionary, irresponsible, and disastrous, and to the mind of a sensible person would, even in the outset, have seemed unworthy of notice. But Mr. Chase must have had good reason to deem him otherwise, as he favored him so extraordinarily.

The old and established methods of bank-note printing were discarded, and a complete revolution was effected, based upon the "broad plan" presented by Messrs. Gwynn and Clark, whose peculiar excellence was, to make the currency of the Government "*perfectly safe.*"

With all just allowance for selfish motives in the bank-note companies, in urging the adoption of their system, the singular infatuation cannot be interpreted, which so beguiled the honorable Secretary as to render him unmindful of all ancient precedents, and partial to the chaotic schemes of the new tinkers in currency.

It is a matter of history and record, that in the face of the most emphatic declarations of practical men who had been long engaged in the manufacture of notes, namely, W. P. Alexander, C. Wilson, Hatch, Jones, Dunlap, Butler, and

others, he "accepted and adopted" Stuart Gwynn's phantom scheme, representing very fittingly the natural and cultivated eccentricities of the man.

I will cite a single feature of this grand scheming—the invention and adoption by the Secretary of the "*spider-leg paper.*"

It derived its appellation from the manner in which it was made. Gwynn had woven into it minute fragments of silk thread, suggesting the resemblance of that insect in its means of locomotion.

But, as we shall see, the greater resemblance to the cunning and poisonous trapper, whose standing invitation to the fly, to be at home in his parlor, is familiar even to a child, lay in the *nature* of the scheme, and its depleting effect upon the treasury of the nation.

The quality of the paper demanded peculiar presses, of Gwynn's invention, which would cost the Government two thousand dollars each, while those then in use were only one hundred and forty dollars each.

The spider had worked assiduously, forming an attractive web, fascinating and ensnaring no ordinary fly, but one which may be likened to the fabled hen, as it yielded golden treasures to the principal actor in the delicate transaction.

The press was called hydrostatic, the principles of which were old and primitive as the law of gravitation; it had been used in Germany for years, and its impracticability and worthlessness were fully demonstrated by the large piles of broken machines and presses, stacked up, for months, under the shadow of the Treasury building, like the ruins caused by a railway collision.

It is due to Mr. Gwynn, and an act of simple justice, to state here, that his erratic and expensive experiments could not have been made without the assistance of another, who was in the Government parlor, while the former was busy in the foreground of the financiering. I refer to the part taken by Mr. S. M. Clark. And who is S. M. Clark? The question is satisfactorily answered in the authentic reports of Congressional investigations, in which he largely figures. A single instance I have before furnished, in the report on Mr. Gwynn's connection with the Treasury Department.

The consequences attending this whole course of insane action by the Treasury Department, culminated in flooding the land with counterfeit Government currency. Scarcely was the ink dry on the first note from the press of the Treasury, before its bogus counterpart appeared in circulation.

There have been only three of all the issues of currency, including about thirty-five, which have not been successfully counterfeited.

When, several months since, it was intimated by the efficient head of the Secret Service of the Treasury Department, that many of the counterfeits in circulation, particularly the one hundred dollar compound interest note, were printed from the original plate, Mr. Clark, and even the Secretary himself, affected the utmost contempt for the report, ridiculing the idea that any impressions could be taken from the genuine plates in Clark's keeping. And after Mr. Wood had taken from counterfeiters fac-simile impressions from the plates, an attempt was made to suppress the fact, and, for a while, succeeded. A recent investigation, before Commissioner Osborne of New York City, shows that Clark's employees, both male and female, stole the Government plates, in broad daylight, from which they had taken lead impressions, electrotyped, and from which they printed the hundred-dollar notes so skilfully that even the Department itself received the counterfeits, or rather, indirectly, copies of them.

For the truth of the above startling record, I refer the incredulous reader to the investigations before Commissioner Osborne, just now alluded to, and from which I quote:—

NEW YORK, July 31.

The evidence given before Commissioner Osborne in the recent case of counterfeiting goes to show, if it is to be relied upon, that one Holmes, and a confederate named Treat, concocted a plan with Eli and Edwin Langdon, father and son, who were printers in the Treasury Department. Holmes was to furnish the Langdons, through the agency of Treat, with lead plates, known technically as "leads." The Langdons were to take impressions from the genuine plates in the Department on these leads, and return them to Holmes.

Edwin Langdon, the son, had a woman who lived with him as his wife, and they passed for husband and wife in Washington. The woman was

employed in the Department to lay sheets on the press, and was known there by the name of Minnie Morton.

The witness testifies that these leads were given to Holmes by Langdon. Minnie testifies that she knew the plates were being counterfeited by her so-called husband, and Langdon, the father, also testified that he knew of it.

At the close of the prosecution, one of the counsel stated that the Solicitor of the Treasury had agreed not to allow these counterfeit plates to be put in evidence against Holmes; and the case was adjourned to give Mr. Chatfield an opportunity to prove his assertions. Holmes also asserts that it was positively promised by Mr. Jordan that if he would give up the plates, and not have any more to do with counterfeiting, he would not be prosecuted.

- If these assertions are true, and Mr. Chatfield gives his son as authority, a most singular *dénouement* will be given to the affair. None of these counterfeiters will be punished. Holmes will be let go by one Government official; Eli Langdon, Treat, and the two women have been allowed to turn State's evidence; Edwin Langdon is dead, and no one remains to be punished.

At this date, my attention was attracted to a fruitful source of gain at the expense of virtue, and even decency: the traffic in corrupt literature and art. I know of no lower grade of depravity than that of this shameless business. The vile book, photograph, and wood-cut, were scattered by sutlers, mail agents, and others, throughout the army. I found them in large quantities in the mail-bags of the Government. The extent to which the fiendish business of ruining the morals and bodies of men was carried, would scarcely be believed by the good people of the rural districts, or even of the cities.

The art of photography and printing has flooded the country with these cheap and shameless appeals to the lowest and most brutal passions. No quiet hamlet is so sheltered by kindly moral influences, that it is not reached by the poison of this trade. But the absence from home of the many thousands of our volunteers—separated as they were from all the softening and elevating restraints of domestic and social life—afforded an opportunity for these human vampires, who do their work by stealth, unknown before in this country. They appreciated and improved it.

The illegal and infamous source of gain came to my knowledge in various ways and from different quarters. The post-office being the principal channel through which the business was carried on, I made a formal application to the Postmaster-General for aid in reaching the outrage:—

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, June 3, 1863. }

Hon. MONTGOMERY P. BLAIR, Postmaster-General:—

SIR—I am reliably informed that large numbers of obscene books and prints are constantly passing down through the post-office here to the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac. I would respectfully ask if some means could not be used to prevent it.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,  
Provost-Marshal War Department.

I received all the encouragement I desired, and entered immediately to check, if I could not break up, the disgraceful traffic. I soon got on the track of a large quantity of the vile goods, on their way to the army. They were seized, and their estimated value, according to the purchase-price, was not less than twenty-two thousand dollars. It was decided to make a bonfire of this pile of sensual trash. Our pure-minded President intimated that he would like to see the conflagration. It was kindled in front of the White House, and he enjoyed the sight, with the zest of a noble nature, to which vice was a loathing.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### A FEMALE ADVENTURER.

Woman in the Rebellion—Her Aid indispensable in the worst as well as the best Causes—A Spicy Letter—Miss A. J.—Vidocq's Experience.

“A WOMAN in every plot” is almost a proverb among those who have had much to do with successful conspiracies and treachery.

It will be recollected that Miss Ford, aid-de-camp of the cavalry commander Stuart, betrayed General Stoughton and his staff to guerrilla Moseby’s band. I find a spicy epistle on the subject, from a lady of the first standing, among the intercepted correspondence of the war, which is a fair specimen of refined hate to the North, along with a touch of sympathy with a betrayed and captive Union officer:—

#### GEORGETOWN.

DEAR J.—Ina is sending off a letter, in which, I presume, she tells you the news of the day. (You know how much of *that article* there is in Georgetown.) So I will commence at once with my little piece of business, although I presume you have heard that General Stoughton is now a prisoner in Richmond. *Thank Heaven!* He has at last reached the desired haven, but I fear he is rather in a destitute condition. *Three impudent rebels* dashed into Fairfax and took the gentleman out of his bed, with a number of other soldiers, horses, and contrabands; and I hear that some were in a state of nudity. What a grand entrée it must have been into Richmond. But while I rejoice that his little hands are kept from “picking and stealing,” and that his noble efforts for crushing this wicked rebellion are now confined within four walls, yet I can’t help feeling a little sorry for the discomfort he will necessarily suffer, and which he richly deserves—a prisoner among strangers, and he must be without clothing, money, or any of the necessaries of life. Now, Aunt Josie, please ask Colonel Leftrich, or any of the family, if at any time they go to Richmond, won’t they be so kind as to go and see him. You know, Joe, they are people of *much wealth* and standing, and no matter what General Stoughton might want, in the way of money or clothing, would be most cheerfully returned. Probably Colonel Leftrich would write to some friend

in Richmond. His mother and sister, who were with him at the time, are both inclined to be Southern, and would be so grateful for any kindness shown to General Stoughton. When you write to Cousin E., ask him, if he comes to Richmond, which he very often does, to go and see him, and do any thing for him he can. If you can't get any one else, please write to John Hunter, and beg him to go at once, and do what he can. I highly approve of his being kept behind a bolt and bar. But please, Aunt Joe, attend to it at once, and ask Colonel Leftrich if he will not write to some friend. You know, at least Ina told you in her last letter, that after you left, General Stoughton went to Mrs. G. L.'s and got Charley's valise for me; and he has always been so remarkably kind to me, that I am very anxious, in some way, to repay it.

Yours, &c.,

FANNIE.

One of the most strangely romantic female histories of the war, which came within the investigations of the bureau, was that of Miss A. J.

Statements have been already made concerning female visitors to the army. Much of the information communicated to the rebels was given by these irresponsible characters passing through rebel and Union lines. The condition of morals among officers who found congenial companionship in the society of such women, is apparent, and needs no coloring from pen or pencil.

This unfortunate and degraded young woman was arrested, while attempting to pass the Confederate pickets, within three days after giving her solemn parole not to cross the Potomac into Virginia during the rebellion. Upon the earnest request of the Governor and a distinguished Senator of Massachusetts, she was again released from confinement, on parole; after which she made the subjoined confession:—

#### STATEMENT OF MISS A. J.

My name is A. J. I was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Am twenty years of age. I have neither father or mother living. I have two sisters. In August, 1861, I left my home at Cambridge, without the knowledge or consent of my uncle, sisters, or friends, and came direct to Washington, with the intention of offering my services as a hospital-nurse, which was refused, on account of my age. I then procured a pass from General Wool to visit the different camps in and about Baltimore. I had no particular object or business in the army, but went out of mere curiosity. I spent some months in this way. While in the various camps, I was furnished by the commanding officers with a tent, and sometimes occupied quarters with the officers. In the fall of 1862 I went to the Army of the Potomac, with no different object

in view; spent some time at General S.'s headquarters at Fairfax Court-House. During this time was the guest of the General and his staff officers. After General S. left Fairfax Court House I went to Centreville. I do not now recollect who was in command at the time. I remained at Centreville but a short time, then went to Falls Church, from there to Fairfax Court House. In June or July last I attempted to pass the Federal pickets, for the purpose of visiting Drainesville, then outside our lines; was arrested, and taken to General S.'s headquarters, and by him sent to General M., who at once released me, and sent me back to General S.'s headquarters, where I remained until the army returned from Maryland. General S. was then relieved, when I joined General K.'s command, and went to the front, as the friends and companions of General C. We made our headquarters near Hartwood Church. Stopping at this point, General K. became very jealous of General C.'s attentions to me, and went to General M.'s headquarters and charged me with being a rebel spy. I was then arrested and sent to General M., Military Governor of Washington, who committed me to the Old Capitol Prison. I have spent two years and a half in the Union army, and during this time have been the guest of different officers, they furnishing me with horses, orderlies, escorts, sentinels at my tent, or quarter rations, &c. I have invariably received passes from these officers, to go and return when and where I pleased. During the time that I was with the Army of the Potomac I invariably wore major straps. I have repeatedly passed the outside pickets of the Federal army, several miles beyond, into the rebel lines; and was once captured by Moseby and taken to Aldie, to the house of a Mrs. Yankes Davis, whose husband is a Federal scout or spy. I was detained one or two days, then allowed to return. I further state, that during no part of the time that I was with the Federal army was I employed as guide, scout, spy, or hospital-nurse, but, as stated before, a companion to the various commanding officers, as a private friend or companion. On the 7th day of November, 1863, I was released from the Old Capitol Prison, by order of the Secretary of War. During the time of my confinement I became intimately acquainted with Captain M., Mr. J. S. L., the superintendent, clerks, and others. On my release Mr. L. advised me to go to the house of a Mrs. McC., where I was at the time of my arrest. In consequence of Mr. L.'s intimacy with me, during my imprisonment, Mr. W. discharged him. I then went to Colonel J. A. H., at the War Department, and informed him that L. had been discharged, and the reason. Colonel H. then directed that L. should be assigned to duty at General A.'s headquarters, on condition that I would leave the city and return to my home at Cambridge. I did go to Boston, as I promised, and Mr. L. obtained his situation at General A.'s headquarters. I remained away about three weeks, when I returned to Mrs. McC.'s house.

On my discharge from prison, I signed a parole, one of the conditions of which was "that I should not enter the State of Virginia" without proper permission, during the rebellion; but, notwithstanding this obligation, I have made several ineffectual attempts to do so. In reference to my present arrest, I desire to state that I informed Mr. G. R. that I had procured a pass, in connection with Major W., of the Treasury Department, and Mrs. Moxen, that on

Saturday afternoon last I proceeded in a carriage, with the two persons referred to, viz., Mr. W. and Mrs. M., to the Aqueduct Bridge, where we were halted by the guard, who informed us that Mr. W. and Mrs. M. could go on, but that Miss J. could not; that I then returned to Mrs. McC.'s. I also informed Mr. R. that said pass was procured for me through the influence of a brigadier-general (not naming him). I also informed others, at Mrs. McC.'s, that I made the attempt to cross, but was turned back by the guard. During the entire time since my leaving home, in 1861, I have led a very roving, and, may be, questionable life. I am now very unwell, owing to my long confinement and other causes, and desire to be released from custody, in order that I may return to my home and friends; and, if released, I pledge myself not to return to Washington during the present rebellion.

The proper officer certified as follows:—

*City of Washington, District of Columbia:*

Personally appeared before me A. J., who, being by me duly sworn, on her oath said that she had read the foregoing statement, and that she knew the contents thereof; that all the statements therein contained are true, to the best of her knowledge. That said statement is made without fear or compulsion, or promise of reward, but freely on her part.

The great detective, Vidocq, quoted in the first part of this volume, has an instance both of woman's crafty management, and his own, particularly interesting in this connection:—

It is very rare that a fugitive galley-slave escapes with any intention of amendment; most frequently the aim is to gain the capital, and then put in practice the vicious lessons acquired at the Bagnes, which, like most of our prisons, are schools in which they perfect themselves in the art of appropriating to themselves the property of another. Nearly all celebrated robbers only became expert after passing some time at the galleys. Some have undergone five or six sentences before they became thorough scoundrels; such as the famous Victor Desbois, and his comrade, Mongenet, called Le Tambour (Drummer), who, during various visits to Paris, committed a vast many of those robberies on which people love to descant as proofs of boldness and address.

These two men, who, for many years, were sent away with every chain, and as frequently escaped, were once more back again in Paris; the police got information of it, and I received the orders to search for them. All testified that they had acquaintances with other robbers no less formidable than themselves. A music mistress, whose son, called Noel with the Spectacles, a celebrated robber, was suspected of harboring these thieves. Madame Noel was a well-educated woman, and an admirable musician; she was esteemed a most accomplished performer by the middle class of tradespeople, who employed her to give lessons to their daughters. She was well known in the Marias and the Quartier Saint Denis, where the polish of her manners, the

elegance of her language, the gentility of her dress, and that indescribable air of superiority, which the reverses of fortune can never entirely destroy, gave rise to the current belief that she was a member of one of those numerous families to whom the Revolution had only left its hauteur and its regrets.

To those who heard and saw her, without being acquainted, Madame Noel was a most interesting little woman; and besides, there was something touching in her situation; it was a mystery, and no one knew what had become of her husband. Some said that she had been early left in a state of widowhood; others, that she had been forsaken; and a third affirmed that she was a victim of seduction. I know not which of these conjectures approaches nearest the truth, but I know very well that Madame Noel was a little brunette, whose sparkling eye and roguish look were softened down by that gentle demeanor, which seemed to increase the sweetness of her smile, and the tone of her voice, which was in the highest degree musical. There was a mixture of the angel and demon in her face, but the latter perhaps preponderated; for time had developed those traits which characterize evil thoughts.

Madame Noel was obliging and good, but only toward those individuals who were at issue with justice; she received them as the mother of a soldier would welcome the comrade of her son. To insure a welcome with her, it was enough to belong to the same "regiment" as Noel with the Spectacles; and then, as much for love of him, and from inclination, perhaps, she would do all in her power to aid, and was constantly looked upon as a "mother of robbers." At her house, they found shelter; it was she who provided for all their wants. She carried her complaisance so far as to seek "jobs of work" for them; and when a passport was indispensably requisite for their safety, she was not quiet until, by some means, she had succeeded in procuring one. Madame Noel had many friends among her own sex, and it was generally in one of their names that the passport was obtained. A powerful mixture of oxygenated muriatic acid obliterated the writing, and the description of the gentleman who required it, as well as the name which it suited his purpose to assume, replaced the feminine description. Madame Noel had generally by her a supply of these accommodating passports, which were filled according to circumstances, and the wants of the party requiring such assistance.

All the galley-slaves were children of Madame Noel, but those were the most in favor who could give her any account of her son; for them her devotion was boundless. Her house was open to all fugitives, who made it their rendezvous; and there must be gratitude even among them, for the police were informed that they came frequently to Mother Noel's, for the pleasure of seeing her only; she was the confidante of all their plans, all their adventures, all their fears; in fact, they communicated all unreservedly, and never had cause to regret their reliance on her fidelity.

Mother Noel had never seen me; my features were quite unknown to her, although she had frequently heard of my name. There was, then, no difficulty in presenting myself before her, without giving her any cause for alarm; but to get her to point out to me the hiding-place of the men whom I sought to detect, was the end I aimed at, and I felt that it would be impossible to attain it without much skill and management.

At first, I resolved on passing myself off as a fugitive galley-slave; but it was necessary to borrow the name of some thief, whom her son or his comrades had mentioned to her in advantageous terms. Moreover, a little resemblance was positively requisite, and I endeavored to recollect if there were not one of the galley-slaves whom I knew had been associated with Noel with the Spectacles, and I could not remember one of my age, or whose person and features at all resembled mine. At last, by dint of much effort of memory, I recalled to mind one Germain, alias "the Captain," who had been an intimate acquaintance of Noel's, and although our similarity was very slight, yet I determined on personating him. Germain, as well as myself, had often escaped from the Bagnes, and that was the only point of resemblance between us. He was about my age, but a smaller framed man; he had dark-brown hair, mine was light; he was thin, and I tolerably stout; his complexion was sallow, and mine fair, with a very clear skin; besides, Germain had an excessively long nose, took a vast deal of snuff, which, begriming his nostrils outside, and stuffing them up within, gave him a peculiarly nasal tone of voice. I had much to do in personating Germain; but the difficulty did not deter me. My hair, cut *à la mode des bagnes*, was dyed black, as well as my beard, after it had attained a growth of eight days; to embrown my countenance, I washed it with white walnut liquor; and to perfect the imitation, I garnished my upper lip thickly with a kind of coffee-grounds, which I plastered on by means of gum arabic, and thus became as nasal in my twang as Germain himself. My feet were doctored with equal care; I made blisters on them by rubbing in a certain composition, of which I had obtained the receipt at Brest. I also made the marks of the fetters; and when all my toilet was finished, dressed myself in the suitable garb. I had neglected nothing which could complete the metamorphosis—neither the shoes nor the marks of those horrid letters G A L. The costume was perfect; and the only thing wanting was a hundred of those companionable insects which people the solitudes of poverty, and which were, I believe, together with locusts and toads, one of the seven plagues of old Egypt. I procured some for money; and as soon as they were a little accustomed to their new domicile, which was speedily the case, I directed my steps toward the residence of Madame Noel, in the Rue Ticquetonne.

I arrived there, and knocking at the door, she opened it: a glance convincing her how matters stood with me, she desired me to enter, and on finding myself alone with her, I told her who I was. "Ah, my poor lad," she cried, "there is no occasion to tell me where you have come from; I am sure you must be dying with hunger!"

"Oh, yes," I answered, "I am indeed hungry; I have tasted nothing for twenty-four hours."

Instantly, without further question, she went out, and returned with a dish of hog's puddings and a bottle of wine, which she placed before me. I did not eat, I actually devoured; I stuffed myself, and all had disappeared without my saying a word between my first mouthful and my last. Mother Noel was delighted at my appetite, and when the cloth was removed she gave me a dram. "Ah, mother," I exclaimed, embracing her, "you restore me to

life; Noel told me how good and kind you were;" and I then began to give her a statement of how I had left her son eighteen days before, and gave her information of all the prisoners in whom she felt interested. The details were so true and well known, that she could have no idea that I was an impostor.

"You must have heard of me," I continued; "I have gone through many an enterprise, and experienced many a reverse. I am called Germain, or the captain; you must know my name."

"Yes, yes, my friend," she said, "I know you well; my son and his friends have told me of your misfortunes; welcome, welcome, my dear captain. But heavens! what a state you are in: you must not remain in such a plight. I see you are infested with those wretched tormenting beasts who —; but I will get you a change of linen, and contrive something as a comfortable dress for you."

I expressed my gratitude to Madame Noel; and when I saw a good opportunity, without giving cause for the slightest suspicion, I asked what had become of Victor Desbois and his comrade Mongenet. "Desbois and Le Tambour? Ah! my dear, do not mention them, I beg of you," she replied; "that rogue Vidocq has given them very great uneasiness; since one Joseph (Joseph Longueville, an old police inspector), whom they have twice met in the streets, told them that there would soon be a search in this quarter, they have been compelled to cut and run, to avoid being taken."

"What," cried I with a disappointed air, "are they no longer in Paris?"

"Oh, they are not very far distant," replied Mother Noel; "they have not quitted the environs of the 'great village' (Paris): I dare say we shall soon see them, for I trust they will speedily pay me a visit. I think they will be delighted to find you here."

"Oh, I assure you," said I "that they will not be more delighted at the meeting than myself; and if you can write to them, I am sure they would eagerly send for me to join them."

"If I knew where they were," replied Mother Noel, "I would go myself and seek for them to please you; but I do not know their retreat, and the best thing for us to do is to be patient and await their arrival."

In my quality of a new-comer, I excited all Madame Noel's compassion and solicitude, and she attended to nothing but me. "Are you known to Vidocq and his two bull-dogs, Levesque and Compère?" she inquired.

"Alas! yes," was my reply; "they have caught me twice."

"In that case, then, be on your guard: Vidocq is often disguised; he assumes characters, costumes, and shapes, to get hold of unfortunates like yourself."

We conversed together for two hours, when Madame Noel offered me a foot-bath, which I accepted; and when it was prepared, I took off my shoes and stockings, on which she discovered my wounded feet, and said, with a most commiserating tone and manner, "How I pity you; what must you suffer! Why did you not tell me of this at first? you deserve to be scolded for it." And whilst thus reproaching me, she examined my feet; and then pricking the blisters, drew a piece of worsted through each, and anointed my

feet with a salve, which she assured me would have the effect of speedily curing them.

The bath concluded, she brought me some clean linen; and, as she thought of all that was needful, added a razor, recommending me to shave. "I shall then see," she added, "about buying you some workman's clothes, as that is the best disguise for men who wish to pass unnoticed; and besides, good luck will turn up, and then you will get yourself some new ones."

As soon as I was thoroughly cleansed Mother Noel conducted me to a sleeping-room, a small apartment, which served as the workshop for false keys, the entrance to which was concealed by several gowns hanging from a row of pegs. "Here," said she, "is a bed in which your friends have slept three or four times; and you need not fear that the police will hunt you out; you may sleep secure as a dormouse."

"I am really in want of sleep," I replied, and begged her permission to take some repose, on which she left me to myself. Three hours afterward I awoke, and on getting up we renewed our conference. It was necessary to be armed at all points to deceive Madame Noel; there was not a trick or custom of the Bagne with which she was not thoroughly informed; she knew not only the names of all the robbers whom she had seen, but was acquainted with every particular of the life of a great many others; and related with enthusiasm anecdotes of the most noted, particularly of her son, for whom she had as much veneration as love.

"The dear boy, you would be delighted to see him!" said I.

"Yes, yes, overjoyed."

"Well, it is a happiness you will soon enjoy; for Noel has made arrangements for an escape, and is now only awaiting the propitious moment."

Madame Noel was happy in the expectation of seeing her son, and shed tears of tenderness at the very thoughts of it.

In the course of conversation, Mother Noel asked me if I had any affair (plan of robbery) in contemplation; and after having offered to procure me one, in case I was not provided, she questioned me on my skill in fabricating keys. I told her I was as adroit as Fossard.

"If that be the case," she rejoined, "I am easy, and you shall be soon furnished; for as you are so clever, I will go and buy at the ironmonger's a key which you can fit to my safety lock, so that you will have ingress and egress whenever you require it."

I expressed my feelings of obligation for so great a proof of her kindness; and as it was growing late, I went to bed reflecting on the mode of getting away from this lair without running the risk of being assassinated, if perchance any of the villains whom I was seeking should arrive before I had taken the necessary precautions.

I did not sleep, and arose as soon as I heard Madame Noel lighting her fire; she said I was an early riser, and that she would go and procure me what I wanted. A moment afterward she brought me a key not cut into wards, and gave me files and a small vice, which I fixed on my bed; and as soon as my tools were in readiness, I began my work in presence of my hostess, who, seeing that I was perfectly conversant with the business, complimented me on

my skill; and what she most admired was the expedition of my work; for in fact, in less than four hours, I had perfected a most workmanlike key, which I tried, and it fitted most accurately. A few touches of the file completed the instrument; and, like the rest, I had the means of unobstructed entrance whenever I wished to visit the house.

I was Madame Noel's boarder; and, after dinner, I told her I was inclined to take a turn in the dusk, that I might find whether "a job" I contemplated was yet feasible, and she approved the suggestion, at the same time recommending me to use all caution. "That thief of a Vidocq," she observed, "is a thorn in one's path; mind him; and, if I were you, before I made any attempts, I would wait until my feet were well."

"I shall not go far," I replied; "nor stay away long." This assurance of a speedy return seemed to quiet her fears.

"Well, then, go," she said; and I went out limping.

So far all succeeded to my most sanguine wishes; it was impossible to stand better with Mother Noel; but, by remaining in her house, who would guarantee that I should not be knocked on the head? Might not two or three galley-slaves arrive together, recognize me, and attack me? Then farewell to all my plottings; and it was incumbent, that, without losing the fruit of my friendship with Mother Noel, I should prepare myself for the contingent danger. It would have been the height of imprudence to have given her cause to think that I had any motives for avoiding contact with her guests, and I consequently endeavored so to lead her on, that she should herself suggest to me the necessity of quitting her house; that is, that she should advise me no longer to think of sleeping in her domicile.

I had observed that Madame Noel was very intimate with a fruitseller who lived in the house; and I sent to this woman one of my agents named Manceau, whom I charged to ask her secretly, and yet with a want of skill, for some accounts of Madame Noel. I had dictated the questions, and was the more certain that the fruit-woman would not fail to communicate the particulars, as I had desired my man to beg her to observe secrecy.

The event proved that I was not deceived; no sooner had my agent fulfilled his mission, than the fruit-woman hastened to Madame Noel with an account of what had passed; who, in her turn, lost no time in telling me. On the look-out at the steps of the door of her officious neighbor, as soon as she saw me, she came to me, and, without further preface, desired me to follow her, which I did; and on reaching the Place des Victoires, she stopped, and looking about her to be assured that no one was in hearing, she told me what had passed. "So," said she, in conclusion, "you see, my poor Germain, that it would not be prudent for you to sleep at my house; you must even be cautious how you approach it by day."

Mother Noel had no idea that this circumstance, which she bewailed so greatly, was of my own planning; and, that I might remove all suspicion from her mind, I pretended to be more vexed at it than she was, and cursed and swore bitterly at that blackguard Vidocq, who would not leave us at peace. I deprecated the necessity to which I was reduced, of finding a shelter

out of Paris, and took leave of Madame Noel, who, wishing me good luck and a speedy return, put a thirty-sous piece into my hand.

I knew that Desbois and Mongenet were expected; and I was also aware that there were comers and goers who visited the house, whether Madame Noel was there or not; and she was often absent, giving music-lessons in the city. It was important that I should know these gentry; and to achieve this, I disguised several of my auxiliaries, and stationed them at the corners of the street, where, mixing with the errand-boys and messengers, their presence excited no suspicion.

These precautions taken, that I might testify all due appearance of fear, I allowed two days to pass before I again visited Madame Noel; and this period having elapsed, I went one evening to her house, accompanied by a young man, whom I introduced as the brother of a female with whom I had once lived: and who, having met me accidentally in Paris, had given me an asylum. This young man was a secret agent, but I took care to tell Mother Noel that he had my fullest confidence, and that she might consider him as my second self; and as he was not known to the spies, I had chosen him to be my messenger to her whenever I did not judge it prudent to show myself. "Henceforward," I added, "he will be our go-between, and will come every two or three days, that I may have information of you and your friends."

"I faith," said Mother Noel, "you have lost a pleasure; for twenty minutes sooner, and you would have seen a lady of your acquaintance here."

"Ah! who was it?"

"Mongenet's sister."

"Oh! indeed; she has often seen me with her brother."

"Yes; when I mentioned you, she described you as exactly as possible:—'a lanky chap,' said she, 'with his nose always grimed with snuff.'"

Madame Noel deeply regretted that I had not arrived before Mongenet's sister had departed; but certainly not so much as I rejoiced at my narrow escape from an interview which would have destroyed all my projects; for if this woman knew Germain, she also knew Vidocq; and it was impossible that she could have mistaken one for the other, so great was the difference between us! Although I had altered my features so as to deceive, yet the resemblance which, in description, seemed exact, would not stand the test of a critical examination, and particularly the reminiscences of intimacy. Mother Noel then gave me a very useful warning, when she informed me that Mongenet's sister was a very frequent visitor at her house. From thenceforward I resolved that this female should never catch a glimpse of my countenance; and to avoid meeting with her, whenever I visited Madame Noel, I sent my pretended brother-in-law first, who, when she was not there, had instructions to let me know it by sticking a wafer on the window. At this signal I entered, and my aid-de-camp betook himself to his post in the neighborhood, to guard against any disagreeable surprise. Not very far distant were other auxiliaries, to whom I had confided Mother Noel's key, that they might come to my succor in case of danger; for, from one instant to another, I might fall suddenly among a gang of fugitives, or some of the galley-slaves might recognize and attack me, and then a blow of my fist against a square of glass in the window

was the signal which was to denote my need of assistance, to equalize the contending parties.

Thus were my schemes concerted, and the finale was at hand. It was on Tuesday, and a letter from the men I was in quest of, announced their intended arrival on the Friday following; a day which I intended should be for them a black Friday. At the first dawn I betook myself to wine-vaults in the vicinity; and, that they might have no motive for watching me, supposing, as was their custom, that they should traverse the street several times up and down before they entered Madame Noel's domicile, I first sent my pretended brother-in-law, who returned soon afterward, and told me that Mongenet's sister was not there, and that I might safely enter.

"You are not deceiving me?" said I to my agent, whose tone appeared altered and embarrassed, and fixing on him one of those looks which penetrated the very heart's core, I thought I observed one of those ill-suppressed contractions of the muscles of the face which accompany a premeditated lie; and then, quick as lightning, the thought came over me that I was betrayed—that my agent was a traitor. We were in a private room, and, without a moment's hesitation, I grasped his throat with violence, and told him, in presence of his comrades, that I was informed of his perfidy, and that if he did not instantly confess all, I would shoot him on the spot. Dismayed at my penetration and determined manner, he stammered out a few words of excuse, and, falling on his knees, confessed that he had discovered all to Mother Noel.

This baseness, had I not thus detected it, would probably have cost me my life, but I did not think of any personal resentment; it was only the interest of society which I cared for, and which I regretted to see wrecked when so near port. The traitor, Manceau, was put in confinement, and, young as he was, having many old offenses to expiate, was sent to Bicêtre, and then to the Isle of Oleron, where he terminated his career. It may be conjectured that the fugitives did not return to the Rue Tiequetonne; but they were, notwithstanding, apprehended a short time afterward.

Mother Noel did not forgive the trick I had played her; and, to satisfy her revenge, she, one day, had all her goods taken away; and when this had been effected, went out without closing her door, and returned, crying out that she had been robbed. The neighbors were made witnesses, a declaration was made before a commissary, and Mother Noel pointed me out as the thief; because, she said, I had a key of her apartments. The accusation was a grave one, and she was instantly sent to the préfecture of police, and the next day I received the information. My justification was not difficult, for the préfet, as well as M. Henry, saw through the imposture; and we managed so well, that Mother Noel's property was discovered, proof was obtained of the falsity of the charge, and, to give her time for repentance, she was sentenced for six months to St. Lazarre. Such were the issue and the consequences of an enterprise, in which I had not failed to use all precaution; and I have often achieved success in affairs, in which arrangements had been made, not so skillfully concerted or so ably executed.

## CHAPTER XXX.

### THE BOUNTY JUMPERS.

Fraudulent Practices of Bounty Brokers and Jumpers—Contrast between English and American Deserters—Plans to check Desertion, and bring Criminals to Justice.

THE great demand for recruits during the war, the large bounties offered for them, and the manifold facilities for fraudulent transactions, presented temptations of great power, even to reputable citizens, to evade the plain letter of the law, and traffic in substitutes, or, by bribery and deception, personally to keep out of the hands of the recruiting officer.

The majority of the officers assigned to recruiting service were guilty of great dereliction of duty, inasmuch as, instead of endeavoring to check the growing evil, they rather pretended ignorance, or allowed it to pass unnoticed.

On one occasion, being in the presence of the President and a member of the Cabinet, I heard the latter congratulate the President upon the success attending a certain call for troops, which he had issued, remarking:—

“Mr. Lincoln, if recruiting goes forward in this way, your new call for troops will soon be answered.”

The President made this reply:—

“Oh, yes; we have a pretty big army already—on paper; but what we want is, men in boots and breeches. This great array of figures, in respect to soldiers, is not going to suppress the rebellion. I want *men*, who can carry muskets, and eat hard-tack.”

It was indeed surprising to observe the apparent sincerity of persons, who, in various ways, were guilty of unlawful and dishonorable acts, finding a sufficient apology in the necessities or peculiarities of the case; while others, and not a few, went into the remunerative dishonesty with

the simple purpose, in common with the professional gambler, to make money out of the Government, or individuals serving it, according to the promised reward. And yet it is difficult to see how any man, of ordinary moral perceptions, could fail to appreciate the criminality of the business, whether viewed from the stand-point of the army depletion and peril, or the robbery of the public treasury. Were the loose principles governing bounty brokers and jumpers once allowed, the ranks of no army could be kept full, and the loyalty of the people could not be maintained.

The lenity of our military authorities, in regard to the punishment of offenders against law and loyalty, was a fruitful cause of the boldness with which they acted, and the air of respectability worn by the crime itself.

At this point, I must refer to the suggestive contrast between foreign armies and our own. Deserters from the English troops are rare, on account of the penalty which is inflicted on such offenders. This penalty, which is death, is never set aside, no matter what extenuating circumstances may attach to the desertion, rendering it a lesser crime in the opinion of mankind. The English military law is arbitrary, carrying out its requirements to the utmost; and, as the punishment for desertion is death, no soldier guilty of the crime receives any lighter doom.

During the late war, the execution of deserters was so rare, that no moral effect was produced on the minds of the people. Who can recollect any shadow of guilt and punishment falling upon his thought, during the whole of the war, on account of the deserter's fate?

The desertions were as common as recruiting, but escapes were so frequent, and pardon was so often granted, that no importance seemed to be attached to the shameful disloyalty. Indeed, it was rather considered in the light of a legitimate business than otherwise; the idea of its criminality hardly seemed to be entertained by any, so lightly was it treated by the law.

The Department at Washington was constantly urging upon me the necessity for forming some plan, which, in a summary and successful manner, would frustrate the designs of these dishonest parties, and bring them to justice. Sev-

eral attempts had been made for this purpose, but had all proved unsuccessful.

A number of plans were submitted to me, each of which I considered objectionable, on certain accounts. The shortest way to catch these deserters, which was tracking them to their haunts, it would have been folly to pursue, as such a course would result in a general alarm and stampede of the guilty.

After some time, I chanced to think of a method, which seemed so suited to the purpose, that I became immediately inspired with the hope of success. I reported it to the Provost-Marshal General, and, after examination, it was accepted, with some slight modifications.

In January, 1865, the War Department determined to check, if possible, the increasing frauds. On investigation, it was found that only one in four of the enlisted men reached the front—a fact which will doubtless astonish my reader, and probably be denied by him, unless accompanied by the most positive proof.

I received my instructions, and immediately repaired to New York, the great rendezvous of gamblers in recruiting, and the centre of their complicated and increasing business. Two or three days devoted to inquiries concerning them, so astounded, discouraged, and disheartened me, that I resolved to abandon the investigation, and return to Washington. When I reported my purpose to the War Department, I was directed to resume and prosecute my work. This investigation, including my action and that of the Provost-Marshal-General, has been the occasion of Congressional and civil examinations, and therefore demands a pretty full and clear narrative.

The means which I employed, and the manner of proceeding, may seem, to superficial observers, to have been extraordinary, and wholly unwarranted.

All the usual methods of procedure in detective service were quite unavailing in this large undertaking. Nearly the entire circle of military and civil officers were found to be, either directly or indirectly, implicated in bounty swindling—from the staff officer to the orderly, and from the judge to the lowest criminal in the haunts of dissipation and vice.

I considered the matter well, in order to reach some plan by which I could become familiar with the fraudulent enterprise and learn its secrets. The result of my meditations was the belief that, in order to gain my ends, I must select for my service some bounty broker who had been connected with the business a considerable length of time, and who was, consequently, familiar with all its details.

The annexed report to the Provost-Marshal General, will enlighten the reader as to the course I deemed it necessary to pursue, with its practical results :—

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1, 1866.

Brevet Major-General J. B. FRY, Provost-Marshal General :—

SIR—I have the honor herewith to forward a brief report, giving the results of the various investigations instituted and conducted under and by your orders, for the purpose of preventing and exposing frauds perpetrated in connection with the recruiting service. The following official orders will show by what authority said investigations were so instituted and carried on.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 1, 1866.

WAR DEPARTMENT, PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1865.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :—

SIR—I have the honor to request that Colonel L. C. Baker, Provost-Marshal of the War Department, may be directed to act under my instructions in detecting and bringing to punishment men who are violating the laws as bounty brokers and bounty jumpers, and such officers and employees of the Government as may be taking part in, or conniving at these practices.

I also recommend that the expenses connected with his services be paid by my disbursing officer from the funds under my control.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES B. FRY,  
Provost-Marshal General.

On the 16th January, 1865, I had the honor to receive from the Provost-Marshal General the following order :—

WAR DEPARTMENT, PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., January 16, 1865.

[Confidential.]

Colonel L. C. BAKER, Provost-Marshal War Department, Washington, D. C. :—

SIR—In accordance with authority from the Assistant Secretary of War, you are hereby directed to make an examination of the different provost-marshals, officers, and other recruiting officers, with a view of detecting and bringing to punishment men who are violating the laws as bounty and substi-

tute brokers and bounty jumpers, and also any officer or employee of this bureau who may be taking part in or conniving at frauds or impositions in connection with the raising of troops.

Officers of this bureau are hereby commanded to aid you in your proper endeavors to accomplish the duty herein assigned you.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES B. FRY,  
Provost-Marshal General.

In pursuance of the above order, I went to New York City, which place was alleged to be the centre or rendezvous of the principal operators in fraudulent enlistment papers. It would be impossible to give a correct idea or understanding of the condition in which I found the recruiting business. A large number of persons, of the most desperate and disreputable character, were engaged at the different rendezvous in filling the quotas. The great and urgent demands of the Government to fill up the ranks of our depleted army, were seized upon by these individuals, known as bounty brokers or receiving agents, as a fit time to perpetrate those forgeries and frauds upon the Government and soldiers, the extent and enormity of which, I believe, are unparalleled in the history of the world. These frauds, which robbed the soldier and his family, were but mild offenses compared with the crime of actually aiding the enemies of the Government, by representing on paper enlisted men who never existed. A mania for the recruiting business and filling quotas seems not to have been confined exclusively to the characters referred to above. Recruiting officers, their clerks and orderlies, provost-marshals' clerks and detectives, supervisors, commissioners, metropolitan policemen, and many others connected with the municipal government of New York City, were all endeavoring to contribute their best abilities to filling quotas. This state of things was made apparent to me after a very brief preliminary investigation. To devise a plan at once sufficiently effective in itself to break up this gigantic system of frauds, to arrange a system of detection as would furnish such proofs of guilt against implicated parties, was a matter not easily accomplished. What was true of the frauds peculiar at the army rendezvous in New York and vicinity, was more than true of the naval rendezvous. Out of seven of these naval recruiting rendezvous, but three could be entered without first passing through a public drinking saloon of the lowest and vilest character, and a substitute or bounty broker's office. In fact, the last two named institutions seemed to be necessary appendages to a recruiting depot. With the evidence of these stupendous frauds before me, I felt my inability to render the services that would be expected from me. The high social and official positions of many of the suspected parties, the large pecuniary interests involved in the business, tended to weaken my confidence in my success; however, after further conversation with you, it was decided that I should return to New York, and proceed at once with the investigations.

On the 20th January I took rooms at the Astor House, and on the following day I sent for a well-known bounty broker named T. A., a person who could give me all the information I desired, and from whom I obtained

a very minute, and I believe correct, history of the *modus operandi* by which most of the recruiting frauds were perpetrated; also a list of the names and location of most of the worst bounty brokers, bounty jumpers, &c. I made an agreement with the said T. A. to render me such assistance as I might require, by furnishing me, from time to time, information concerning persons engaged in defrauding the Government by the sale of fraudulent enlistment-papers, &c. About the last of March, having progressed sufficiently with my investigations to develop somewhat the extent of the frauds referred to, I caused to be made known that I was an agent or supervisor from an interior locality, desirous to obtain credits to fill my quota; this subterfuge at once placed me on the most familiar terms with that class of persons then supposed to be engaged in perpetrating frauds upon the recruiting bureau. In short, my plans worked well, and I was offered credits in abundance, in some instances at mere nominal prices. The competition among these bounty brokers, the anxiety to sell their papers, the great number of these enlisting-papers or credits in the hands of such disreputable characters, the reckless and bold manner in which they publicly hawked them about the streets, bar-rooms, and drinking-houses in New York, satisfied me at once that said papers must be forged, or, at least, must have been obtained in some surreptitious or illegitimate manner. On the 28th of January I was waited upon by J. D. (under the assumed name of J. C.), and one J. C., who, having understood my desire to purchase credits, offered me sixteen sets of papers or credits. These papers or credits I purchased at once, and asked them to bring more the following day, which they did. Soon after the said D. and C. brought other bounty brokers to my room with other papers; these I also purchased. I continued purchasing papers for several days, until I had positively ascertained that nearly all the papers purchased were forgeries; that these papers were prepared, in many cases, with the knowledge and assistance of officers, clerks, and employees of the various recruiting rendezvous in New York and Brooklyn. On the morning of February 2 I forwarded the following telegram:—

[No. 1.]

NEW YORK CITY, February 2, 1865.

Brigadier-General J. B. FRY, Provost-Marshal General:—

SIR—The time has arrived, in the course of my investigations, when it is very important that a number of arrests be made at once. I have the most positive proof against mustering officers, doctors, substitute brokers, and bounty jumpers.

The parties who sold me the forged enlistment-papers have made a full confession; have given the names of all the officers and clerks concerned.

If any arrests are to be made, prompt and immediate action is indispensable to success.

The representations heretofore made to you concerning this matter have not been exaggerated.

I am, General, your obedient servant,  
(Signed) L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

On the same day I forwarded the following :—

NEW YORK CITY, February 8, 1865.

Brigadier-General J. B. FRY, Provost-Marshal General :—

SIR—Yesterday, at two o'clock, by an arrangement previously made, two bounty brokers, named J. D. and J. C., brought to my room sixteen (16) sets of forged enlisting-papers (naval), for which I paid them at the rate of five hundred and twenty-five dollars (\$525) each, they, the brokers, supposing me to be the agent of an interior county, having a quota to fill. As soon as the purchase was made, and money paid over, I took them into custody.

Last evening they confessed to me that the papers were forged, gave me the names of the clerks in the naval rendezvous in Brooklyn who forged them, and the amount to be paid said clerks, also the name of the notary public (who is one of the assessors in Brooklyn) before whom said papers were acknowledged, who also has a share of the profits of the sale of these papers. They have also given me a minute detail of all the operations of their *pals* and *confederates* in the business.

Their statements are perfectly astounding, and show a state of things existing here almost incredible. In the town of Delhi, St. Lawrence County, a quota of two hundred and twenty-three men was filled by these forged papers, and not a single man enlisted.

What is true of this town is true of many others in this State. To such an extent has this business been carried on, that these forged papers are hawked about the city, and daily sold in public saloons and bar-rooms.

They can be bought any day, at the Merchants' Hotel, on Cortlandt Street.

I have enlisted one of my detectives *twice* in one day. On the following day enlisted him at the Cedar Street rendezvous. He is now on the Island. Have made arrangements with a substitute broker to buy him off to-morrow.

D. and C., from whom I purchased the forged papers yesterday, are detained in temporary custody, awaiting orders from the Department. I do not think the Department at Washington have the least conception of the extent of the frauds committed in this recruiting business, or some action would have been taken long before this.

I have now spent fifteen days in investigating the matter, and assert, positively, that I can convict nearly every man connected with the substitute business in New York, if the Department will give me authority to act.

I telegraphed you this morning, for an order to make certain arrests; up to this time have received no reply. If any arrests are to be made, it is very important that they be made at once.

Up to this morning, no knowledge of my investigations had reached the parties implicated. This evening, however, I hear that inquiries are being made concerning the parties I detained yesterday.

If this fact is once positively known, it will not be worth while for me to remain here longer, as the parties I want most will leave for parts unknown.

I have thus briefly given you my ideas, trusting to hear from you at as early a moment as possible. I am, General, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Special Agent War Department.

N. B.—I send this communication by a messenger, who will leave Washington to-morrow (Saturday) evening, to return to New York. If any reply is deemed necessary, he will bring it. (Signed) L. C. B.

PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1865. }

A true copy.

(Signed)

GEO. E. SCOTT,  
Major Veteran Reserve Corps.

[No. 2.]

UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH,  
WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, 6:45 p. m., February 2, 1865, from New York, February 2, 1865:—

Brigadier-General J. B. FRY, Provost-Marshal General:—

The men from whom I purchased the bogus enlisting-papers yesterday, brought me twelve sets more of same kind. I have the men in custody. They admit the papers are all forged, and have given me the names of the persons who made them out. Would recommend the men be sent to the Old Capitol prison.

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER.

56. Cal. 351.

PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1865. }

A true copy.

(Signed)

GEO. E. SCOTT,  
Major Veteran Reserve Corps.

Not receiving prompt replies to the above, on the 3d I forwarded the following:—

[No. 3.]

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, }  
WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, 9:20 a. m., February 3, 1865, from New York, February 3, 1865:—

Brigadier-General FRY:—

Want orders for the arrest and imprisonment of J. D., J. H., and J. C., from whom the forged enlisting-papers were bought. Two of the parties have made confessions. Please forward order by telegraph.

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER.

35. Cal. 225.

The arrest and imprisonment of J. D., J. H., and J. C., mentioned in the foregoing telegram, is ordered.

The Provost-Marshal General will issue orders accordingly.

(Signed)

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 16, 1865.

PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU,  
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1865.

A true copy.

(Signed)

GEO. E. SCOTT,  
Major Veteran Reserve Corps.

Still receiving no replies, on the 4th I forwarded the following:—

[No. 4.]

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH,  
WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, 1 p. m., February 4, 1865, from New York, February 4, 1865:—

General JAMES B. FRY:—

Is my communication of yesterday received?

Will I receive the orders to-day?

If arrests are to be made, it is important that they be made at once.

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER.

27 Cal., 177.

PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU,  
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1865.

A true copy.

(Signed)

GEO. E. SCOTT,  
Major Veteran Reserve Corps.

All the above communications and telegrams having been referred to the Hon. Secretary of War for authority to arrest the persons referred to, the Secretary of War writes as follows:—

[No. 5.]

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON CITY, February 5, 1865.

GENERAL:—

I refer herewith two reports and four telegrams of L. C. Baker, marked A, B, C, D, E, and F, in relation to alleged frauds by military officers in the enlistment and recruiting service, for your examination and opinion as to what action should be had against the parties implicated.

Immediate action is deemed urgent.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

EDWIN M. STANTON.

Brigadier-General HOLT, Judge-Advocate General.

PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU,  
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1865.

A true copy.

(Signed)

GEO. E. SCOTT,  
Major Veteran Reserve Corps.

The following is the indorsement of the Judge-Advocate General:—

BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE,  
February 4, 1865.

Respectfully returned to the Secretary of War. The offenses mentioned by Colonel Baker strike directly not only at the efficiency, but at the very life

of the military service; and in time of war, the public safety requires that they shall be triable by a military commission. It is believed that these offenders should be so tried, and that Colonel Baker, on ascertaining their guilt, should have authority to arrest them.

(Signed)

J. HOLT,  
Judge-Advocate General

PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1865. }

A true copy.

(Signed)

GEO. E. SCOTT,  
Major Veteran Reserve Corps.

The order for the arrest of these brokers referred to in the above-mentioned communications and telegrams having been received, after first being referred to the Judge-Advocate General for an opinion, I proceeded to arrest J. D., alias C., J. C., and J. D., the latter a resident of Brooklyn, a notary public and assessor of internal revenue.

After quietly securing the arrest of the three brokers before mentioned, I at once began to avail myself of the information derived from them. The cool and deliberate manner in which these men detailed minutely the manner and extent of these forgeries, the names of their accomplices and confederates in crime, was almost beyond belief. It may not be improper to state in this connection the manner and means employed in preparing and disposing of these fraudulent enlistment papers. J. T. S. and W. H. T., two clerks employed at the York Street naval rendezvous (and who were soon after arrested), had entire charge of the books of said rendezvous. These books had a printed heading, and were lined or ruled off in the usual manner; the names of men properly and legitimately enlisted and correctly credited on said books any given day, were copied by S. and T., and forwarded to the brokers D. and C., who immediately filled up the proper blanks, which were taken to J. D., the notary public, who made the necessary certificate that the recruit appeared before him and made oath, &c., to these forged papers. J. D. affixed his official seal and signature.

The papers then, being apparently correct, were ready for sale to any unsuspecting victim desiring to fill quotas. The names of recruits in these forged papers being already on the books of the rendezvous, and credited, could not, of course, appear again on the same books. To obviate this difficulty, separate, or fly leaves, in every way exactly like those composing the record book before referred to, were kept in said book. The brokers having sold these forgeries, or duplicate papers, and to satisfy their purchasers that the papers were all right, go with the purchaser to the rendezvous to have them credited; the clerks being a party to the transaction, and sharers of the profits of sales, at once exhibit the loose or fly leaves; the names of recruits recorded on such loose or fly leaves corresponding with those mentioned in the enlisting papers, with the margin or line for credit not filled up. The purchaser, being satisfied that all is correct, pays over his money, directs the clerk on hand to credit his papers, sees the credits correctly made, and

leaves the office, congratulating himself that he, at least, has not been swindled. To credit these forged or duplicate papers to the same Congressional district or locality would soon lead to detection; hence my investigations in tracing out the papers were much delayed, and could only be positively proven by carefully comparing the names of all recruits enlisted with these papers obtained from the provost-marshals of different Congressional districts. I have referred to this as one of the means by which so many quotas have been filled with forged papers, and have referred to the York Street naval rendezvous as only one of the naval recruiting depots where it was so extensively practised.

I desire now to briefly refer to the question of desertion, which, more than any other connected with the recruiting service, has demanded the attention of your bureau. How largely the Government has been defrauded by the desertion of its soldiers will probably never be known. To even attempt to show, by actual figures, the number of desertions from the army, would be simply impossible. To aid the soldier to desert was deemed to be as much the legitimate business and calling of the professional bounty brokers as to enlist him. As in the matter of forging enlistment-papers it required the assistance of officers, so in the matter of desertion, to be successful, the officers having charge of recruits must be bribed or misrepresented; and when we contemplate the vast amount of money paid by the tax-payers of the North for bounty for recruits to suppress the rebellion, the great sacrifices made by the patriotic and loyal people of the different States, the exertion and labor of benevolent societies and individuals, the ample and liberal appropriations of Congress to further the great object, viz., the speedy suppression of the rebellion by the raising of troops, the unprecedented labors of your bureau in raising and organizing these recruits under the different calls for volunteers, we may well wonder how such a system of corruption and fraud could have been so successfully carried on for years, under the very eye of both civil and military authorities.

It would be impossible, in a brief report of this character, to convey an adequate idea of the extent to which this business of aiding desertion by bounty brokers was practised. I simply refer to one or two cases—all that is deemed necessary. The following is an extract from a communication which I forwarded you from New York, under date of February 5, 1865:—

I am progressing with my investigations satisfactorily. In order to more effectually carry out your instructions, I have enlisted three of my detectives, for the purpose of ascertaining the *modus operandi* by which so many enlisted men are allowed to escape, or desert. Through this channel, I have obtained my most valuable information. The names of the three detectives are, G. L., enlisted January 31, at Captain E.'s office, Chatham\* Street, sent to Governor's Island; J. B., enlisted January 31, at Cedar\* Street rendezvous, sent to Governor's Island; D. W. G., enlisted February 2, at Captain W.'s\* rendezvous, Crosby and Broome Streets.

\* These were recruiting rendezvous of the regular army, and not under the control of the Provost-Marshall General's Bureau.

Will you please direct the proper officer to order these men to report to me, No. 54 William Street. I desire to enlist these men at Utica, where, it is represented to me, many frauds are being committed. Please send order by my messenger, who leaves Washington to-morrow night. Will write you more fully to-morrow.

Yours very truly,

L. C. BAKER.

PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
WASHINGTON, December 19, 1865. }

A true copy.

(Signed)

GEO. E. SCOTT,  
Major Veteran Reserve Corps.

Two of the detectives above referred to, were permitted to escape from Governor's Island,\* by the payment of one hundred dollars each to Sergeants M. and B., who were subsequently tried by military court-martial, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. A. C., a bounty broker, doing business at 82 White Street, New York, was known to be engaged in purchasing from the officers at Governor's Island passes by which large numbers of enlisted men were permitted to leave the Island daily. On the 8th of April, C. received from my detectives five hundred dollars, for the purpose of purchasing passes for eight recruits, enlisted the day previous. The money was put into a Bible lying on the table in the office of the officer in charge of passes. A pass was given; the recruits left the Island, came over to New York, re-enlisted, were the same evening sent back to the Island, and the following day were brought off again by C., and again enlisted.

In the written confession of A. C., he says: I think I have brought-off, in all, about four hundred men, about two-thirds of whom I re-enlisted. It was shown in the course of my investigation, that six other brokers were engaged in the same business. C. was tried, convicted, and sentenced five years to the penitentiary.

Another manner of desertion, and by far more generally practised, was by permitting recruits to desert in transit from the rendezvous in New York to the Island, or receiving ships. For instance, I will refer to the Cedar Street rendezvous. Between the 20th of May, 1864, and the 9th of October, 1864, there were enlisted at this rendezvous, one thousand two hundred and eighty-four men. The books on Governor's and Hart's Islands show but eight hundred and thirteen received from said Cedar Street rendezvous. About a similar deficiency between the actual number enlisted and number received, is shown by the examination of the books of the other rendezvous. Taking six of the army recruiting rendezvous in New York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburgh, for forty-four days in 1864, the total deficiency, or difference between the number of men actually enlisted and credited at said rendezvous and those actually received at the rendezvous camps, is two thousand two hundred and nineteen. These facts are startling, but the difference between the

\* Governor's Island was not under the control of the Provost-Marshall General's Bureau.

number actually received on the Island, or distribution rendezvous, and the number that actually reached the front, is still more startling.

It is shown by a careful examination of statistics, that but six out of every ten enlisted men received as stated above, at the general rendezvous, ever entered the service. I could demonstrate this fact, by giving copies of the official records, which would require a large amount of labor, and consequent delay in preparing it. Under the call of December 19, 1864, and during the month of January, 1865, and eight days in February following, there were enlisted and credited at the seven army recruiting depots in New York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburgh, five thousand two hundred and eighty-four men; of this number, four thousand and thirty-three reached the general, or distribution rendezvous, and three thousand and twelve started for the front, out of which twenty-eight escaped in transit, leaving two thousand and eighty-two that actually entered the service, out of five thousand two hundred and eighty-four enlisted. This may, I think, be taken as a fair average case, under the calls of 1864-65, in New York City and vicinity.

These figures may appear incredible, but they are compiled from the official records of the several recruiting depots and general rendezvous. To show the facilities for deserting, I enlisted myself three different times, at three different recruiting depots, in one day, receiving each time one hundred dollars, as first installment of bounty.

The above statement referring to the number of deserters, does not in the same proportion apply to other localities and cities. The city of New York, and immediate vicinity, was the grand focus, center, or general rallying ground of a very large portion of all the professional bounty brokers and jumpers in the country. It was common and customary for the supervisors and agents of interior towns and localities having quotas to fill to come to New York to purchase their credits, as for country merchants to come to New York to purchase their goods.

In New York could be found, perhaps, more degraded and disreputable characters than in any other city in the Union; indeed, there was no place in the land where so many civil and military officers were actually themselves engaged in the bounty and substitute business.

The fraudulent operations of bounty and substitute brokers were by no means confined exclusively to New York. In September, 1864, M. G., then temporarily in my employ, was directed to make an investigation at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (see letter under date November 29, 1864). G. took with him three persons. On the 1st of October, G. and his three men, one of whom had been a cripple from childhood, were enlisted at Harrisburg by certain bounty brokers, who had the exclusive privilege of enlisting recruits at that rendezvous. The broker paid G. and his three men one hundred dollars each, with the understanding that they should be furnished with a pass that would enable them to escape the same night. The recruits were sent to Camp Curtin, and assigned to a Colonel R.'s regiment. The same evening, Colonel R., with one or two brokers, took G. and his three companions from Camp Curtin to Troy, Pennsylvania, re-enlisted them again, had them assigned to Colonel R.'s regiment, received the bounty; took them

the following day to Tonawanda, Pennsylvania, enlisted them the third time, collected the bounty, and then left them to desert again if they thought proper. Colonel R., his brother, one army surgeon, and four bounty brokers, all connected with this transaction, were arrested. The R.'s and one broker were tried, convicted, and sentenced to serve a term at Fort Delaware (see my report under date June 18, 1865, which sets forth fully all the facts connected with this case).

The investigations at Elmira resulted in the arrest and conviction of the provost-marshal at that post, Major H. At Albany, Utica, Buffalo, and many other points of less importance, investigations were instituted, always resulting in the arrest of those engaged in committing frauds on the recruiting service. A more detailed account of my operations at the points referred to above will be found hereafter in this report.

As yet, I have but casually referred to the frauds committed in recruiting for the naval service.\* A volume of interesting facts could be written on this subject, but I will only refer to the results achieved by my investigations. In the whole history of fraud and corruption in the recruiting service during the rebellion, I doubt whether there is a parallel to that practised at the naval recruiting rendezvous in New York and Brooklyn. Hardly a naval officer connected with the receiving ships at the Brooklyn Navy Yard but was, in some way, connected with enlistment frauds. The following communication, perhaps, contains all that is necessary to be said on the subject.

WASHINGTON, May 26, 1865.

Brigadier-General JAMES B. FRY, Provost-Marshal General:—

SIR—I have the honor herewith to acknowledge the receipt of copies of official correspondence between the Hon. Secretary of the Navy and yourself in reference to certain frauds, alleged to have been perpetrated by officers of the navy connected with the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

I had the honor, some weeks since, of a personal interview with the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, and the Hon. W. E. C., Solicitor of the Navy, at which interview I exhibited what I conceived to be the most undeniable and unquestionable proof that officers connected with the said Brooklyn Navy Yard had, in connection with one J. D., W. & W., F. & D., and other substitute brokers, received large sums of money, in consideration of which they, the officers referred to, had, on various occasions, furnished fictitious names to the said brokers, on which said brokers had manufactured forged and fraudulent enlistment-papers; that in many instances forged ship receipts, purporting to represent men received on board the receiving ship, had been furnished by said officers to said brokers, from which fraudulent enlistment-papers had been made and credited at the York Street naval rendezvous; that a system of bribery and manipulations had for a long time been practised by said brokers and officers, in connection with naval enlistments; the said officers had been, for the past year, almost daily in the habit of receiving from said bro-

\* Recruiting for the naval service was not under the control of the Provost-Marshal General.

kers various sums of money, for what was termed special orders, for the enlistment of apprentice boys, firemen, and landsmen, who were to enter the naval service. So common had this practice become, that none but the brokers before referred to could even obtain admittance to the naval rendezvous, or on board of any of the receiving ships at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Even the gatekeeper at the Navy Yard received his "daily stipend" of money from said brokers for permitting them to enter the Yard. As evidence of these allegations and charges, I exhibited to the Hon. Secretary and Solicitor of the Navy the bank checks drawn in favor of said officers, and signed by said brokers; in many instances said checks were indorsed in the proper handwriting of said officers, and the books of W. & W. show that the said various sums of money were properly entered, and charged, as money paid to said officers; also stating, in some instances, the objects and purposes of said payments. The sworn statement of J. D., a former partner of W. & W., made previous to his conviction and sentence, fully corroborates these statements; in addition to which are the sworn statements of S. and T., two clerks, then in the employ of the officer in command of the naval rendezvous. The testimony of J. D., and the two clerks referred to, shows that Captain J. F. G., then in command of the York Street naval rendezvous, that D., and W. & W. made an arrangement with said G., by which said G. was to receive one-fourth of all the profits arising either from the genuine or fraudulent enlistment of the recruits into the navy. W. & W.'s check on the Central Bank, Brooklyn, given to and indorsed in the proper handwriting of said G., as well as the entries in W. & W.'s books, would seem to confirm this testimony. Said checks are now in my possession. The testimony of D., S., and T., shows that large sums of money were paid to Lieutenant G. W. J., acting master of the receiving-ship *Savannah*, for which the said acting master, G. W. J., furnished said brokers with ship receipts, which purport to represent enlisted men received on board said receiving-ship *Savannah*. That the said J. received the sums of money referred to, seems to be fully proven by W. & W.'s checks on the Central Bank of Brooklyn, indorsed in the proper handwriting of the said G. W. J. If any thing more is needed to prove this allegation, I would refer you to the entries on W. & W.'s books, the dates of which correspond with the dates on said checks. The testimony of J. D. shows that W. & W. paid to Lieutenant or Captain W. D. W., then attached to some of the receiving-ships, various sums of money, the alleged consideration for which was the furnishing, by Captain or Lieutenant W., fictitious or forged ships' receipts, purporting to represent men who had enlisted in the naval service. W. & W.'s books show that said sums of money were paid; in addition to which proof, I have W. & W.'s checks on the Central Bank of Brooklyn. I also find entries in W. & W.'s books of various sums of money, paid in checks on the Central Bank of Brooklyn to W. D., C. B., C. J. B., and E. M. B., acting ensign United States Navy. It is alleged that the money was paid to the B.'s for procuring special orders for the shipment of boys in the navy. The testimony of D., S. and T., shows that large sums of money were paid to Captain B., of the navy. This statement is confirmed by entries in the books of W. & W., which show that Captain B. did receive said money. The books

of W. & W. also show that one W., who was Captain or Lieutenant G.'s clerk, received various sums of money, the entries being made in the name of W. & G. During a period of six months, the books of W. & W. show that not less than five thousand dollars was paid to Commander B. There is no evidence, however, to show for what purpose this money was paid. The inference is that Commander B. was sharing the profits of some fraud perpetrated in connection with naval enlistments.

There is abundance of evidence to show that one S. (first name not known), a gatekeeper at the Navy Yard, received from ten to twenty dollars per day, from W. & W. and others, for procuring special orders, and other favors shown to said brokers; such as admitting them and their runners into the yard at all times.

The above is but a very brief outline of the testimony that can be produced against the parties referred to.

I some weeks since received, through your department, a communication from the Hon. Secretary of the Navy, or his Solicitor, Mr. C.; said communication giving me permission to arrest these officers. Being an officer of the War Department, and subject to its orders, I cannot assume the responsibility of making any arrests, particularly in the Navy Department, without written orders from either the Secretary of War or Provost-Marshal General.

(Signed)

Respectfully yours,  
L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

I found in possession of F., D., and J. D., eight hundred and ninety forged shipping receipts, or receipts purporting to acknowledge the receipt of eight hundred and ninety enlisted men received on board the receiving-ship *Savannah*. These receipts were seized. On examining the books of the receiving-ship *Savannah*, it was found that not one man represented by these receipts was ever on board of said ship, and of course could not have entered the service. On taking possession of the books of the York Street naval rendezvous, I found a large number of receipts signed in blank; these, or similar ones, were used by F. and D. Other forged papers were made out from these receipts, and the counties of Lewis, Washington, and Herkimer, in the State of New York, got credit for them. From a careful examination of the books of the different naval rendezvous in New York, Brooklyn, and Jersey City, which of course purport to show the exact number of naval enlistments, for the month of February, 1865, shows that three thousand eight hundred and seventy-four men were enlisted, while the books of the receiving-ship show that but two thousand and eighty-one were received, leaving one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three unaccounted for. To make a just distinction between the volunteer and regular recruiting depots in New York and vicinity, I desire to state that there was by far a less proportion of desertions from the volunteer rendezvous than from the regular rendezvous. My investigations having fully developed the extent and enormity of desertions, I was very desirous, if possible, to break it up, or at least diminish it. With this object in view, I consulted you, and it was finally decided to open a recruiting depot

in Hoboken, New Jersey, where professional bounty jumpers only would be allowed to enlist and desert. This plan was adopted and carried out, and the result communicated in an official report to your bureau.

As my action, as well as your own, in connection with this particular matter, has for months been the subject of much newspaper comment, resulting in the finding of indictments against myself (the suit since, however, abandoned), I feel it a duty I owe myself, as well as a defense of your official action in the case, that all the facts concerning this Hoboken case should be made a part of this report.

In the beginning of this report, I refer to one T. A., with whom I had arranged to assist and furnish information, &c. Up to this time, I had never known T. A.; did not know even that there was such a person in existence; had never heard of his partners R. and H., and did not know that he had any. My first knowledge of M. C. S. was, I believe, in 1863 or 1864, when he, S., was in some way connected with the sale of newspapers in the Army of the Potomac. I did not understand that M. C. S. was in any way connected with the substitute or bounty-brokerage business. At the time I first met and conferred with A. on the subject, S. was present, and did make many suggestions to me, as to how the investigation should be conducted, assuring me of A.'s good faith, &c. Before any positive agreement was made with A., he, A., at my suggestion, came to Washington, and conferred with you. See my letter of May 6th.

After it was decided to avail ourselves of the services of A., I positively and distinctly informed him, on two or three occasions, that he, A., would not be permitted to make any money out of his connection with the investigation about to be instituted. Some days after the occurrence of the above facts, A. introduced me to his partners, H. and R., who had apparently been informed by A. of his arrangement with you and myself. About the 2d of February, I made the first arrest of these alleged bounty brokers. A., H., R., and often S., were in my room in conference with me concerning the alleged fraudulent transactions of other brokers and recruiting agents until, I think, about the middle of February, when I received a telegram from the Provost-Marshal General to report to him at Washington. Arriving there the following day, I learned that you desired that I should take some immediate and summary steps for the arrest of that large number of deserters, professional bounty jumpers, &c. We talked the matter over, but failed to fix upon any definite plan. I was directed by you to confer with Brigadier-General H., then in command of the recruiting service in New York city. See following dispatch:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 1, 1865.

Col. L. C. BAKER, No. 54 William Street, Room 29, New York City:—

I have arranged to send a company to General H. I desire you to see General H., and arrange with him for the arrest of deserters, in accordance with the conversation I had with you when here.

(Signed)

JAMES B. FREY,  
Provost-Marshals General.

I returned to New York the following day, saw General H., and submitted plans; which was to open a recruiting office somewhere in the vicinity of New York City, and with the assistance of the bounty brokers above referred to, who were supposed to know these professional jumpers and the best measures by which they can be captured. We finally decided to open the recruiting office at Hoboken, New Jersey. I submitted my plan, in all its details, to you, who approved it, and selected Lieutenant-Colonel I., Fourteenth United States Infantry, as recruiting and mustering officer, as will appear from Special Orders Nos. 16 and 14, and the following letters from General H.:—

HEADQUARTERS GENERAL RECRUITING SERVICE,  
No. 24 EAST FOURTH STREET,  
NEW YORK CITY, February 18, 1865.

[SPECIAL ORDER No. 16.]

Captain G. I., Fourteenth Infantry, recruiting officer at New York City, will open a branch rendezvous at Hoboken, New Jersey, without delay.

The Regimental Superintendent Fourteenth United States Infantry will increase his party for that purpose, if necessary.

By order of General COOKE.

(Signed)

R. T. FRANK,  
Capt. and A. A. Adjutant-General.

OFFICE ACTING ASSISTANT PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL,  
SOUTHERN DIVISION OF NEW YORK.

[SPECIAL ORDER No. 41—Extract.]

\* \* \* \* \*

IV. By special authority from the War Department, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. I., United States Army, in addition to his present duties, is temporarily assigned to duty as mustering officer at Hoboken, New Jersey, and will muster volunteer recruits into the service of the United States at that place.

Lieutenant-Colonel I. will make such arrangements for the temporary quarters of the recruits as may be necessary.

Lieutenant-Colonel I. will be subject to orders from this office, pursuant to directions from the office of the Provost-Marshal-General.

By command of Brigadier-General HENKS.

(Signed)

H. T. BROWNSON,  
Acting Adjutant-General.

OFFICE ACTING ASSISTANT PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL,  
AND SUPT. VOLUNTEER RECRUITING SERVICE,  
SOUTHERN DIVISION OF NEW YORK,  
NEW YORK, February 27, 1865.

Colonel BAKER:—

Will you please to give me the full name, rank, and corps of Colonel I., that I may issue the necessary orders to put him on duty under authority from this office.

If Colonel I. is now at hand, it perhaps will be well to send him to my office for a consultation.

I inclose you a letter from the Provost-Marshal General, received this morning, which you will please return by bearer.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully,

(Signed)

Your obedient servant,

EDWARD W. HINKS,

Brigadier-General, &c.

OFFICE A. A. PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL  
AND SUPT. VOLUNTEER RECRUITING SERVICE.  
SOUTHERN DIVISION OF NEW YORK,  
NEW YORK, February 27, 1865.

**COLONEL:**—

I have just issued orders assigning Lieutenant-Colonel I. to duty as Mustering Officer at Hoboken, which will obviate the difficulty which you suggest.

Lieutenant W. does not report to duty at these headquarters.

Yours, &c.,

(Signed)

EDWARD W. HINKS,

Brigadier-General, &c.

HEADQUARTERS, FORT WOOD,  
NEW YORK HARBOR, March 9, 1865.

[SPECIAL ORDERS NO. 12.]

Pursuant to Special Orders No. 43, from Headquarters United States Troops, City and Harbor of New York, of this date, First Lieutenant J. B. R., Sixth Infantry, commanding pen party, and two sergeants, two corporals, and forty (40) men of his company, will immediately proceed to New York City, and report to Colonel Baker, Special Agent War Department, at No. 54 William Street, New York City, for special duty.

The quartermaster's department will furnish the necessary transportation.

(Signed)

CHARLES J. MERCHANT,

Colonel United States Army Commanding Post.

Pursuant to these orders, Colonel I. opened said recruiting rendezvous about March 1, being furnished with the necessary guard, as shown by the following orders:—

OFFICE A. A. PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL,  
SOUTHERN DIVISION OF NEW YORK,  
NEW YORK, February 28, 1865.

[SPECIAL ORDER NO. 41—Extracts.]

\* \* \* \* \*

V. Lieutenant G. W. L., commanding Company B, Third Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, will detail one non-commissioned officer and twenty-four privates to report to Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel G. I., United States Army, Mustering Officer at Hoboken, New Jersey, for duty as guards to recruits.

The quartermaster's department will furnish the necessary transportation.

\* \* \* \* \*

By command of Brigadier-General HINKS.

(Signed)

H. T. BROWNSON,  
Acting Adjutant-General.

Some days after Colonel I. began recruiting at Hoboken, he applied to

know where he should credit his recruits. I informed him he had better get his orders from headquarters, as I suggested, and the same evening received the following order:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 4, 1865.

To Captain H. J. MILLS, Provost-Marshal Fifth District, N. J.:—

Until otherwise ordered, you are directed to allow credit for such men as Lieutenant-Colonel I., Captain Fourteenth United States Infantry, certifies to you as enlisted by him. He is recruiting at Hoboken. Inform Colonel E. of this order.

This command is special and confidential.

(Signed)

JAMES B. FRY,  
Provost-Marshal General.

Soon after the reception of this order by Colonel I., a number of gentlemen, unknown to me, called at my office and desired to know if the credits for enlistments made by Colonel I. at the Hoboken office were all right; that they were supervisors or agents for some localities in New Jersey to fill their quota; that they had purchased these credits from the brokers, A. R. & Co., but would not pay for them until they had seen me. I replied, "Yes," referring, of course, only to those enlistments made by Colonel I. previous to March 10.

The manner and circumstances under which these one hundred and eighty-three bounty-jumpers or deserters were captured is so well known to the public that I do not deem it necessary to detail it here; that the plan arranged by General Fry and myself, assisted by General H., as to the manner of capture and subsequent disposition of those deserters, was ordered, directed, sanctioned, and approved by both the military authorities at Washington and New York, is, I think, so plainly proved by the following and before-mentioned telegrams and correspondence, that further comment on this subject is unnecessary. On the evening that the jumpers were arrested I asked you to direct what should be done with them; you at once answered me as follows:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 11, 1865. }

Colonel L. C. BAKER, Astor House, New York:—

Major-General H. directs that the bounty jumpers and deserters arrested by you will be confined in Fort Lafayette, for which the prisoners now confined there are to be removed to Fort Warren and Fort Delaware.

I have communicated the information to Major-General Dix.

(Signed)

JAMES B. FRY,  
Provost-Marshal General.

In reply to which Major-General Dix writes the following:—

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }  
NEW YORK CITY, March 11, 1865. }

Colonel L. C. BAKER:—

Sir—I have received General Fry's dispatch, and have requested to have it repealed, as I think there is some mistake in it.

Fort Lafayette will have to be cleared of the prisoners there before the bounty jumpers can be received. I shall telegraph Colonel B. at once and ascertain when he can receive them. In the mean time I see no alternative but to keep them on the transport.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN A. DIX, Major-General.

On reception of this letter from General Dix, I telegraphed you as follows:—

NEW YORK, March 11, 1865.

Brigadier-General JAMES B. FRY, Provost-Marshal General:—

I have this moment received a communication from General Dix, stating that it is impossible for him to receive the bounty jumpers referred to in my dispatch of this morning; that there is no room either at Governor's or Hart's Island; that both places are filled to their utmost capacity. I do not deem it safe to forward these jumpers to any point unless securely ironed. Should you decide to send them either to the front or to Fort Warren, at least two hundred men should be detailed to guard them.

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Special Agent War Department.

Still failing to obtain the requisite order for the disposition of the jumpers, then at the Hoboken rendezvous, I started for Washington on the evening of March 12, to lay the matter before you. On arriving at New Brunswick, I received the following telegram:—

NEW YORK, March 12, 1865.

To Colonel L. C. BAKER:—

I have General Dix's order to transfer prisoners. Shall I do so? Please answer.

THOMAS BOWLES.

ASTOR HOUSE.

I immediately directed them to be removed to Fort Lafayette that night, and they were so removed, as appears from the following receipt:—

FORT LAFAYETTE, NEW YORK HARBOR.

Received of Lieutenant J. B. R., Sixth Regiment Infantry, one hundred and seventy-six (bounty jumpers) recruits and seventeen brokers, and ninety-six pair handcuffs.

(Signed)

MARTIN BURKE,

Lt.-Col. N. Y. A. Commanding Post.

It is true I knew of your order of 4th March, directing Colonel I. to make credits, but I did not suppose, for one moment, that he intended accompanying order to credit them, neither did I know that the credits had been made, until some days after the transaction, as will appear from the following letter to you.

NEW YORK, March 16, 1865.

Brigadier-General JAMES B. FRY, Washington, D. C.:—

SIR—Since the capture of the bounty jumpers at Hoboken repeated appli-

cations have been made to me to have said jumpers credited to the State of New Jersey. Colonel I., the mustering officer, applied to me before going to Washington, last week, to make application to you to have said jumpers so credited. I informed him that I did not think these men could or would be credited, advising him (Colonel I.) to apply to you for the requisite instructions or permission. On Tuesday last, while in Washington, and after my conversation with you on the subject referred to above, I received a telegram from Colonel I., requesting me to obtain permission to make these credits. This telegram I made no reply to. On my return to New York, yesterday morning, I heard that Colonel I. had made the credits. I sent for him, and asked him by whose order or direction he had done so. He referred me to your telegram of March 11, addressed to Captain H. J. M., provost-marshal at Newark, for his authority. I informed him (Colonel I.) that I did not think that you intended, by the telegram referred to, to convey any order or authority to Captain M. to credit bounty jumpers or deserters; that your telegram was intended to only authorize the crediting of such enlisted men as were regularly and legitimately enlisted previous to the Friday on which it was understood that none but jumpers and deserters were to be enlisted. I have advised Colonel I. to go to Washington to-night, and to make such explanation in reference to this matter as you may require. These explanations, I trust, will be satisfactory.

I am, General, very respectfully yours,  
 (Signed) L. C. BAKER,  
 Colonel, and Special Agent War Department.

As suggested in the above communication, Colonel I. went to Washington and conferred with you, the result of which was the issuing of the following orders:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
 PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., March 19, 1865. }

Brevet Lieut.-Col. GUIDO ILGES, U. S. A., Mustering Officer, Hoboken, N. J.:—

COLONEL—I am directed by the Provost-Marshal General to inform you that the credits of the men mustered by you March 11, 1865, at Hoboken, New Jersey, and credited to Jersey City at large, are disallowed, and that you will refund the money to the parties who advanced it.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully,  
 Your obedient servant,  
 (Signed) W. O.,  
 Capt. Fifth U. S. Cav. and A. A. G.

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
 PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., March 23, 1865. }

Bt. Lieut.-Col. G. I., U. S. A., 163 Hester St., N. Y.:—

COLONEL—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 21st instant, and, in reply, would state that the communication of the 19th instant, referred to, was intended to cover the cases of the one

hundred and eighty-three, so called, bounty jumpers; and that the amount which you received for the purpose of paying bounty to these one hundred and eighty-three, so called, bounty jumpers, the Provost-Marshal General directs be refunded to the parties who are entitled to it.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

W. O.,

Capt. Fifth U. S. Cav. and A. A. A. Gen.

I have been charged with conspiring with these brokers here to defraud New Jersey, by representing to Mayor C., and others, that the credits of Colonel I. were all right, thereby inducing Mayor C. to pay over a large sum of money to said brokers. That after said money was paid you revoked the orders for these credits. That after General Fry had placed in my hands orders for the arrest of said brokers, I allowed them to escape, or refused to execute said order. Without attempting any explanation or defense against these allegations, I beg leave to submit the following:—

As soon as I heard that A., R. & Co. were demanding from Colonel I. the fifty-four thousand nine hundred dollars, I sent for Colonel I., and, in the most positive terms, directed him not to pay to said A., R. & Co. the said fifty-four thousand nine hundred dollars without positive written orders from you. Such orders were received, however, being those referred to above, of March 19 and 23. On March 24 I received the following telegram:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
PROVOST-MARSHAL'S BUREAU, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 24, 1865. }

Colonel L. C. BAKER, No. 12 Vesey Street, New York:—

I have been informed by T. A., of New York, that Colonel I. declines to turn over the money received from the bounty jumpers, as directed by me on the 11th instant. I wish you to see Colonel I., and have him turn over this money, as directed.

(Signed)

JAMES B. FRY,  
Provost-Marshal General.

This telegram was sent because I had directed Colonel I. not to pay the fifty-four thousand nine hundred dollars to A., R. & Co. When I sent for Colonel I., and showed him this dispatch, he said, I have just paid the money to A., mentioning, at the same time, that he considered it a great outrage against Jersey City, who was being swindled by these brokers. I remarked, that I had done all in my power to prevent it; that I had paid not only the fifty-four thousand nine hundred dollars, but was ordered to do so by telegram from Washington. On the 26th of March I wrote you as follows:—

OFFICE SPECIAL AGENCY WAR DEPARTMENT, }  
NEW YORK, March 26, 1865. }

Brig.-Gen. JAMES B. FRY, Pro.-Mar. Gen. U. S., Washington, D. C.:—

SIR—I was waited upon yesterday by Mayor C., of Jersey City, who had obtained credits for one hundred and eighty-three bounty jumpers, enlisted at Hoboken on the 10th instant.

There seemed to be much bad feeling against the mayor, on the part of the citizens of Jersey City, with reference to this matter. It appears that the mayor had assured the recruiting committee of Jersey City that he (the mayor) had received positive assurances, from both Colonel Baker and Colonel I., that the credits referred to would be all right, if obtained. This representation, so far as it refers to me, was entirely unwarranted on the part of Mayor C. Immediately prior to the capture of the bounty jumpers, Mayor C. wrote to me in reference to certain credits which he had purchased, or was about to purchase, from the bounty brokers, A., R. & Co. I informed Mayor C. that he had better pay no money to the brokers, or any one else, until the case (referring to the capture of the bounty jumpers) was fully developed; neither had I any knowledge or intimation that these credits were made until so informed by Colonel I., after, or about the time the bounty jumpers were sent to the fort.

The case, as it now stands, seems to be one of exceeding hardship for the tax-payers and citizens of Jersey City, having paid their money for what they supposed to be real credits. I spoke with Colonel I., in compliance with your order by telegraph, respecting the fifty-four thousand nine hundred dollars retained by him belonging to the brokers. Colonel I. informed me that the amount was returned yesterday to the parties from whom he received it.

Mayor C. and ex-Governor N., I am informed, go to Washington to-morrow for the purpose of endeavoring to get the credits through. If any thing can be done to relieve the mayor from his present position I hope that it will be lone, for I believe the mayor to be an honest man, although, owing to his anxiety to fill his quota, he has acted very hastily, and with very little discretion.

I am, General, very respectfully,

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

On the 29th of March I received the following communication from you:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 29, 1865.

COLONEL:—

By the course of things in reference to the bounty jumpers taken at Hoboken, Mayor C., of Jersey City, is placed in a very unfortunate position. If possible, he should be relieved from it. Under date of March 23d, I directed Colonel I. to return the money in his possession to the parties who advanced it as bounties for these men, the credit for them being disallowed, and the money still in his possession. It seems that under this order, repeatedly telegraphed to you, on the 20th of March Colonel I. had delivered the money in whole or part to T. A., broker, and perhaps to some other brokers, and that Mayor C. is unable to gain possession of it. The proper method of disposing of this business has all the time seemed to me plain enough; it is this, to allow no credits for the bounty jumpers—men who have already been enlisted and credited several times over—but to credit any, if there be any, who are *bona-fide* recruits, and not jumpers; to return to the town authorities all

the money they advanced on account of men whom we do not credit. I intended my orders to carry out the above views, but it seems that the money advanced by Jersey City has been returned to A., the broker; perhaps it was turned over to Colonel I., through A., and on this account he returns it in the same way. However that may be, A. should return the money to Jersey City, and I desire you to see A. and tell him so. Neither he nor any one else has any right to profit in this matter. All necessary expenses connected with the arrest of these jumpers, and the enlistment of such as are proper recruits, must be paid by the United States, so that there is no loss for individuals in the case.

Please report to me as soon as practicable on the adjustment of this affair. You had better send for Mayor Cleveland also.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
 (Signed) JAMES B. FRY,  
 Provost-Marshal General.

To L. C. BAKER, 12 Vesey Street, New York City.

I had made so many demands upon A., R. & Co., as required by General Fry's orders, that they became frightened, and about April 4th or 5th, I learned that J. H., one of the said firm, had fled to Canada. On the 6th of April, I sent the following telegram to you:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
 NEW YORK, April 6, 1865. }

Brigadier-General JAMES B. FRY, Provost-Marshal General:—

H., one of the partners of A., H., & R., I am informed, has left for Canada. I fear A. and R. will go, unless arrested. They will not give up the money. If you desire to arrest them, send the order to General D., and that officer will commit them to the Old Capitol prison.

L. C. BAKER,  
 Colonel, and Special Agent War Department.

In reply to which I received the following answer:—

Col. L. C. BAKER, 12 Vesey Street:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1865.

Report to me in person, in this city, and bring A. and R. with you.

JAMES B. FRY,  
 Provost-Marshal General.

I immediately directed a search to be made for A. and R., but could not find them. On the 7th of April I received the following communication from you:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
 PROVOST-MARSHAL GENERAL'S BUREAU, }  
 WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1865. }

Col. L. C. BAKER, Special Agent War Department:—

COLONEL—In the prosecution of the investigation of the frauds connected with the recruiting service in New York, a proposition was made

by Mr. T. A., of the firm of A., R. & Co., substitute brokers, of the city of New York, to co-operate with you, under my orders, in order to develop the frauds practised by substitute brokers, and other guilty parties, connected with the raising of troops, which proposition was accepted, and his services secured.

In order to secure the arrest of a large number of deserters, who, it was understood, had several times enlisted under false names, and, by the assistance of substitute brokers, and other guilty parties, were allowed facilities for escape, it was determined to open a recruiting-office at Hoboken, under the charge of Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Guido Ilges, U. S. A., with the understanding that the substitute brokers should be informed that at this office deserters might be enlisted and suffered to escape.

In order to carry out this plan, T. A. undertook to induce parties having charge of fraudulent recruiting, to bring forward their deserters and so-called bounty jumpers for enlistment, and succeeded in securing one hundred and eighty-three deserters, who were enlisted in due form, and promptly arrested.

It appears that Hon. O. C., Mayor of Jersey City, had previously to, or about the time, entered into a contract with the firm of A., R. & Co., for the purchase of substitutes, or recruits, to fill the quota of Jersey City, and under this contract, Mr. T. A., of the firm of A., R. & Co., received from Hon. O. C. the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, or nearly that amount, on the representation of A., R. A. & Co., or of T. A., that the deserters, or bounty jumpers, so called, were actual and *bona fide* recruits, and would be credited to Jersey City, when in fact it was well known to A. that the enlistment of these deserters was only a means of securing their arrest and return to the army, and of exposing the frauds of their accomplices.

This money having been paid A., while he was co-operating with the officers of the Government, and being a part of the transaction then going on, should not be converted to A.'s private use. You are, therefore, directed to demand of A., R. & Co., and of T. A., the entire amount of money received by him or them from Hon. O. C., on this account; and if he or they refuse to return the same, you will, in accordance with the orders of the President of the United States, arrest T. A., R., and each and all of his confederates in this affair, and place them in confinement in the Old Capitol prison, in this city, until the same is fully paid.

In the mean time, you will use all due precautions to prevent A., R. & Co. from disposing of the money, and you will take such steps as will recover the same, if in their possession, or held by any other person, or corporation.

I am, Colonel, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)

JAMES B. FREY,  
Provost-Marshal General.

It will be observed that the above communication from you, under date of April 6 (but not received until the 7th), contained an order for the arrest of A., H., R., and their confederates; and further, that said order was issued

at my special request, and fearing that my detectives might not find the parties, I requested the order to be sent to Major-General D. also.

Immediately on reception of this order, every available man attached to my force was sent in search of the parties. I had the residences and places of resort strictly guarded. Hearing that they intended to escape into Canada, I sent the following telegram to the police authorities at the following named places: Buffalo, Niagara Falls, Rouse's Point, and Ogdensburg.

*New York, April 7, 1865.*

To Chief of Police:—

Arrest P. R., and T. A. R., five feet five inches high, light hair, high forehead, long and very large nose, light moustache, and no whiskers. A., five feet six, pale complexion, no whiskers, full face, and good-looking; wears large single stone ring. Escaping to Canada. Will pay five hundred dollars for arrest of either.

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Special Agent War Department.

From April 7th to the 15th, diligent search was made for the brokers. But having learned from good authority, that P. R. had been the financial man in this bounty-brokerage firm; that he had transacted all the business, and received all the money from the Jersey City authorities, and also that he still held it in his possession, undivided, I suggested to you that we permit A. to return to New York. In this request I was solely actuated by the desire to obtain possession of the funds, knowing well that the only way to attain this object was to hold out some inducement for R. to return; by leaving A. undisturbed would, in my opinion, accomplish this. I conferred with you on the subject, and you coincided with me. The order for the arrest of all parties was still, however, in force, and remained so until proceedings were commenced by the authorities of Jersey City.

I still believe that, had A. been arrested, the money would not have been recovered, for it was in R.'s possession, and he in Europe.

I may have been mistaken in this policy, but I still think it was right under the then existing circumstances. On Saturday morning, April 15 I received the following dispatch from the Secretary of War:—

*WASHINGTON, April 15, 1865.*

Colonel L. C. BAKER, No. 12 Vesey Street, New York:—

Come to Washington by first train, and bring your men with you.

(Signed)

E. M. S.

Secretary of War.

The terrible event which called forth this order, is still fresh in the minds of the American people. I went to Washington, and, with hundreds of others, was engaged in the pursuit of the assassins. All the business of the War Department, and its subordinate bureaus, was for the time abandoned, forgotten, and swallowed up in the one great object, viz.: capture and conviction

of the murderers of the President, and attempted assassination of the Secretary of State. How myself and those attached to my bureau were employed from April 15th to the day of the execution of the assassins, I can with pride refer to the records of the Bureau of Military Justice. The army of the so-called Confederacy had surrendered, the rebellion had closed, military rule and sway were relaxing, arrests of citizens, and their trial by military courts, were thought no longer necessary, and since entirely abandoned by the Government.

During the time referred to above, I did not see any of the brokers, and did not visit New York, and seldom heard the case referred to. You, as well as myself, had always strenuously opposed allowing these credits, claiming that those enlisted at Hoboken were deserters, and not proper subjects for credits; but felt it our duty to render all the assistance in our power to aid the authorities of Jersey City in receiving back their money.

As appears from the following letter, the authorities of Jersey City, as early as May last, began criminal proceedings against A., H., and R.:-

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF POLICE,  
JERSEY CITY, N. J., August 28, 1865. }

GENERAL:-

I have the honor to transmit to you a statement of my proceedings in the case of R., A., and H.

On or about the first of May last, Alderman Q., late Commissioner of the Board of Enrolment in this district, informed me that the city had been defrauded out of considerable money, and explained how it was done, and told me that he had consulted with the United States Attorney, Keasby, also with the United States Commissioner, Jackson, and was anxious to get the money back for the city, and said the best method was to take the principals under the United States law for defrauding recruits out of their bounty, and he requested my assistance as chief of police. Accordingly we procured about twelve or fourteen of said recruits, and the clerk of these swindlers, took them before Commissioner N. S. J., and procured their affidavits. The commissioner, deeming the evidence sufficient, issued warrants for the arrest of the principals, also some of the runners, which warrants are in the hands of the detectives of Marshal M. and Sergeant Y., in New York City.

At present we learn that R. is in Europe, and H. and A. are in Canada. H. is stopping at the St. Lawrence Hotel, Montreal; and a former partner of his, one M. M., who resides at No. 181 Bleecker Street, New York City, has in his possession, or banked in his name, the sum of fifty-three thousand dollars (\$53,000), belonging to said H., being a part of his proceeds in the Hoboken transaction, belonging to Jersey City. This information is received from the National Express Company of New York City, who turned over a letter of correspondence from H. to M., a copy of which I herewith inclose. M. is now on a visit to H., in Canada, and will be back in ten days. I send this information to you to see if any measures can be taken to secure the money in the hands of M. Alderman Q. and myself have been on the alert, working up this case since May 1, 1865, believing it was the only way to secure the

money. The mayor, on the contrary, looks to the Government to reimburse Lim, and the people that the men should be credited or the money should be refunded. Be this as it may, if you can assist us in securing the principals, or holding the money wherever we can find it, we believe that the ends of justice will be met, as well for the Government as for the city. We learn also that R. has property located somewhere in the neighborhood of Red Bank, New Jersey.

If these things can be reached by some military or arbitrary power, we are sure to recover a portion, at least, of said money. Please advise with me at your earliest convenience, and any suggestions from you will be duly appreciated, not only by me, but by the citizens generally.

I am, General, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

J. McM.,

Chief of Police, Jersey City, N. J.

To General FRY, Provost-Marshal, Washington, D. C.

This letter was sent me with the following indorsement:—

Respectfully referred to General L. C. Baker, with directions to communicate with the authorities of Jersey City in the matter of the fraud of A., H., and R., and do every thing proper to aid in securing the return of the money improperly held by said A., H., and R. It has been said that the authorities in Jersey City have stated that the chances of recovering the money by civil proceedings against the property of these parties, said proceedings being instituted and conducted by the authorities of Jersey City, would be better, if the parties were secured against the fear of proceedings by the General Government. General B. will ascertain the views and wishes of the Jersey City authorities on this point, and confer further with me.

(Signed)

JAMES B. FRY,

Provost-Marshal General.

*August 30, 1865.*

To which I replied as follows:—

WAR DEPARTMENT,  
WASHINGTON CITY, August 30, 1865. }

J. McM., Esq., Chief of Police, Jersey City, N. J.:—

SIR—Your communication of the 28th instant, addressed to the Provost-Marshal General, has been referred to me, with the direction that I communicate with the authorities of Jersey City in reference to the matter referred to. As soon as it was known that A., H., and R. had fraudulently obtained a large sum of money from Mayor C., of Jersey City, by obtaining credits for bounty jumpers, &c., I addressed a request to the Provost-Marshal General, asking for an order for their arrest. The request was granted, and the order placed in my hands for execution. I immediately detailed officers to arrest the parties. Learning that they had left the city for Canada, I forwarded telegrams to all the principal points of crossing the border, at the same time offering a reward of five hundred dollars for their apprehension. Some weeks subsequently I learned the parties had returned to New York, but kept them-

selves concealed. I then directed the search to be continued, which has been done thoroughly, I believe, up to this time, but without success. The authorities here who are conversant with the facts of the swindle, are very anxious that all connected with it should be arrested, summarily punished, and compelled to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. It is represented to me that R., H., and A. do not fear any prosecution on the part of the civil authorities at Jersey City, but dare not return, fearing that the Government will arrest and imprison them without giving them an opportunity for defense. If this is so (and I do not doubt it), I will recommend that the Government temporarily withdraw its charges, and allow them to return, in order that you may arrest them, if you think such a course would induce their return to New York.

Please write me on the subject, as my name has been unfortunately mixed up with this transaction. I am more anxious that the whole matter should be thoroughly and promptly investigated, with a view to the proper indemnification of your citizens. If it can be positively ascertained that A., H., R., or M. have money to their credit in any bank in the United States, I will recommend to you that he immediately cause its seizure. I have to-day sent an agent to Red Bank, New Jersey, to ascertain whether R. has property there, as stated in your communication.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Brig.-Gen., and Provost-Marshal War Dept.

Soon after the writing of this letter, the application for allowing these credits was renewed with still more persistence than ever, and by those who were supposed to possess great influence with the authorities at Washington. I undertook to counteract this pressure, but was defeated, and the credits were finally allowed, with certain conditions and restrictions.

It is reported, and I have no doubt with some cause, that M. C. S. and the counsel for A., H., and R., have in their possession certain correspondence, statements, telegrams, memorandums, &c., which have been furnished by those engaged in prosecuting the brokers, and which should have been considered confidential, &c. I am informed that one of the counsel for A., H., and R. did, surreptitiously and fraudulently, obtain from your bureau, by the payment of money to certain clerks there employed, certain official correspondence, orders, &c., referring to this Jersey City case. These orders and correspondence were published in pamphlet form, a copy of which is in my possession. If official papers of this importance could thus be stolen or abstracted from your bureau, it certainly is not impossible that they might have been taken from my bureau in the same way. If so, I certainly could have had no knowledge or intimation of it. If, as alleged, such papers are in possession of these brokers or their counsel, I take this occasion to say that they were never obtained but by actual robbery or bribery of my employees. I desire now to go back in the history of this affair, and refer to a subject which has, more than any other, given rise to so many unfounded reports and rumors concerning my connection with the Hoboken recruiting-office and the brokers A., H., and R. I refer to a large sum of money represented to have

been received by subscription in New York city, to be presented to me as a testimonial in recognition of my services in breaking up recruiting-frauds, &c. My first knowledge of this testimonial was derived from reading a short editorial paragraph in the *New York Tribune*, in which it was recommended that Colonel B. be presented with a testimonial, in recognition of the great services he had rendered the country at large, and New York in particular, in breaking up recruiting frauds. Some days after reading this article, the Hon. L. E. C., former Register of the Treasury of the United States, who had been employed by you to assist me in preparing for trial the cases of those arrested, remarked that he (Mr. C.) had been selected as the treasurer or custodian of the testimonial fund referred to, and that he had already received subscriptions for said fund. This information was of course very flattering to me, whose official acts had always been the subject of censure rather than praise. I then believed that this testimonial scheme was an honorable and legitimate transaction, that the contributions thereto were made in good faith, and by those who certainly could have no pecuniary motive in contributing. Mr. C. continued to receive these subscriptions for nearly two weeks, when one day he remarked to me that he thought it a little strange that so large an amount should be contributed by two individuals, viz., C. S. S. and M. C. S. This remark at once excited my suspicion, and led me to inquire of Mr. C. how much had been paid in, and by whom paid. To my surprise, I learned that the above-named persons were the only contributors. About this time Mr. C. was, "at his own request," relieved from duty with me, and the Hon. Judge B. selected to fill his place. It required but little investigation into this testimonial business to satisfy me that I could not consistently receive it, and so informed Mr. C., whom I requested to retain the money until he should hear further from me. When Mr. C. left me, he took the money with him. Soon after, M. C. S. called on me, and said Mr. C. refused to hand over the testimonial fund. I replied that I had no control of either Mr. C. or the fund in his hands; that as the intended recipient of this testimonial, I could make no suggestions concerning it. Under my advice, Mr. C. did retain this money until about the 1st of May last, when I had ascertained precisely from whom and how it was received. That M. C. S. had represented to A., H., and R., that I was to have one-fifth of the money received from the Hoboken operations. This whole testimonial scheme, then, was but a farce, or simply a means for conveying to me my share of the Hoboken plunder. I wrote Mr. C. the following communication:—

WASHINGTON, May 12, 1865.

Hon. L. C. C.:—

DEAR SIR—Some months since, during the investigations conducted by you and myself in New York city, I incidentally learned that a number of gentlemen who claimed to appreciate my services in exposing and bringing to just punishment a large number of persons connected with enlistment frauds, bounty swindling, &c., had expressed a desire to present me with a testimonial. I subsequently learned that you were selected as treasurer of said fund, and had already received subscriptions amounting to five or six thousand

dollars. I was also informed that nearly, if not all of this amount was donated or paid to you by Mr. C. S. S., an attorney, who had been employed to defend the persons arrested, and who had received very large fees. Therefore, while I should very highly appreciate any recognition of my services from the loyal and patriotic people of your city, I cannot consent to receive money which in my opinion has been robbed or stolen from the families of soldiers who are fighting the battles of our country. I have therefore respectfully to request that you will return to the donors, Mr. C. S. S. and Mr. M. C. S., the amount received from them. With my thanks for the kind expression of your regard and friendship,

(Signed)

I remain, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER.

The funds were paid over to S., they giving their receipts to Mr. C. for the same. So explains this great testimonial operation. To deny that I had ever been offered money by these brokers, their counsel, and friends, would be stating what is not true. It would be impossible for me to recount, or even refer, in a brief statement of this kind, to the schemes, devices, and plans resorted to by certain persons to induce me to accept money in payment for services, which it was alleged I might render in assisting and protecting these bounty brokers; hardly an interview has taken place between us that money was not freely offered, but never paid, because of my (as they supposed) inability to render the services required. All the conversations that occurred at these interviews, all the propositions to pay money, were immediately communicated to you.

In concluding this brief history of my connection with the Hoboken affair, I desire distinctly to say, that I have never received, directly or indirectly, from any person or persons, the value of one farthing from my connection with any investigation, either at New York, Hoboken, Jersey City, or elsewhere. Neither has there ever accrued to me pecuniarily, personally, or politically, one particle of benefit or profit from my official connection with this Government, except that received as my regular pay as a commissioned officer.

Respectfully,

L. C. BAKER,  
Brig.-Gen., and Provost-Marshal War Dept.

The recent order of the Secretary of War, revoking your order disallowing the credits of the bounty jumpers, has, in my opinion, still further complicated the case. First, Jersey City, to whom the bounty jumpers were credited, has claimed from Hudson County her proportion of these credits, or the money therefor. Second, by allowing these credits, the Government admits that these bounty jumpers were regularly enlisted, and not deserters, as claimed by your bureau, thereby clearly establishing the fact that said bounty jumpers are entitled to bounty. The great object to be accomplished in arresting these one hundred and eighty-three bounty jumpers, was to punish them, and

thereby prevent further frauds practised by wholesale desertions from the army.

The means resorted to and policy adopted in arresting these jumpers, may be, I think, very justly questioned. An experience of nearly five years in detecting frauds has, however, convinced me that, in order to remedy great evils and suppress frauds on the Government in time of war requires the adoption of the severest treatment towards the offenders; while a very few innocent persons may suffer inconvenience, the great good accomplished justifies the act. I could submit the sworn affidavits of professional bounty jumpers, detailing their exploits in the matter of desertions. The following are correct copies of the diary of a few professional bounty jumpers:—

I reside at 163 East Thirty-sixth Street, New York. Enlisted February 18, 1863, in the Fourteenth Regular United States Infantry. Deserted on the 8th of March. Enlisted in the First New Hampshire Cavalry, Company D, Captain Woolburn, on the 12th of March. Deserted next day. Enlisted again on the 24th March in One Hundred and Twelfth New York Volunteers. Deserted April 2d. Next day enlisted in Twelfth Pennsylvania Cavalry. Deserted same night. The following day enlisted in Eighth New Jersey Infantry. Deserted April 12th. Enlisted in Twenty-second Vermont Infantry, May 18th. Deserted same day. Enlisted in Fifty-second Ohio, May 28th. Deserted June 18th. Enlisted July 12th at Harrisburg. Deserted same night. Went to Pittsburg, and the next day enlisted again. Was tried twice for desertion, the last time sentenced to be shot, but escaped. In some of my enlistments I received some money; generally, however, the brokers made it.

(Signed)

F. P., alias J. R.

It would be impossible to give, with any degree of correctness, from any records or facts in my possession, the entire number of desertions under the different calls for troops. The investigations on that point, before referred to in this report, were confined exclusively to the city of New York and immediate vicinity. No other State, city, or locality, without regard to the number of troops called for, or actually raised, furnished as many deserters as New York City. Immediately after the extent of the frauds had been discovered in New York, I at once proceeded to the arrest of those implicated, after first submitting the written evidence in each case to the Hon. L. E. C., whose duty it was to examine and decide upon the facts. The following exhibit shows the names of all persons arrested under your directions, nature of charges, how finally disposed of, &c.

Cases tried by the Military Commission, of which Colonel N. P. C. was Judge-Advocate, and which were begun by General Baker.

J. D.—Forging certificates of enlistment. Convicted, and sentenced ten years penitentiary and ten thousand dollars fine.

J. D.—Ditto. Convicted, and sentenced seven years, five thousand dollars fine. (Pardoned.)

J. C.—Ditto. Convicted, and sentenced five years. (Pardoned.)

W. B.—Procuring false enlistments, and enticing soldiers to desert. Convicted, and sentenced six months, fined one hundred dollars. (Pardoned.)

L. E.—Same charge. Sentenced six months, one hundred dollars fine. (Pardoned.)

W. H. B.—Falsely and fraudulently procuring transportation passes, &c. Convicted, fined two hundred and fifty dollars; imprisoned till paid. (Pardoned.)

J. W.—Enticing soldiers to desert. Convicted, sentenced one year, five hundred dollars fine. (Pardoned.)

C. G.—Charge the same. Convicted, fined five hundred dollars; imprisoned till paid. (Pardoned.)

J. K. (Soldier).—Aiding desertion. Convicted and sentenced. (Pardoned.)

J. B. (Government detective).—Receiving bribes. Convicted, and sentenced to Penitentiary. (Pardoned.)

J. W. M.—Aiding desertion. Convicted and sentenced.

M. D.—Fraudulent enlistment-papers. Convicted and sentenced.

S. R. E.—Same charge. (On bail, Washington.)

J. D. (Government detective).—Receiving bribes. Convicted, sentenced. (Not promulgated.)

J. McN.—Assuming to be an officer, and obtaining money under false pretences. Convicted, sentenced two hundred and fifty dollars fine; imprisoned till paid. (Pardoned.)

W. E.—Forging appointment from Secretary of War. Convicted, and sentenced ten years' imprisonment. (Pardoned.)

W. N. H.—Forging enrollment-papers. Convicted, and sentenced one year, two hundred and fifty dollars fine. (Pardoned.)

C. P. H.—Bribery, and assuming to be a Government officer, and aiding desertion. Convicted, and sentenced one year, three hundred dollars fine. (Pardoned.)

A. C.—Enticing soldiers, and making false enlistments. Convicted, and sentenced two years, five hundred dollars fine. (Pardoned.)

G. M. D.—Aiding desertion, fraudulent practices as bounty broker. Convicted and sentenced ten years, and forty-five thousand dollars fine. In prison.

Captain E. W.—Procuring recruits in violation of law; bribery; defrauding Government. Convicted, and sentenced two years, and ten thousand dollars fine. (Pardoned.)

O. W. C.—Misconduct in office; bribery; frauds, &c. Convicted, and sentenced five years. (Pardoned.)

T. A.—Forging muster-out rolls, &c. Convicted, and sentenced five years. (Pardoned.)

O. L.—Aiding desertion; making false enlistments. Convicted, and sentenced two hundred and fifty dollars fine, and one year imprisonment. (Pardoned.)

The following-named persons were paroled to appear whenever the Government required them: R. McM., J. McM., W. H. B., F. D., J. S. H., W. B., R. McN., A. S., L. J., S. P., R. R., and I. S.

The following were detained as witnesses:—J. F., T. McF., F. C., A. Z., G. Z., by military court.

After the conviction and sentence of the persons referred to above, and

owing to the speedy termination of the rebellion by the fall of Richmond, and subsequent surrender of the rebel army, I made application to you, under date of May 26th, to have all the prisoners, arrested in connection with the recruiting frauds, then confined in the Old Capitol Prison, released and sent to the United States District Court, New York, for trial. This recommendation was approved by you, and the following cases were so transferred:—J. L., W. C., J. W. E., A. L., A. W. N., J. C., C. S. W., J. T., S. W. W., W. H. T., J. F., and R. D.

Every one of these persons who were placed on trial were, after a fair and impartial hearing, before a military court composed of officers selected with a direct view to their legal ability and knowledge of criminal proceedings, convicted, thereby fully justifying their arrest. Had those turned over to the civil authorities in New York, and those paroled, been tried, there is no doubt that the same results would have followed, as all were equally guilty. The persistent interference of attorneys and others in high official positions in New York, to prevent the trial of these persons by military courts, the rebellion having closed, the consequent necessity for recruiting more troops had ceased. Civil law assumed its legitimate functions in the loyal States, as before stated; in this report it was decided to turn said processes over to the civil courts. To show the incompetency and insufficiency of civil courts to administer justice in time of war to the class of criminals referred to, I will simply state, that not one of the cases forwarded to the civil courts in New York have been tried, notwithstanding the evidence is as complete and conclusive in each case. But had these persons been tried by military courts, and convicted, the recent decision of the United States Supreme Court would not only have necessarily released them, but compelled the Government to have remitted and returned to such persons all moneys collected as fines and penalties. The frauds, robberies, and impositions practised by bounty brokers and recruiting agents upon the soldiers and their families, were so atrocious and inhuman, that a recital of them would almost make mankind ashamed of his species. Young boys, thirteen and fifteen years of age, were first drugged with poisoned liquors in some of these murderous dens, kept for that purpose, then taken to a recruiting-office or depot and enlisted; old and infirm men were often taken by actual force and dragged to these recruiting depots and compelled to enlist; our prisons and jails were ransacked by these fiends in human shape; even the insane and imbecile were not safe from the clutches of the professional bounty and substitute brokers.

To infer that the great Union army was, to any considerable extent, composed of such material, would be an inference not at all justified by the facts, and a direct reflection upon the honor and patriotism of those who were actuated by the highest possible motives, viz.: hatred of treason and love of country; for the class of recruits referred to never reached the army, but were only intended to fill quotas.

In the foregoing brief history of my operations in connection with investigations in recruiting frauds, I have but very hurriedly and imperfectly referred to the various modes adopted by bounty and substitute brokers and others, to defraud the Government. The great good accomplished by the investigation,

arrest, and conviction of many of those most prominent in perpetrating enlistment frauds, bounty jumping, aiding desertion, &c., must be fully understood by your bureau. Had the war continued, thereby requiring the recruiting of additional troops, the good accomplished would have been incalculable.

I am, General, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,

Brig.-Gen., and Pro.-Mar. of the War Dept.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### THE BOUNTY JUMPERS AND BROKERS.

Quotas filled with Falsified Enlistment-Papers—Arrest of Brokers—Amusing and Exciting Scene—The Hoboken Raid—Slanderous Charges—Large Number of Arrests—Incarceration in Fort Lafayette—Other Arrests—Trial before a Military Commission.

It is, doubtless, a matter of surprise that forged enlisting-papers could have been so readily manufactured and profitably used. One of the leading brokers arrested was a notary public. Aided by the clerks at the recruiting-office, the necessary blanks were obtained. These were written out with fictitious names, properly certified by the notary public. Each set of the papers represented an enlisted man, and was ready for sale in the market, to any unsuspecting agent from the country having a quota to fill. There were whole towns in the interior of the Empire State filled with these fraudulent credits. In many instances the same false enlistments were credited in different Congressional districts. The matter will be more fully comprehended by a reference to my official report.

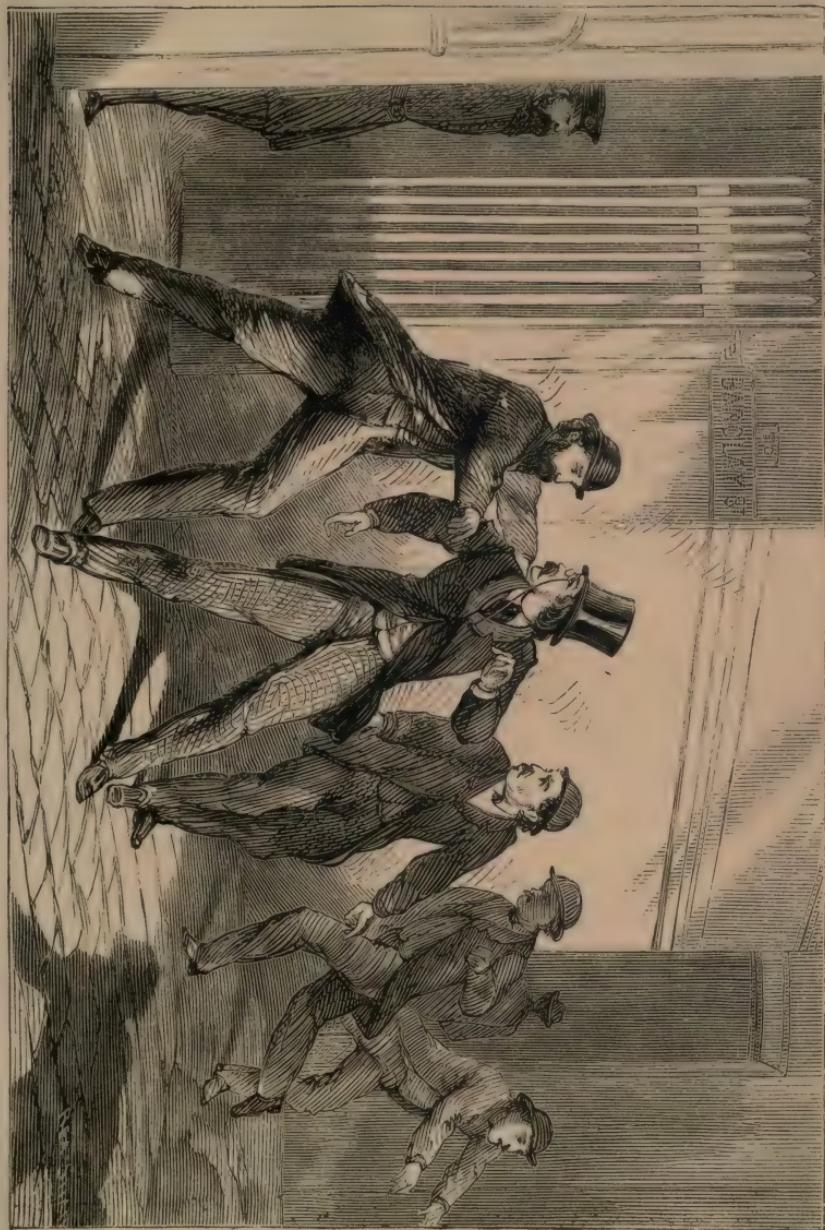
I took up my headquarters at the Astor House, and let the brokers know that I was an agent or supervisor for the interior of the State, having several large quotas to fill. I was at once besieged by applications to purchase credits. The third day I purchased sixteen sets of these enlistment-papers ; and on the fourth, twenty-two, when a proposition was made by a broker to purchase forged papers, saying, those I had were such, and would answer the same purpose ; that so skillfully were they prepared detection was impossible. The offer was accepted, and placed me on the most friendly terms with my associates in business. For a number of days I continued the purchase of spurious papers for less than half the price of the genuine documents. This

feature of the swindling came near causing a quarrel among the brokers ; some of them insisting that I should not have been informed that I bought forged papers, because I might then have paid full price. The other party contended, that by committing me to the forgery I was secured against betrayal of the cause. The former further claimed, that forged papers were worth as much to me as the genuine. These negotiations were carried on four days, when I decided to arrest the whole company. It will be understood, that the arrest of a single broker in the city would create an alarm, and end the investigation. The greatest strategy and concealment were therefore indispensable to success. The knowledge of my presence in the metropolis would have defeated my plans. On a certain day I requested nine brokers, with whom I had business, to come to my room at the same hour, bringing their papers. I had concealed, in an adjoining room, a number of my assistants. I instructed them that the signal I should use to bring them to my aid, would be a knock on the door of the apartment in which they were placed.

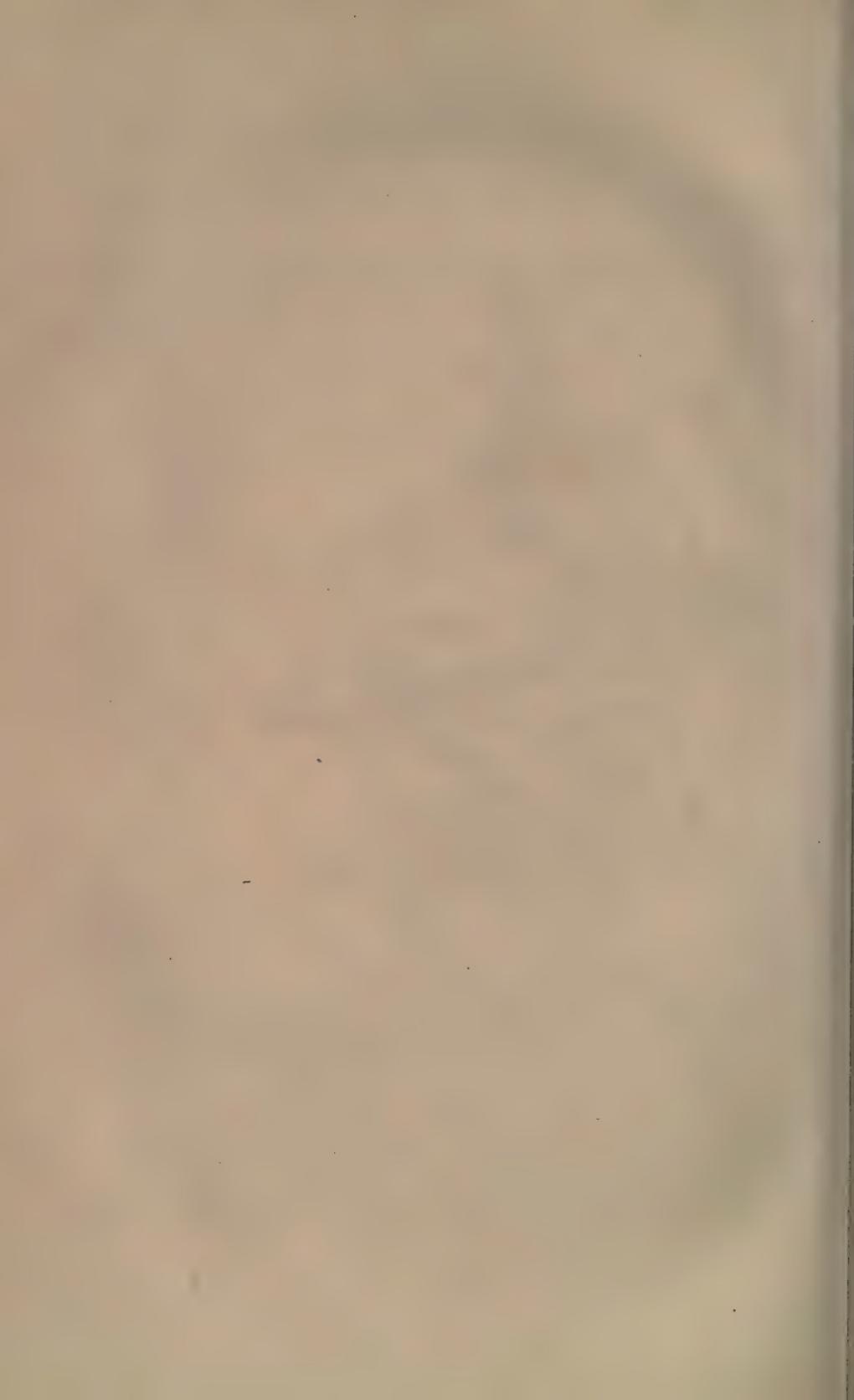
The illustrious nine stood around me, forged papers in hand, eagerly waiting for the checks which would bring the reward of their villainy. To fasten the guilt upon the criminals, beyond dispute, I had written receipts for the money to be paid each broker. As they walked up in line, and made their marks, for most of them could not write, I stepped to the folding-doors and gave the signal. Instantly a detective came in, and I said to my broker-friends : "Gentlemen, this joke has gone far enough ; you are my prisoners. I am General Baker, the Chief of the Detective Bureau."

It would be futile for tongue or pen to attempt to describe the effect of my words upon the assemblage before me. The change that passed over it was very marked, and to me, who was the cause of it, irresistibly entertaining. The explosion of a bomb-shell in the battle-ranks could not have startled and dismayed the soldiery more suddenly than this unexpected exposure of their crimes, and the powerful grasp of justice, did the discomfited brokers, who had anticipated a very different fate.

Here, a dapper little fellow, in flashy dress and jewelry,



CAPTURE OF BOUNTY JUMPERS AT HOBOKEN.



changed color, looked ghastly, and reeled to the sofa. There, a burly, red-faced fighter put on a defiant air, and, with an oath, said: "I would like to see you arrest me." A display of my six-shooter cooled him off wonderfully, and he stood like a living firebrand, ready to go into a self-consuming flame. Another burst into tears, and pleaded that he was seduced into the crime by artful men. A few more resolved to make a joke of the whole matter, and laugh off the scare. I transferred the interesting company to an apartment in the Astor House, their prison for the time. Two or three of them made written confessions, which revealed in detail the criminality of their companions, and of many others.

The notorious Hoboken raid upon bounty brokers and bounty jumpers, which has been the subject of a great deal of newspaper comment and censure, was never clearly understood. It cannot be denied that the affair was original and peculiar in its character, but it was called for by the unusual and manifold expedients resorted to by the dishonest harpies preying upon the Government.

The late civil war possessed so many extraordinary features, that means were employed to meet them which, although unknown before, were justified by the emergencies; and on becoming possessed of the facts, as they really were, of the Hoboken transaction, every reasonable person, I am confident, will vindicate the action of the bureau, and especially my own position in the service.

The emissaries of the South, and loyal persons prejudiced against me personally, charged me with a financial connection and interest, and consequently represented me as a sharer in substantial pecuniary profits. These slanderous intimations, however, are wholly without foundation. The careful Congressional investigation, and several civil suits that were instituted, failed to bring a particle of reliable evidence to sustain them.

Men can believe what they please, still there is a wide difference between mere opinion and conviction following upon positive testimony. Upon receiving the latter, no person has an honest right to condemn my motives and conduct.

The official correspondence, and orders connected with the opening of a recruiting rendezvous at Hoboken, are given in my report to the Provost-Marshal General.

With the assistance of the bounty brokers referred to therein, I enlisted as many bounty jumpers as possible, with the understanding that no others were to be taken. March 10th, it was given out among the brokers that a "walk-away" had been opened in Hoboken. This novel place was understood to be for the escape of enlisted men who could safely walk away.

Perhaps a more ludicrous trap in detective policy was never laid than that which now secured the swindlers. Appreciating the desperate character of the men I was preparing to deal with, I had a body of soldiers stationed in the hall, over the recruiting headquarters. To avoid all disclosure of the plot, it was arranged that no bounty jumper should leave or communicate with those outside. Every man enlisted was taken to the hall above; and here it is proper to state that each company of jumpers had its agent.

If none of those enlisted were known to have escaped, it would naturally awaken suspicion in the minds of their outside friends that something was wrong; that the "walk-away" was not genuine. Any uncertainty on this point would prove fatal to the scheme of detection.

Recruiting commenced at an early hour in the morning, and continued briskly until two or three o'clock in the afternoon, when the discovery was made, that not a single jumper who had entered the hall an enlisted soldier had been seen afterward. I had anticipated this difficulty, and, anxious to keep the plot secret as long as possible, to increase the number of jumpers, I directed those assisting me to put a mark upon the back of each of the brokers engaged in furnishing recruits. This was done in such a manner as to be unnoticed by the brokers themselves, but perfectly understood by me. I then directed my men to station themselves at the ferry, in New York, and arrest the brokers, which could be done with no difficulty, as the white signs of guilt marked upon their shoulders would instantly betray them.

As I had anticipated, the brokers became uneasy respect-

ing the fate of those already enlisted, and, one after another, left the rendezvous, and took the boat for the metropolis.

When they reached the gate of the ferry, the chalk-marks revealed the criminals, and their arrest immediately followed, until eighteen of the brokers and one hundred and eighty of the jumpers were caught.

It would be difficult to imagine the scene in the Odd Fellows' Hall of Hoboken, on the afternoon of that day of arrest. Formed in a ring were many hundred soldiers, armed for any emergency; within it, seated on benches, were nearly two hundred prisoners. With the dawning of the truth upon the minds of the wondering crowd of arrested men, a sudden and amusing change went over the faces of all. They had been especially careful to avoid me, and now, awakened from a dream of security to find themselves in my toils! Some looked blank with amazement and despair; others had an expression of demoniac hate; while a portion of the arrested seemed strongly inclined to treat their imprisonment jocosely, and regard it as a trivial affair. They were caught in the net set by hands most dreaded and carefully avoided.

I could scarcely conceal an expression of mischievous merriment, which, notwithstanding my efforts to the contrary, was apparent at the singular scene presented by the mixed assembly.

The soldiers looked quietly on, while the dandy apparel and gaudy jewelry of the swindling fraternity presented a mocking and cruel contrast to their anxious and crestfallen countenances.

The facts were communicated to the Provost-Marshals General, with the request to be informed what to do with them. After a delay of nearly a day and a half, the Secretary of War ordered them to be removed to Fort Lafayette. Their incarceration for weeks, with no disposal of their case, was a topic of severe animadversion, and the responsibility laid at my door; a responsibility no more my own than any other act of the War Department through my official relation to it.

I repeatedly called the attention of the Department to

these prisoners, urging that they should be tried as deserters, and punished accordingly.

The only reason which can be given for the delay, and which, to many patriotic persons, will be a sufficient one, was the excitement and rejoicing attending the fall of Richmond and the surrender of General Lee, which occurred at this particular time, absorbing the attention of all parties.

Although overlooked for a while, they were by no means designedly neglected.

The final disposal of the brokers arrested, and those engaged in frauds upon the Government, was equally an affair entirely outside of my official authority.

My arrests, independent of the brokers and jumpers at Hoboken, were about forty-six persons, in every case of which a written order was received from the President of the United States, and, by his direction, they were committed to the Old Capitol prison.

I was requested to furnish, and did so, a written synopsis, or memorandum, in respect to each individual arrested. These statements were submitted to the Hon. L. E. C., and Judge B., of New York, two of the most eminent jurists in the country.

A military commission was convened at Washington, by order of the Secretary of War, for the trial of these prisoners. The ones first arrested were first tried. The great array of counsel for the defendants, and the number of witnesses produced by both parties, made the investigations extended and wearisome. But, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the prisoners, and the large number of counsel which they employed, they were all convicted, as will be seen by reference to the records of the Bureau of Military Justice. The Department exacted from me the most persistent activity in the prosecution of these cases.

Not governed by motives of revenge, or personal feeling, it was the simple aim to render justice to the guilty, and carry out the wishes of the Government.

In the midst of the trials, and immediately succeeding the conviction of about a dozen of the prisoners, the rebellion suddenly collapsed. Great changes in popular sentiment, and policy of the Government, awakened the desire,

which soon found expression, for the restoration of civil courts. Fully sympathizing with this natural longing, I sent a written request to the Secretary of War, that all prisoners in my custody might be transferred to the proper authorities.

If they were regarded as legitimate recruits, the order discontinuing further enlistments, and discharge of all enlisted men held in barracks and rendezvous, would apply to these bounty jumpers. They could not be tried for desertion, because the President's proclamation of amnesty, which applied to deserters, would reach their case also. In any view that may be taken of the incarceration of the prisoners, complaints against me for the fact fall to the ground ; I was not, and could not be, responsible for it, under the circumstances, which need only to be known to make the assertion of innocence clear.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### BOUNTY JUMPING INCIDENTS.

Personal Experience in Bounty Jumping—A Perfect Trump—Detectives Enlisted—Passes obtained for Bounty Jumpers—Arrest and Surprise—Court-Martial and Conviction.

IT has been sufficiently demonstrated, by incidents recorded, that monstrous frauds were perpetrated by the manufacture and sale of enlistment papers.

Indeed, it is very evident, from knowledge thus far obtained, that not a small proportion of all such documents, on which credits were given, were forged.

I shall only add to the record a few incidents, which combine in their character both the comic and tragic qualities.

I had been told that soldiers would receive the bounty, re-enlist the same day, be sent to the Island, and repeat the process the day following. I was, at the time, skeptical respecting such facility in deception and incredible assurance, and to satisfy myself in regard to the truth of the matter, I dressed myself in the garb of a regular jumper and repaired, February 9th, to a recruiting office in the public square near the Astor House, New York. Assuming the air of a veteran in the business, I asked the officer what he was paying for recruits.

Before the question could be answered, the gentlemanly broker, always at hand, inquired of me my name and place of residence, which I gave him. In a low tone of voice, and with a knowing wink, he said: "Have you been through before in New York?" I answered: "Not since last fall." He added: "All right; come inside." And in less time than it has taken to relate the incident, I was one of "Uncle Sam's boys."

My friend gave me one hundred dollars, promising the remainder due me when I should arrive at the Island ; then directing me to remain where I was for a while, he left me.

Returning within an hour, he opened the following conversation with me : "Have you ever been on the Island ?" I replied, "Yes." Evidently enlightened in regard to the matter, he immediately remarked : "You know how to get off, then ? When you *do*, come up to Tammany Hall, and I will put you through up town :" meaning, of course, he would enlist me again. While this conversation was passing between us another broker stepped up, and said : "Gentlemen, let us take a drink." We accepted the invitation, and they conducted me across the Park to a saloon, where I saw, at a glance, they were quite at home. Liquor was called for, and while the vender was getting it, one of the brokers quietly stepped behind the bar and addressed some conversation to him.

We then all drank to the success of the Union, or rather, all of us *appeared* to do so.

I raised the glass to my lips, and, unobserved by the rest, poured its contents into my bosom, as I had done many times before when compelled to join the convivial ring. I was convinced that my potion had been drugged. Next followed a proposition to repair to an adjoining room and engage in a game of cards.

We played until I thought it necessary to affect drowsiness and insensibility. My eyes began to close, until at length my head rested on the table in front of me, and my whole appearance indicated to my betrayers my entire helplessness in their hands.

At this juncture one of them left the room, but soon returning, exclaimed, "All right." Immediately I caught the sound of carriage wheels, and, as I anticipated, was carried to the door, and, supported by broker number one, lifted into a vehicle, and driven rapidly to the Cedar Street rendezvous. My hat was then unceremoniously pushed over my face, and I was hurried into the presence of the recruiting officer in attendance, who asked me, "Do you wish to enlist ?" Number two answered, in a tone to represent my own voice, "Ye-e-s."

I was again declared to be one of the volunteers, taken into another room, and laid on a bench, where I remained an hour, in company with three other recruits, who had been drugged in the same manner, my friends the brokers supposing they had disposed of me.

In the mean time broker number one returned, and said : "Well, old fellow, how do you feel ?" to which I replied, "Very sick." Then remarking, "You'll be all right by-and-by," he left me.

I looked about me to judge of the possibility of escape. I saw at once that I could not pass out by the door, as a sentry was stationed there, and came to the conclusion that I would have to try my chances at a window.

I opened one which overlooked a back yard, sprang out, and after walking through a long passage-way, which led me into the open street, I went deliberately to my room in the Astor House.

Here I masked my face, disguised myself anew, and proceeded directly to the office of Mr. Blunt, where I offered myself to the army service, to make my third enlistment for that day.

I was hardly seated, when broker number three approached me, saying :

" You want to enlist, do you ? "

" Yes, I am thinking of it. What are you paying recruits now ? "

" Six hundred dollars. Where are you from ? "

" Steuben County. I would like to enlist if I could get a situation as clerk. I can write a pretty good hand, and am hardly able to go into the ranks."

He replied quickly, " Oh, I can fix all that right."

A conversation then followed between him and the recruiting officer, when I was made a soldier of the Union army once more. I was requested to be seated for a few moments. Soon after the broker asked me to take " a glass." I went with him to an old drinking-saloon in Cherry Street, where I found brokers numbers one and two, who immediately recognized me, but expressed no surprise at the meeting. My successful escape from the Cedar Street

headquarters convinced my friends that I was an old expert in the tricks of the trade.

Their admiration for me became so great that they received me into full fellowship, regarded me as a shrewd member of the bounty jumping brotherhood, and, after freely discussing their plans and prospects, declared me to be a "perfect trump." Propositions were made to enter into partnership at once.

I was greatly amused while listening to the exploits of each, as he in turn detailed them. One related, that at a certain period he left New York, and having enlisted at Albany, Troy, Utica, Buffalo, and Chicago, returned *via* Elmira, at which place he likewise enlisted. Another had enlisted at every rendezvous from New York to Portland, Maine; while a third boasted of the amounts he had received, and mentioned those paid to recruiting officers, surgeons, brokers, and detectives. The den in which I spent the evening was a favorite haunt of the bounty jumpers. It contained a wardrobe of wearing apparel, consisting of both soldiers' and citizens' outfits. The idea of this I easily comprehended; here the jumpers could assume whatever dress they pleased, to carry out their designs. Three times that night, before two o'clock, I saw the interesting operation performed.

I selected one of my assistants to experiment in this military lottery. He dressed himself in the appropriate apparel, and in one day enlisted three times; he was sent to the Island, bought himself off, and reported for duty the following day.

The scenes described were followed by numberless arrests of bounty brokers, bounty jumpers, and others in the business, and consequently by the disclosures of their crimes, which have since attracted much public attention.

To illustrate the secrecy with which I necessarily pursued my inquiries, I mention the following incident: I had received intelligence of a notorious bounty broker, doing business on State Street, whose specialty seemed to be to secure, for a consideration, desertion and escape after enlistment. Rumor also said that, at any time, he had the power to obtain an enlisted man from Governor's Island. Extremely

desirous to test his proficiency in such swindling, I enlisted two of my own detectives, and had them sent to the Island. I then directed another to apply to the broker for his interposition in their behalf. He consented, on the condition that he should receive two hundred dollars for his trouble. The amount was paid him; and my assistant, being curious to know in what manner he would obtain the release of the two detectives, begged leave to accompany him to the Island.

Upon their landing, he observed that the broker was on excellent terms with the officers of different grades who had the recruits in charge.

Two sergeants, being consulted, furnished a pass to the desired recruits, signed in the name of the provost-general of the Island, requiring their return at roll-call the same evening. For this pass the sergeant received fifty dollars. Sergeant number two, at the end of the wharf, whose duty it was to examine the passes, being in collusion with the other, shared the profits. The detective, and his associates who had been recruited, had no difficulty in leaving the Island.

I made arrangements for the arrest of the whole party on their landing in New York. When brought to my headquarters, the broker confessed the crime, seeing no possible means of escape, and embarrassed with surprise and terror.

His arrest was kept secret for several days. The sergeants, his companions in guilt, missing him, became uneasy, and suspicious that he had been murdered, and his body thrown into the river. The following Sunday they applied at the office of the City Police for assistance in discovering the missing man, having been informed beforehand, by the boy in the broker's office, that he had not been seen since he left with the stranger to go to the Island.

The Metropolitan detectives declined to give any assistance, and sent them to me, as the person most likely to be of use to them in solving the mysterious fate of their friend.

Accordingly, on Sunday evening, the sergeants came to my office and excitedly told their story, dwelling on the fact that the broker was last seen on Wednesday, upon the Island, in company with a suspicious-looking stranger; that

he had a large amount of money ; and they gave five hundred dollars for information respecting him.

After a lengthy conversation, I told them I thought I could find their friend. I ordered an officer to bring in the broker. There was, of course, a mutual recognition, and the sergeants were overjoyed that the lost man was found and alive, until they learned that not only the broker was under arrest, but that they also were in the hands of the law.

The scene was a rich and rare one. The glad surprise of the sergeants was soon toned down by the mysterious gravity of their friend, and also my own. I then took out a pair of handcuffs, and said to the young men, "I am very glad you have saved me the trouble of sending for you, as I intended to do to-morrow."

The broker was sent to the penitentiary, and the sergeants were tried by court-martial and convicted.

These statements will probably appear exaggerated to many readers, but they are strictly true, and will be found on official records.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### BOUNTY JUMPERS IN ORGANIZED BANDS.

Gipsy-like Bounty Jumpers—Wholesale Bounty Jumping carried on adroitly by a Gang of Operators—Opposition from a Canadian Gang—Thirty-two Thousand Dollars in as many Days—Frauds in Drafting—An Old Man put in as a Substitute—A Boy decoyed—His Adventures—A Mother of Thirteen Children—Unavailing Efforts of a Mother in Search of her Idiotic Son.

I SHALL next relate the movements of these speculators in organized gangs. They had a leader, whom they selected chiefly for his insinuating and plausible manner of address, and with whom they acted in the capacity of Gipsies, wandering from one promising field of action to another.

On March 17, 1865, I ordered a detective to join one of these strolling companies, and, by closely watching every movement made by them, ascertain the *modus operandi* of enlistment under this social form of enterprise.

The company left the Hudson River Depot in the half-past eleven o'clock train, and presented a most desperate and villainous appearance. Indeed, a more unmanageable set of desperadoes scarcely ever was seen on the highway of adventure.

The next morning, before noon, they arrived in Poughkeepsie, where eleven of the thirty-six were enlisted, four of whom escaped the same afternoon, two during the night, and the remainder the following morning.

The next day, the whole of the gang appeared at the recruiting-office in Albany, seventeen re-enlisting there, five of whom had enlisted in Troy. Nine of these escaped that evening, and returned to Troy; two pleaded illness, became in consequence inmates of the hospital, effecting their escape during the night, and proceeding immediately to Utica, to meet those who had gone elsewhere. Four others of the

company enlisted in Troy, but made their escape the same night.

The whole party then remained five days in Utica, at which place twenty-one enlisted, four of them twice, and one, three times. At Buffalo, owing to the competition in the business by parties in Canada, none of the parties enlisted. At Chicago, eight of the band enlisted, four were recognized as old bounty jumpers and arrested, one other was arrested for picking pockets, while the remainder, frightened at the turn events had taken, hurried from the city. In Detroit the Canadian gang had the field, and would not permit any interference with their operations.

The company next appeared in Rochester, but too many being known there as deserters to make their business promising, they proceeded to Elmira, where six were arrested for desertion, the remainder returning to New York.

These men were absent thirty-two days, and their total profits amounted to thirty-two thousand dollars. The question will be naturally asked, how this handsome profit was made. The bounty broker who was the leader, must first ascertain just how far, and by what means, he can insure the escape of the jumper after enlistment. A hundred dollars paid to the sergeant or corporal in charge at the rendezvous, would secure the liberation of ten men, while the records would show a certain number enlisted on a given day, properly credited to some locality; and the books of the State rendezvous would have the record of but two or three from the same place.

This broker was entitled to receive for every recruit from four to six hundred dollars, and the whole sum, after the expedition closed, was divided among the men. It must be borne in mind that many gangs, the number of which is not known, were moving about in the northern States at the same moment.

On this subject, thus far, I have only narrated frauds committed by the roving military bandits in disguise. There was another way of dishonest speculation, no less remunerative and criminal. The draft requiring men to enter the service, or furnish substitutes, afforded an excellent opportunity to "buy, sell, and get gain." I knew many instances

where lads fourteen years of age were enticed into drinking saloons, drugged, and made to perjure themselves, to become the substitutes of some patriotic citizens, the substitutes each receiving, perhaps, one hundred dollars, which was almost invariably stolen from them before reaching the general rendezvous.

A superannuated Frenchman, seventy-two years old, unable to speak English, was taken in an alley at New York, while getting a scanty but honest livelihood, by gathering rags. His hair and whiskers, which were white as snow, were colored by a barber, then he was transferred to the Second Congressional District, Williamsburgh, and enlisted as a substitute for a well-known shipbuilder there. Hearing of the outrage, I sent for the aged man, and, through an interpreter, ascertained the name of the broker. The latter was obliged to disgorge six hundred dollars, which was paid to the victim of the dismayed trader in his fellow-men. The aged stranger thanked me tremulously, and, with eyes suffused with tears, departed from my office, having in his possession a purse which his rag-bag would not have yielded in a long space of time.

The law required that all minors desiring to enlist, should first obtain the consent of their parents. A respectable German, residing in Beaver Street, suddenly missed his son, about fourteen years of age. He searched for him diligently during three weeks, but all attempts to discover him proving fruitless, the anxious father applied to me for counsel and assistance. I made him give me a written description of the boy, promising him that, to discover his whereabouts, I would leave no means in my power untried. I then called a detective and placed in his hand the paper, with directions to use it in tracing the boy. He soon returned, with the information that the lad had enlisted at the Brooklyn rendezvous, in charge of Colonel Fowler.

I sent for the papers, from which I learned that a woman, claiming to be the mother of the boy, had accompanied him to the office and made the required affidavit. Then sending to the front I procured the lad's return, who furnished me with the following particulars. One evening, while passing from his father's store to his house, an elderly man, gentle-

manly in appearance, accosted him, inquiring if he did not want a situation. He replied: "No, sir." His venerable friend then left him, and a boy of his own age came up and said, "Come in here and get a glass of lemonade," pointing to a Chatham Street saloon. They went in, and soon after calling for the drink the elderly man entered. He recollect ed nothing more until the next morning, when he found himself in a drinking saloon in Brooklyn. His hat and boots were gone, and while searching for them an old man entered, whom he recognized as the one he had seen the evening before. He was accompanied by a woman, who exclaimed: "You are a fine-looking boy; would you like to enlist for a bugler?" at the same time taking from under her cloak a small silver bugle, and adding, "Now, my son, if you will enlist you shall have this bugle."

He refused, and immediately was hurried into a carriage, and, in company with this admirable couple, was driven to Colonel Fowler's headquarters.

His papers were here made out, the wretched woman swearing that she was his mother, and giving her full consent to his enlistment. The poor lad's mother had been dead ten years. He was paid twenty-five dollars, while the couple who enlisted him received six hundred and seventy-five dollars.

The boy's description of the two worthies soon led to their arrest, and it turned out that the man was a notorious Jew bounty broker, while the woman was equally well known as a prostitute of the city.

Investigating more deeply, I came to the startling revelation that this vile woman had sworn to be the mother of thirteen other little boys about the same age as this German lad.

I shall select only one additional, very peculiar, and highly interesting narrative, from the mass of fragmentary materials in my possession; that of the kidnapping of the idiot boy Cornelius Garvin, of Troy, New York. Some of the facts found their way into the newspapers at the time of their occurrence.

Mrs. Garvin, the mother of the boy, was a poor, but honest and respectable Irishwoman, who supported her family by hard daily labor. She had placed her imbecile son in

the almshouse at Troy, happy in the consciousness of his safety, and being near enough to visit him occasionally. The child, while playing in the grounds, was carried off by bounty brokers, and transported to Albany, where he was enlisted and sent to the front.

The mother, upon receiving the news, became nearly frantic ; and, leaving her work, managed to get to Washington, where, through the interest which her story awakened, she gained an interview with the President.

That good man, whose ear was ever open to the appeals of humanity and justice, gave her a note to the Secretary of War, who referred the case to me. I detailed a detective to accompany her to the battle-field. Nearly a month was spent in the fruitless search for the lost boy, notwithstanding it was proved that "poor Con" was somewhere in the army. The disappointed but not discouraged mother went back to her toil again, to get money to bring her once more to the Capital.

Seven months passed over in the search, with no clue to the boy. Officers lent their assistance, and no means were left untried to find the wanderer. The persistency of purpose, the undying hope and affection of the sorrowing mother for her simple "Con," were hardly ever surpassed in human experience.

Unable to read or write, she carried always in her apron a large number of letters, and other memoranda, from prominent officers and others, given to aid her unrewarded search. Yet she could, as if by intuition, or the inspiration of her love, place her hand upon any of the documents she desired to use, and repeat their contents. And whenever she found an interested listener to her mournful story, she would select the particular document she wanted and give its statements.

After exhausting the subject, she would sit in a musing mood, gazing into vacancy for several moments, and then start from her reverie, gather up her treasure of manuscripts, and exclaiming : "My poor Con ; I must go and find him !" she would start again on her journey among the regiments of the Union army.

When the money which was given her, and earned by the severest toil, was gone, she would get back to Troy,

replenish her purse by her daily labor, and return to the hunt for "Con," along a new path of adventure, on which had suddenly fallen a ray of hope from some quarter respecting the absent boy.

Thus month after month passed away, and the undying love of this mother for the imbecile child, over whose unsteady steps and aimless wanderings she had watched with a fondness intensified by his very helplessness, led her along the army lines, and into the camps, at the heart of the great and bloody war.

"Poor Con!" was on her lips when she sought brief and restless sleep, and at the dawn of day, when she resumed the travel, which would have no pause until darkness made it impossible.

While she was roaming at will, followed by the sympathizing interest of the President, and the humblest official in the army, I received the following letter:—

BUREAU OF MILITARY JUSTICE, WAR DEPARTMENT, June 1, 1865.

COLONEL:—

The case of Cornelius Garvin, an idiot boy, enlisted into the Fifty-second Regiment of New York Volunteers, has been referred to this bureau for report.

Among the papers in the case, is a letter of yours to the Mayor of the city of Troy, New York, in which you state that Captain Degner—in whose company the boy is supposed to have been—refused, or neglected, to search for him, when ordered to do so, although repeatedly assured that he was in his company, under an assumed name; but, instead of doing so, endeavored to intimidate, by threats, privates of his company who were disposed to aid in the search for the boy.

Be pleased to furnish this bureau with any proof that may be in your possession of the statements referred to, or which may otherwise throw light on the case.

It is desirable that any material information you have in the case should be communicated at your earliest convenience.

Your obedient servant,

W. W. WINTHROP,

Major, and Judge-Advocate, for Judge-Advocate General.

To Col. L. C. BAKER, Special Agent War Department.

Mr. Trott, from this bureau, has twice called at your office on this subject.

But all efforts to find Cornelius Garvin were in vain. Several times the mother seemed to be near him; but the

joy at the prospect of meeting him soon faded before cruel disappointment.

It was rumored that he died in the army; which was doubtless true, for no further tidings to this hour, I believe, have been received of his fate. I append a report of my investigations in the case, addressed to the Mayor of Troy.

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 8, 1865.

Mayor THORNE, Troy, New York:—

SIR—Nearly two years since Mrs. Catherine Garvin, the mother of the idiot boy Cornelius Garvin, alleged to have been stolen from the County-House at Troy, applied to my headquarters in this city for assistance to find said boy. With the meagre facts at my disposal, I immediately instituted a search, which has resulted in disclosing the following facts:—

1st. That the idiot boy, C. Garvin, was stolen, or surreptitiously taken from the County Poorhouse at Troy; that he was enlisted, sent to Riker's Island, assigned to the Fifty-second New York Volunteers, and forwarded, with other recruits, to Alexandria, Virginia; that said Garvin was seen and recognized by a number of privates of Company I, at Mitchell's Station, Virginia, afterward at Mine Run, and other places; it is further shown that Captain Degner, Company I, Fifty-second Regiment New York Volunteers, was repeatedly informed that said idiot boy was in his company, under an assumed name; that he, Captain Degner, instead of prosecuting the search for said boy, as directed by his commanding officer, attempted to intimidate, by threats of punishment, those privates of his company who were disposed to assist Mrs. Garvin and others engaged in the investigation.

Some time in the month of May, 1864, by direction of the Hon. Secretary of War, I dispatched a detective officer to your city for the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, whether the boy, Con. Garvin, was sold, taken away, or enlisted by the Superintendent of the County Poorhouse. While the testimony elicited did not directly implicate the said superintendent, enough was shown to satisfy me that said idiot boy could not have escaped without the direct knowledge and connivance of said superintendent. The subsequent conduct of the superintendent toward Mrs. Garvin and those engaged in the investigation, in my opinion, strongly confirms this opinion.

Since the arrival of the Fifty-second New York Volunteers in this city I have placed Captain Degner under arrest, to await a further development of facts. I am exceedingly desirous of probing this matter to the bottom. Our late beloved President, the Hon. Secretary of War, Brigadier-Generals Hardy and Townsend, and in fact all the officers connected with the War Department who have listened to Mrs. Garvin's statements, have taken a deep interest in this case. The enormity of the crime, the affection of the poor mother for her son, her energy, her persistence and determination in following up every visible trace of her poor idiot boy, has awakened, in the minds of all these conversant with the facts and circumstances of the case, a feeling of

deep interest and sympathy. I believe that the boy is still living, and will yet be found. I shall neither spare time or means in prosecuting my investigations, with a view to bring to speedy justice all those engaged in this inhuman and diabolical outrage.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,  
Colonel, and Agent War Department.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### THE GREAT CONSPIRACY.

Assassinations—Eglon, King of Moab—Cesar, Emperor of Rome—James I. of England—Marat, the French Revolutionary Leader—Alexander of Russia—Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.

THE history of treason, conspiracy, and assassination, would be a record of awful interest—a revelation of singular contrasts in motive, while the tragical end sought was the same. The desperate determination to secure, at least avenge trampled rights; religious fanaticism; and revengeful passion; these have been the most frequent causes of a resort to treasonable plots and regicide, with its kindred homicides, and attempted murder of representative men in a State.

As introductory to the narrative of the facts respecting the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, which came under my eye and official investigation, with fresh details and documents, I shall cite a few illustrations from the annals of the past, not unfamiliar to intelligent readers, but which, grouped together, will be a suggestive background for the most revolting scene of depravity treason has ever presented to the world. The earliest instance of regicide in the sacred annals is that of Ehud, the left-handed Benjamite. To avenge the tyranny of Eglon, the king of Moab, the invader of his country, he made a two-edged dagger, over a foot and a half in length, and, hiding it under his robe, took in his hand a present to the king. Feigning important intelligence, the ruler ordered the attendants to retire, when Ehud with his left hand drew the dagger from his right side, thrust it into the king's body over the hilt, and, leaving it there, fled, after shutting behind him and locking the "doors of the parlor." He then blew a trumpet, raised an army, drove back the invaders, and delivered the nation from a foreign

yoke. It was a successful assassination, because a *dernier* resort in resisting oppressive usurpation, and under the providential sanction of the Almighty.

In old Roman history, the mind turns intuitively to the successful conspiracy of which Brutus was the leader; and who, undoubtedly, was governed by patriotic motives. He sought to restore the Government to the hands of the Senate and the people. This friend of Cæsar very reluctantly consented to become a traitor; and did not, until the persistent and crafty appeals of Cassius and his fellow-conspirators made him feel that he must strike the blow for the people.

Plutarch's description of the assassination is graphic:—

"When Cæsar entered the house, the senate rose to do him honor. Some of Brutus's accomplices came up behind his chair, and others before it, pretending to intercede, along with Metilius Cimbri, for the recall of his brother from exile. They continued their entreaties till he came to his seat. When he was seated, he gave them a positive denial; and as they continued their importunities with an air of compulsion, he grew angry. Cimbri, then, with both hands, pulled his gown off his neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca gave him the first blow. It was a stroke upon the neck with his sword, but the wound was not dangerous; for in the beginning of so tremendous an enterprise he was probably in some disorder. Cæsar, therefore, turned upon him, and laid hold of his sword. At the same time they both cried out, the one in Latin—'Villain! Casea! what dost thou mean?' and the other in Greek, to his brother—'Brother, help!'

"After such a beginning, those who knew nothing of the conspiracy were seized with consternation and horror, insomuch that they durst neither fly, nor assist, nor even utter a word. All the conspirators now drew their swords, and surrounded him in such a manner, that whatever way he turned he saw nothing but steel gleaming in his face, and met nothing but wounds. Like some savage beast attacked by the hunters, he found every hand lifted against him, for they all agreed to have a share in the sacrifice and a taste of his blood. Therefore Brutus himself gave him a stroke in the groin. Some say, he opposed the rest, and continued

struggling and crying out till he perceived the sword of Brutus ; then he drew his robe over his face, and yielded to his fate. Either by accident, or pushed thither by the conspirators, he expired on the pedestal of Pompey's statue, and dyed it with his blood : so that Pompey seemed to preside over the work of vengeance, to tread his enemy under his feet, and to enjoy his agonies. Those agonies were great, for he received no less than three-and-twenty wounds ; and many of the conspirators wounded each other as they were aiming their blows at him.

"Cæsar thus dispatched, Brutus advanced to speak to the Senate, and to assign his reasons for what he had done ; but they could not bear to hear him ; they fled out of the house, and filled the people with inexpressible horror and dismay. Some shut up their houses ; others left their shops and counters ; all were in motion : one was running to see the spectacle ; another running back. Antony and Lepidus, Cæsar's principal friends, withdrew, and hid themselves in other people's houses. Meantime, Brutus and his confederates, yet warm from the slaughter, marched in a body, with their bloody swords in their hands, from the senate-house to the capitol, not like men that fled, but with an air of gayety and confidence, calling the people to liberty, and stopping to talk with every man of consequence whom they met. There were some who even joined them, and mingled with their train ; desirous of appearing to have had a share in the action, and hoping for one in the glory."

A no less conspicuous, and still more modern conspiracy, although a failure, was the Gunpowder Plot of England, under James I.;—the grandest conspiracy in its scope, and, if successful, in results, on record. Religious fanaticism was its inspiration. The king's growing dislike of the Catholics, and Parliamentary enactments unfavorable to their prosperity, awakened a fierce opposition. This enmity was organized into a conspiracy, under Robert Catesby. He was "a gentleman of good property, in Northampton and Warwickshire," says Keightly, "descended from the minister of Richard III., and had been brought up a Catholic ; but he deserted that religion, plunged into all sorts of excesses, and ran through his patrimony. He then (1598)

returned to his old religion, and, making up for his apostasy by zeal, became a fanatic, and engaged in all the treasons and conspiracies which agitated the latter years of Elizabeth.

"He now conceived the diabolical project of blowing up the Parliament-house with gunpowder. This design he communicated in Lent, 1604, to John Wright and Thomas Winter, two Catholic gentlemen of good character, family, and fortune. The latter hesitated at first, but his scruples soon gave way, and he went over to the Netherlands on a double mission; the one was to try to induce the Constable of Castile, who was coming over to conclude the peace, to make some stipulations in favor of the Catholics; the other to engage in the plot some gentleman of courage and of military knowledge and experience. Finding that the Court of Spain would not hazard the peace which was so necessary to it, on their account, he proceeded to execute the other part of his commission; and the person on whom he fixed was one Guy Fawkes, a man of good family in Yorkshire, who, having spent his little property, had entered the Spanish service. If we may credit Father Greenway, the associate and panegyrist of the conspirators, Fawkes was 'a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanor, an enemy of broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances'—in a word, a fanatic in whose eyes religion justified every deed. Though this high-wrought character is doubtless beyond the truth, there seems on the other hand to be no ground for regarding Fawkes as a mere vulgar ruffian.

"On the night of the 11th of December, Catesby and his associates entered the house in Westminster, well supplied with mining tools, and with hard eggs and baked meats for their support. They began to mine the wall of three yards in thickness between theirs and the Parliament-house. Fawkes stood sentinel while the others wrought. They spread the matter which they extracted in the day over the garden at night, and not one of them ever went out of the house, or even into the upper part of it, lest they might be seen. They wrought without ceasing till Christmas-eve, when Fawkes brought them intelligence that Parliament was fur-

ther prorogued till October. They then agreed to separate till after the holidays, when they would resume their labors.

In February they renewed their labors in the mine, and they had pierced half way through the wall, when they suddenly, as we are assured, heard the tolling of a bell within the wall under the Parliament-house; they stopped and listened; Fawkes was called down, and he also heard it. On sprinkling the place, however, with holy water, the mysterious sound ceased; it was frequently renewed, but the same remedy always proved efficacious, and it at length ceased altogether. One day they heard a rushing noise over their heads; they thought they were discovered, but Fawkes, on inquiry, found that it was made by a man of the name of Bright, who was selling off his coals from a cellar under the House of Lords, in order to remove. They resolved at once to take the cellar, for, exclusive of the labor, they found the water now coming in on them. The cellar was taken in Percy's name also; twenty barrels of powder were conveyed to it from the house in Lambeth, their iron tools and large stones were put into the barrels with it, in order to give more efficacy to the explosion, and the whole was covered with billets and fagots; and lumber and empty bottles were scattered through the cellar. They then closed it up, placing marks within side of the door, that they might be able to ascertain if any one should enter it during their absence. Having sent Fawkes to Flanders to inform Sir William Stanley and other English officers of the project, and try to obtain foreign aid, they separated for the summer. In the autumn, Sir Edmund Baynham was sent to Rome, as the agent of the conspirators, with whose designs it is likely he was acquainted. As it was necessary to have horses and arms ready, Catesby pretended that he was commissioned to raise a troop of horse for the Spanish service, and he had thus a pretext for collecting arms, &c., at his own house, and at that of Grant; and several Catholic gentlemen undertaking to join him as volunteers, he directed them to prepare their arms, and to be ready when called on. He and Percy now thought it necessary to associate some gentlemen of wealth, in order to obtain the requisite funds; and they fixed on Sir Everard Digby, of Rutlandshire, Ambrose

Rookwood, of Suffolk, and Francis Tresham, of Northamptonshire ; the two first, who were weak bigots, but virtuous men, hesitated at first, but finally joined cordially in the project ; the last, a man of indifferent character, was only admitted on account of his wealth, and Catesby, it is said, had always a mistrust of him.

“ Parliament being finally appointed to meet on the 5th of November, the conspirators made their final arrangements. Fawkes was to fire the mine, by means of a slow match, which would take a quarter of an hour to reach the powder ; and as soon as he had lighted it, he was to hasten and get aboard a small vessel which was ready in the river, and carry the news over to Flanders. Digby was on that day to assemble a number of the Catholic gentry, under pretext of a hunting-party, at Dunchurch, in Warwickshire ; and as soon as they heard of the blow being struck, they were to send a party to seize the Princess Elizabeth, who was at Lord Harrington’s, in that neighborhood, and she was to be proclaimed in case Winter should fail in the part assigned him, of securing one of her brothers.

“ There was one point which had been disputed from the beginning, namely, how to act with respect to the Catholic nobles. Catesby, it would seem, had little scruple about destroying them with the rest, but the majority were for saving their friends and relations. Tresham, in particular, was most earnest to save his brothers-in-law, the Lords Stourton and Mounteagle. It was finally agreed that no express notice should be given, but that various pretexts should be employed to induce their friends to stay away. This, however, did not content Tresham, and some days after he urged on Catesby and Percy that notice should be given to Lord Mounteagle ; and on their hesitating, he hinted that he should not be ready with the money he had promised, and proposed that the catastrophe should be put off till the closing of the Parliament. His arguments, however, proved ineffectual.

“ On the 26th of October, Lord Mounteagle went and supped at his house at Hoxton, where he had not been for a month before. At supper a letter was handed him by a page, who said he had received it from a strange man in the street.

It was anonymous. By his lordship's direction, a gentleman named Ward read it aloud. It desired him to make some excuse for not attending Parliament, 'for God and man,' it said, 'hath concurred to punish the wickedness of this time,' with sundry other mysterious hints. Lord Mounteagle took it that very evening to Lord Salisbury, at Whitehall, who showed it to some other lords of the council; and it was decided that nothing should be done till the king's return from Royston, where he was hunting.

"Next day (31st) the king returned to London; a council was held the following day on the subject of the letter, and James himself is said to have divined its secret meaning.\* It was determined to search the cellar, but not till Monday, the 4th. On that day, the Lord Chamberlain, Lord Mounteagle, and others, went to the Parliament-house. They found Fawkes in the cellar, but they made no remark, and that night, Sir Thomas Knevett, a magistrate, was sent to the place with his assistants; he met Fawkes as he was stepping out of the door, and arrested him, and on searching the cellar, thirty-six barrels of powder were discovered. Fawkes was brought before the council, where he avowed and gloried in his design, but refused to name his accomplices; he was then committed to the Tower.

"Fawkes was at first sullen, but on the 8th of November he made a full confession, concealing, however, the names of his associates, whom, however, next day he named to Lord Salisbury. It is highly probable that, according to custom, the rack had been applied to him.

"In the whole course of history, an instance more demonstrative of the baleful effects of a false sense of religion on the mind and heart is not to be found than this plot. A more horrible design never was conceived; yet those who engaged in it were mostly men of mild manners, correct lives, and independent fortunes—all, we may say, actuated by no ignoble motive, but firmly believing that they were doing good service to God. 'I am satisfied,' said John Grant, on the day of his execution, 'that our project was so far from being sinful, that I rely on my merits in bearing a

\* He might have done this, and yet Cecil have known the real fact already.

part of that noble action as an abundant satisfaction and expiation for all sins committed by me during the rest of my life.' 'Nothing grieves me,' said Robert Winter to Fawkes, 'but that there is not an apology made by some to justify our doing in this business; but our deaths will be a sufficient justification of it, and it is for God's cause.' It is said by Greenway, that as Rookwood was drawn to execution, his wife stood at an open window in the Strand, comforting him, and telling him 'to be of good courage, inasmuch as he suffered for a great and noble cause.' Of the truth of this, however, we are rather dubious; fear alone would, we apprehend, prevent her from giving utterance to such expressions."

During the revolutionary movements of the last century, no figure attracts more sympathy and interest among the actors in sanguinary scenes of unjustifiable violence, than that of Charlotte Corday, of Normandy, herself descended from the Norman nobility. She was masculine in the vigor of her intellect and acquaintance with political economy, but virtuous and modest in character. At first an advocate of the French Revolution, because she hailed it as the dawn of national liberty, the unprincipled and bloody aspect it soon assumed disheartened and alarmed her, until her single absorbing thought was the protection of whatever of freedom remained to France.

"Marat," records Madame Junot, "was at this period the ostensible chief of the mountain party, and the most sanguinary of its members. He was a most hideous deformity, both in mind and person; his lank and distorted features, covered with leprosy, and his vulgar and ferocious leer, were a true index of the passions which worked in his odious mind. A series of unparalleled atrocities had raised him to the highest power with his party; and though he professed to be merely passive in the revolutionary government, his word was law with the Convention, and his fiat irrevocable. In every thing relating to the acquisition of wealth he was incorruptible, and even gloried in his poverty. But the immense influence he had acquired turned his brain, and he gave full range to the evil propensities of his nature, now unchecked by any authority. He had formed princi-

ples of political faith in which, perhaps, he sincerely believed, but which were founded on his inherent love of blood, and his hatred of every human being who evinced talents or virtue above his fellow-men. The guillotine was not only the altar of the distorted thing he worshipped, under the name of Liberty, but it was also the instrument of his pleasures: for his highest gratification was the writhings of the victim who fell under his axe. Even Robespierre attempted to check this unquenchable thirst of human blood; but in vain; opposition only excited Marat to greater atrocities. With rage depicted in his livid features, and with the howl of a demoniac, he would loudly declare that rivers of blood could alone purify the land, and must, therefore, flow. In his paper, entitled '*L'Ami du Peuple*', he denounced all those whom he had doomed to death, and the guillotine spared none whom he designated.

"Charlotte Corday, having read his assertion in this journal, that three hundred thousand heads were requisite to consolidate the liberties of the French people, could not contain her feelings. Her cheeks flushed with indignation:—

"‘‘What!’’ she exclaimed, ‘‘is there not in the whole country a man bold enough to kill this monster?’’

“Imagining that, if she could succeed in destroying Marat, the fall of his party must necessarily ensue, she determined to offer up her own life for the good of her country.

“She went to the Palais Royal, and bought a sharp-pointed carving-knife, with a black sheath. On her return to the hotel in which she lodged—Hotel de la Providence, Rue des Augustins—she made her preparation for the deed she intended to commit the next day. Having put her papers in order, she placed a certificate of her baptism in a red pocket-book, in order to take it with her, and thus establish her identity. This she did because she had resolved to make no attempt to escape, and was, therefore, certain she should leave Marat’s house for the conciergerie, preparatory to her appearing before the revolutionary tribunal.

“Next morning, the 14th, taking with her the knife she

had purchased, and her red pocket-book, she proceeded to Marat's residence. The representative was ill, and could not be seen, and Charlotte's entreaties for admittance on the most urgent business were unavailing. She therefore withdrew, and wrote the following note, which she herself delivered to Marat's servant:—

"CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVE:—

"I am just arrived from Caen. Your well-known patriotism leads me to presume that you will be glad to be made acquainted with what is passing in that part of the Republic. I will call on you again, in the course of the day; have the goodness to give orders that I may be admitted, and grant me a few minutes' conversation. I have important secrets to reveal to you.

"CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

"At seven o'clock in the evening she returned, and reached Marat's antechamber; but the woman who waited on him refused to admit her to the monster's presence. Marat, however, who was in a bath in the next room, hearing the voice of a young girl, and little thinking she had come to deprive him of life, ordered that she should be shown in. Charlotte seated herself by the side of the bath. The conversation ran upon the disturbances in the department of Calvados; and Charlotte, fixing her eyes upon Marat's countenance, as if to scrutinize his most secret thoughts, pronounced the names of several of the Girondist deputies.

"'They shall soon be arrested,' he cried, with a howl of rage, 'and executed the same day.'

"He had scarcely uttered these words, when Charlotte's knife was buried in his bosom.

"'Help!' he cried; 'help! I am murdered.' He died immediately."

The very latest attempt at assassination was the fruitless aim of the weapon of death at the life of Alexander of Russia, whose details are still fresh in the minds of the civilized world—a madly rash endeavor to slay a monarch unrivaled in regard for popular rights, and in the admiration of his subjects, no less than of other nations. It revealed the slumbering hate of the aristocratic class, and the certainty that if a ruler's policy infringe upon time-honored exclusive-

ness, and proud but unrighteous distinctions, his life is in peril, along with that of the tyrant who exasperates, with better reason on their part, the outraged masses. This naturally brings me to the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, the purest patriot and wisest, most paternal ruler of any age.

I shall not discuss the political questions and resolutions whose issue was the election to the presidential chair of Abraham Lincoln, in the autumn of 1860. But to follow the conspiracy against his life from the beginning to the fearful end, I go back to the thwarted plot which followed that popular choice.

The statement made by a gentleman of Philadelphia, who was a prominent actor in the defeat of the deliberate and well-arranged plan to murder the President elect, will furnish an argument in behalf of the detective service, the strength of which is measured by the value of his useful life during more than four years. The narrative was substantially as follows:—

In the month of January, 1861, a gentleman, holding a position in this city which made him a proper agent to act on the information, was waited upon by a lady, who stated to him her suspicions or knowledge—whence derived we are not able to say—of a plot to assassinate Mr. Lincoln when on his way from his home, in Illinois, to Washington, to be inaugurated as President. The active parties, or some of them, in the business, were understood to be in Baltimore. At all events, the gentleman considered that the intelligence had sufficient foundation to make it his duty to satisfy himself whether it might be correct. He accordingly employed a detective officer, a man who had in his profession become notable for his sagacity and success, to go to Baltimore and adopt his own course to detect the parties to and plan of the conspiracy. The officer went to Baltimore, and opened an office as some sort of broker or agent, under an assumed name. Being supplied with needful funds, he made occasions to become acquainted with certain classes of secessionists, and by degrees was on free and easy terms with them. He took each man in his humor, dined and supped with some, gambled with others, ‘treated,’ and seconded dissipations in more ways than need be expressly stated, until he

had secured enough of their confidence to be familiar with the particulars of their schemes. Meanwhile it had been ascertained that on the line of the Baltimore Railroad there were men engaged in military drilling. Several other detectives were employed by the chief to discover the purpose of those organizations ; and, disguised as laborers or farm hands, they got themselves mustered in. One of the military companies proved to be loyal in its purpose ; another, under pretense of being prepared to guard one or more of the bridges north of Baltimore, was designed for quite an opposite purpose. It will be remembered that some time before Mr. Lincoln set out from his home for Washington, his intended route thither was published. A part of the programme was that he should visit Harrisburg and Philadelphia. We believe that Mr. Lincoln was not advised especially of any personal danger until he was about to go to Harrisburg, and then, at the instance of the gentleman referred to, he was urged to proceed without delay to Washington. He replied, however, that he had promised the people of Harrisburg to answer their invitation, and he would do so if it cost him his life. He accordingly visited Harrisburg on the 22d of February, 1861. It was intended he should rest there that evening. But under the management of 'the gentleman,' another arrangement was effected. The night train from Philadelphia to Baltimore and Washington left at half-past ten o'clock in the evening. It was determined that Mr. Lincoln should go secretly by that train on the evening of the 23d ; and to enable him to do so, a special train was provided to bring him secretly from Harrisburg to Philadelphia. After dark, in the former city, when it was presumed he had retired to his hotel, he accordingly took the special train, and came to Philadelphia. Meanwhile, in anticipation of his coming, 'the gentleman' had insured the detention of the Philadelphia and Baltimore train, under the pretense that a parcel of important documents for one of the departments in Washington must be dispatched by it, but which might not be ready until after the regular time of the starting of that train. By a similar representation, the connecting train from Baltimore to Washington was also detained. Owing to the late hour at which

the special train left Harrisburg with Mr. Lincoln, it did not, as was anticipated, reach this city until after the usual Philadelphia and Baltimore time. Mr. Lincoln was accompanied by the officer who had been employed in Baltimore. A formidable bundle of old railroad reports had been made up in the office of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Company, which the officer, duly instructed, had charge of. On the arrival of the Harrisburg train, Mr. Lincoln took a carriage in waiting, and with his escort was driven to the depot at Broad and Prime Streets. The officer made some ostentatious bustle, arriving with his parcel for which the train was detained, and passing through the depot entered the cars, Mr. Lincoln in his company. As Mr. Lincoln passed through the gate, the man attending it remarked: 'Old fellow, it's well for you the train was detained to-night, or you wouldn't have gone in it.' No one aboard the train but the agent of the company and the officer knew of Mr. Lincoln's being in it. He was conducted to a sleeping car, and thus was kept out of the way of observation. To guard against any possible communication by telegraph at this time, the circuit was broken, to be united when it would be safe to do so. The plan of the conspirators was to break or burn one of the bridges north of Baltimore, at the time of Mr. Lincoln's anticipated approach, on the following day; and in the confusion incident to the stoppage of the train, to assassinate him in the cars. Hence the extra precaution above mentioned, regarding the telegraph. In due time the train with Mr. Lincoln reached Washington, and he being safe there, the officer, as previously instructed, sent a dispatch to 'the gentleman' that 'the parcel of documents had been delivered.' The public, and, above all, the conspirators, awoke on the morning of the 24th to be astonished with the intelligence that Mr. Lincoln had arrived in Washington. It may be well to mention here that the story of his disguise in a 'Scotch cap' and cloak, was untrue. He wore his ordinary traveling cap, and was in no sense of the word disguised.

His safe arrival in the Capital, the public receptions, and the joyful anticipations of the loyal people, succeeded the hours of unappreciated danger, because generally unknown.

The services of the remarkable man, during the war, have become familiar history to the humblest citizen.

April 11, 1865, the National Capital and the country were again jubilant over the closing victories of the conflict. The recently reinaugurated President was serenaded, and made congratulatory speeches amid the splendors of the evening illumination. Then came the 14th, with the commemorative flag-raising at Fort Sumter; and the 17th was set apart for a general expression of grateful joy.

But it was a day of darkness and woe, which has no parallel in national annals. The events which shrouded the land in this tearful gloom will be detailed in the account of the capture of the assassin, and his career in its relation to it.

There was a very extraordinary indifference in the mind of Mr. Lincoln in regard to threats of assassination, some of which I communicated to him. Several times I walked with him in the grounds of the White House, at a late hour of the evening, conversing upon such intelligence of the war as I had received. Whenever allusion was made to the intimations of cherished designs upon his life, he almost playfully listened, and apparently was unable to believe depravity could go so far as to destroy a friend of all the people, such as he felt himself to be. But the *risk* was taken, and the plotting was too successful against the victorious loyalty of the North.

About ten o'clock in the evening of April 14, 1865, while the play, "Our American Cousin," was progressing, a stranger, who proved to be John Wilkes Booth, an actor of some note, worked his way into the proscenium box, occupied by the presidential party, and leveling a pistol close behind the head of Mr. Lincoln, he fired, and the ball was lodged deep in the brain of the President. The assassin then drew a dirk, sprang from the box, flourishing the weapon aloft, and shouted, as he reached the stage, the motto upon the escutcheon of the State of Virginia, "*Sic Semper Tyrannis!*" He dashed across the stage, and before the audience could realize the real position of affairs, the murderer had mounted a fleet horse in waiting in an alley in the rear of the theatre, and galloping off, he escaped for a time.

The screams of Mrs. Lincoln first disclosed to the audience the fact that the President was shot, when all rose, many pressing toward the stage, and exclaiming, "Hang him! Hang him!" The excitement was of the wildest nature. Others rushed for the President's box, while others cried out, "Stand back! Give him fresh air!" and called for stimulants. It was not known at first where he was wounded, the most of those about him thinking that he was shot through the heart; but after opening his vest, and finding no wound in his breast, it was discovered that he was shot in the head, between the left ear and the centre of the back part of the head. In a few moments he was borne to a private house, Mr. Peterson's, just opposite the theatre, where the Surgeon-General, and several prominent physicians and surgeons were speedily summoned. Meanwhile the members of the Cabinet, with the exception of Secretary Seward, whose life had been attempted by an assassin at about the same hour with the President, assembled in the room where the Chief Magistrate of the nation lay dying.

Secretaries Stanton, Welles, Usher, McCulloch, Attorney-General Speed, and Assistant Secretaries Maunsell B. Field, of the Treasury, and Judge William T. Otto, of the Interior, together with Speaker Colfax, and several other prominent gentlemen were present. The scene was one of extraordinary solemnity. The history of the world does not furnish a parallel. Quiet, breathing away his life serenely, unconscious of all around, sensible to no pain, lay the great MAN of the nineteenth century, passing hence to that immortality which has been accorded by Providence to few of earthly mould.

All the long, weary night, the watchers stood by the couch of the dying President. From the moment when the fatal bullet entered his brain he never spoke, never evinced any consciousness, but, with closed eyes, rested in a repose which appeared to be the quiet of death. Mrs. Lincoln and Captain Robert Lincoln several times entered the chamber, but their grief was such that they tarried but a brief time, tender friends urging them to remain in the adjoining room.

Day dawned at length, and the tide of life ebbed more rapidly, and at twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock, on

the morning of Saturday, April 15, 1865, the President breathed his last, closing his eyes as if falling to sleep, and his countenance assuming an expression of perfect serenity. There were no indications of pain, and it was not known that he was dead until the gradually decreasing respiration ceased altogether.

The Rev. Dr. Gurley, pastor of the Presbyterian Church, in Washington, which Mr. Lincoln attended regularly with his family, immediately on its being ascertained that life was extinct, knelt at the bedside, and offered an impressive prayer, which was responded to by all present.

Dr. Gurley then proceeded to the front parlor, where Mrs. Lincoln, Captain Robert Lincoln, Mr. John Hay, the President's Private Secretary, and others were waiting, where he again offered prayer for the consolation of the family.

The following minutes, taken by Dr. Abbott, show the condition of the President throughout the night:—11 P. M., pulse 44; 11.05 P. M., pulse 45, and growing weaker; 11.10 P. M., pulse 45; 11.15 P. M., pulse 42; 11.20 P. M., pulse 45, respiration 27 to 30; 11.25 P. M., pulse 42; 11.32 P. M., pulse 48 and full; 11.40 P. M., pulse 45; 21.45 P. M., pulse 45, respiration 22; 12.08 A. M., respiration 22; 12.15 A. M., respiration 21, ecchymosis of both eyes; 12.30 A. M., pulse 54; 12.32 A. M., pulse 60; 12.35 A. M., pulse 66; 12.40 A. M., pulse 69; right eye much swollen, and ecchymosed; 12.45 A. M., pulse 70, respiration 27; 12.55 A. M., pulse 80, struggling motion of arms; 1 A. M., pulse 86, respiration 30; 1.30 A. M., pulse 95, appearing easier; 1.45 A. M., pulse 87, very quiet, respiration irregular, Mrs. Lincoln present; 2.10 A. M., Mrs. Lincoln retired with Robert Lincoln to an adjoining room; 2.30 A. M., the President is very quiet, pulse 54, respiration 28; 2.52 A. M., pulse 48, respiration 30; 3 A. M., visited again by Mrs. Lincoln; 3.25 A. M., respiration 24, and regular; 3.25 A. M., prayer by the Rev. Dr. Gurley; 4 A. M., respiration 26, and regular; 4.15 A. M., pulse 60, respiration 25; 5.50 A. M., respiration 28 and regular, sleeping; 6 A. M., pulse failing, respiration 28; 6.30 A. M., still failing, and labored breathing; 7 A. M., symptoms of immediate dissolution; 7.22 A. M., death.

Surrounding the death-bed of the President were Secretaries Stanton, Welles, Usher, Attorney-General Speed, Postmaster-General Dennison, M. T. Field, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Judge Otto, Assistant Secretary of Interior; General Halleck, General Meigs, Senator Sumner, F. R. Andrews, of New York; General Todd, of Dacotah; John Hay, Private Secretary; Governor Oglesby, of Illinois; General Farnsworth, Mr. and Miss Kenny, Miss Harris, Captain Robert Lincoln, son of the President, and Dr. E. W. Abbott, R. K. Stone, C. D. Gatch, Neal Hall, and Leiberman. Secretary McCulloch remained with the President until about 5 A. M., and Chief-Justice Chase, after several hours attendance during the night, returned again early in the morning,

A special Cabinet meeting was called immediately after the President's death, by Secretary Stanton, and held in the room where the corpse lay. Secretaries Stanton, Welles, and Usher, Postmaster-General Dennison, and Attorney-General Speed, were present.

After his death, a complete examination was made of the wound with the following result: The ball entered the skull midway between the left ear and the center of the back of the head, and passed nearly to the right eye. The ball and two loose fragments of lead were found in the brain. Singularly enough, both orbital roofs were fractured inwardly, properly from contre-coup. The tenacity of life was specially noticed by every surgeon in attendance. The brain was taken out, but a considerable portion of it had already escaped from the wound.

The autopsy of the President was made in the presence of Surgeon-General Barnes, Dr. Crane and Dr. Stone, of Washington, and by Drs. Woodward, Notson, and Curtis, of the regular army.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. FIELD, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY.

On Friday evening, April 14, 1865, at about half-past 10 o'clock, I was sitting in the reading-room at Willard's Hotel, engaged with a newspaper, when a person hurriedly entered the hotel and passed up the hall, announcing in a loud tone of voice that the President had just been shot at Ford's Theatre. I started to my feet, and had hardly reached the office when two other per-

sons came in, and confirmed the report—which at first I was hardly able to credit. I had parted about fifteen minutes previously with Mr. Mellen, of the Treasury Department, who had retired to his room for the night, and I at once went to him and communicated what had occurred, and we started together for the scene of the tragedy.

We found the streets already crowded with excited masses of people, and when we reached the theater there was a very large assemblage in front of it, as well as of the opposite house, belonging to Mr. Peterson, into which the President had been conveyed. The people around the theater related to us substantially the general facts connected with the assassination, which have since been communicated to the public. The impression was prevalent, however, at that time, that the President had been shot in the breast, about the region of the heart, and that the wound might not prove fatal. After a few minutes, we crossed the street, and endeavored to gain admission into the house where Mr. Lincoln lay. This I effected with some little difficulty.

The first person whom I met in the hall was Miss Harris, daughter of United States Senator Ira Harris, of New York, who had been at the theater with the Presidential party. She informed me that the President was dying, but desired me not to communicate the fact to Mrs. Lincoln, who was in the front parlor. Several other persons who were there confirmed the statement as to Mr. Lincoln's condition. I then entered the front parlor, where I found Mrs. Lincoln in a state of indescribable agitation. She repeated over and over again, "Why didn't he kill me? Why didn't he kill me?"

I asked if there was any service I could render her, and she requested me to go for Dr. Stone, or some other eminent physician. Both Dr. Stone and Surgeon-General Barnes had been already sent for, but neither had yet arrived. On my way out I met Major T. T. Eckert, of the War Department, who told me that he was himself going for Dr. Stone. I then went for Dr. Hall, one of the most distinguished surgeons in the District. I found him at home, and he at once accompanied me. When we again reached the neighborhood of the house, access had become very difficult, guards having been stationed on every side.

After much effort, I was enabled to obtain admission for Dr. Hall, but was not at that time permitted to enter myself; accordingly I returned to Willard's. The whole population of the city was by this time out, and all kinds of conflicting stories were being circulated. At three or four o'clock, I again started for Mr. Peterson's house. This time I was admitted without difficulty. I proceeded at once to the room in which the President was dying. It was a small chamber, in an extension or back building, on a level with the first or parlor floor. The President was lying on his back, diagonally across a low, double bedstead, his head supported by two pillows on the outer side of the bed.

The persons in the room were the Secretaries McCulloch, Stanton, Welles, and Harlan, Postmaster-General Dennison, the Attorney-General, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, General Halleck, General Augur, General Meigs, General J. F. Farnsworth, of Illinois, General Todd, of Dacotah, the President's Assistant Private Secretary, Major

Hay, the medical gentlemen, and perhaps two or three others. Dr. Stone was sitting on the foot of the bed. An army surgeon was sitting opposite the President's head, occasionally feeling his pulse, and applying his fingers to the arteries of the neck and the heart.

Mr. Lincoln seemed to be divested of all clothing, except the bed coverings. His eyes were closed, and the lids and surrounding parts so injected with blood as to present the appearance of having been bruised. He was evidently totally unconscious, and was breathing regularly but heavily, and with an occasional sigh escaping with the breath. There was scarcely a dry eye in the room, and the scene was the most solemn and impressive one I ever witnessed. After a while, Captain Robert Lincoln, of General Grant's staff, and eldest son of the President, entered the chamber, and stood at the headboard, leaning over his father.

For a time his grief completely overpowered him, but he soon recovered himself, and behaved in the most manly manner until the closing of the scene. As the morning wore on, the condition of the President remained unchanged until about seven o'clock. In the mean time, it came on to rain heavily, and the scene from the windows was in dreary sympathy with that which was going on within. Just before this, Mrs. Lincoln had been supported into the chamber, and had thrown herself moaning upon her husband's body. She was permitted to remain but a few minutes, when she was carried out, in an almost insensible condition.

At about seven o'clock, the President's breathing changed in a manner to indicate that death was rapidly approaching. It became low and fitful, with frequent interruptions. Several times I thought that all was over, until the feeble respiration was resumed. At last, at just twenty-two minutes past seven o'clock, without a struggle, without a convulsive movement, without a tremor, he ceased breathing—and was no more.

Thus died this great, pure, kind-hearted man, who never willingly injured a human being—the greatest martyr to liberty the world has ever seen.

Shortly after his death, finding that his eyes were not entirely closed, I placed my hands upon them. One of the attendant surgeons first put nickel cents upon them, and then substituted silver half dollars. It was twenty minutes or half an hour before the body commenced to grow cold. The lower jaw began to fall slightly, and the lower teeth were exposed. One of the medical gentlemen bound up the jaw with a pocket handkerchief. Mr. Stanton threw down the window-shades, and I left the chamber of death. Immediately after the decease, the Rev. Dr. Gurley had offered up a fervent and affecting prayer in the room, interrupted only by the sobs of those present.

When I left the room, he was again praying in the front parlor. Poor Mrs. Lincoln's moans were distressing to listen to. After the prayer was over, I entered the parlor, and found Mrs. Lincoln, supported in the arms of her son, Robert. She was soon taken to her carriage. As she reached the front door, she glanced at the theater opposite, and exclaimed several times, "Oh, that dreadful house! that dreadful house!" Immediately thereafter, guards were stationed at the door of the room in which the President's body

lay. In a few minutes I left myself. It is hoped that some historical painter will be found capable of portraying that momentous death-scene.

## MAJOR RATHBONE'S STATEMENT.

In connection with the murder of Mr. Lincoln, we give the statements of Major Rathbone and Miss Harris, who were in the President's box at the time. Being the only persons except Mrs. Lincoln, who were present when Booth executed his foul purpose, their statements are of great interest, delineating as they do the scenes which immediately transpired. Major Rathbone appeared before the investigating magistrate, and testified as follows:—

That on the 14th April, 1865, at about twenty minutes past eight o'clock in the evening, he, with Miss Clara H. Harris, left his residence, at the corner of Fifteenth and H Streets, and joined the President and Mrs. Lincoln, and went with them in their carriage to Ford's Theater, in Tenth Street. The box assigned to the President is in the second tier, on the right-hand side of the audience, and was occupied by the President and Mrs. Lincoln, Miss Harris, and the deponent—and by no other person. The box is entered by passing from the front of the building, in the rear of the dress circle, to a small entry, or passage-way, about eight feet in length and four feet in width.

This passage-way is entered by a door, which opens on the inner side. The door is so placed as to make an acute angle between it and the wall behind it on the inner side. At the inner end of this passage-way is another door, standing squarely across, and opening into the box. On the left-hand side of the passage-way, and very near the inner end, is a third door, which also opens into the box. This latter door was closed. The party entered the box through the door at the end of the passage-way. The box is so constructed, that it may be divided into two by a movable partition, one of the doors described opening into each. The front of the box is about ten or twelve feet in length, and in the center of the railing is a small pillar, overhung with a curtain. The depth of the box from front to rear is about nine feet. The elevation of the box above the stage, including the railing, is about ten or twelve feet.

When the party entered the box, a cushioned arm-chair was standing at the end of the box furthest from the stage, and nearest the audience. This was also the nearest point to the door by which the box is entered. The President seated himself in this chair—and, except that he once left the chair for the purpose of putting on his overcoat, remained so seated until he was shot. Mrs. Lincoln was seated in a chair between the President and the pillar in the center above described. At the opposite end of the box—that nearest the end of the stage—were two chairs. In one of these, standing in the corner, Miss Harris was seated. At her left hand, and along the wall running from that end of the box to the rear, stood a small sofa. At the end

of this sofa, next to Miss Harris, this deponent was seated. The distance between this deponent and the President, as they were sitting, was about seven or eight feet; and the distance between this deponent and the door was about the same.

The distance between the President, as he sat, and the door, was about four or five feet. The door, according to the recollection of this deponent, was not closed during the evening. When the second scene of the third act was being performed, and while this deponent was intently observing the proceedings upon the stage, with his back toward the door, he heard the discharge of a pistol behind him, and looking around, saw, through the smoke, a man between the door and the President. At the same time, deponent heard him shout some word, which deponent thinks was "Freedom!" This deponent instantly sprang toward him and seized him; he wrested himself from the grasp, and made a violent thrust at the breast of deponent with a large knife. Deponent parried the blow by striking it up, and received a wound several inches deep in his left arm, between the elbow and the shoulder. The orifice of the wound is about an inch and a half in length, and extends upward toward the shoulder several inches. The man rushed to the front of the box, and deponent endeavored to seize him again, but only caught his clothes, as he was leaping over the railing of the box. The clothes, as deponent believes, were torn in this attempt to seize him.

As he went over upon the stage, deponent cried out, with a loud voice, "Stop that man!" Deponent then turned to the President; his position was not changed; his head was slightly bent forward, and his eyes were closed. Deponent saw that he was unconscious, and supposing him mortally wounded, rushed to the door for the purpose of calling medical aid. On reaching the outer door of the passage-way, as above described, deponent found it barred by a heavy piece of plank, one end of which was secured in the wall, and the other resting against the door. It had been so securely fastened, that it required considerable force to remove it. This wedge, or bar, was about four feet from the floor. Persons upon the outside were beating against the door, for the purpose of entering. Deponent removed the bar, and the door was opened.

Several persons, who represented themselves to be surgeons, were allowed to enter. Deponent saw there Colonel Crawford, and requested him to prevent other persons from entering the box. Deponent then returned to the box, and found the surgeons examining the President's person. They had not yet discovered the wound. As soon as it was discovered, it was determined to remove him from the theater. He was carried out, and this deponent then proceeded to assist Mrs. Lincoln, who was intensely excited, to leave the theater. On reaching the head of the stairs, deponent requested Major Potter to aid him in assisting Mrs. Lincoln across the street, to the house to which the President was being conveyed. The wound which deponent had received had been bleeding very profusely, and on reaching the house, feeling very faint from the loss of blood, he seated himself in the hall,

and soon after fainted away, and was laid upon the floor. Upon the return of consciousness, deponent was taken in a carriage to his residence.

In the review of the transaction, it is the confident belief of this deponent that the time which elapsed between the discharge of the pistol and the time when the assassin leaped from the box, did not exceed thirty seconds. Neither Mrs. Lincoln nor Miss Harris had left their seats.

H. R. RATHBONE.

Subscribed and sworn before me, this 17th day of April, 1865.

A. B. OLIN,  
Justice Supreme Court, District of Columbia.

#### AFFIDAVIT OF MISS HARRIS.

District of Columbia, City of Washington, ss.:

Clara H. Harris, being duly sworn, says that she has read the foregoing affidavit of Major Rathbone, and knows the contents thereof; that she was present at Ford's Theater with the President, and Mrs. Lincoln, and Major Rathbone, on the evening of the 14th of April instant; that at the time she heard the discharge of the pistol she was attentively engaged in observing what was transpiring upon the stage, and looking round, she saw Major Rathbone spring from his seat and advance to the opposite side of the box; that she saw him engaged, as if in a struggle, with another man, but the smoke with which he was enveloped prevented this deponent from seeing distinctly the other man; that the first time she saw him distinctly, was when he leaped from the box upon the stage; that she then heard Major Rathbone cry out, "Stop that man!" and this deponent then immediately repeated the cry, "Stop that man! Won't somebody stop that man?" A moment after, some one from the stage asked, "What is it?" or "What is the matter?" and deponent replied, "The President is shot. Very soon after, two persons, one wearing the uniform of a naval surgeon, and the other that of a soldier of the Veteran Reserve Corps, came upon the stage, and the deponent assisted them in climbing up to the box.

And this deponent further says, that the facts stated in the foregoing affidavit, so far as the same came to the knowledge or notice of this deponent, are accurately stated therein.

CLARA H. HARRIS.

Subscribed and sworn before me, this 17th day of April, 1865.

A. B. OLIN,  
Justice of Supreme Court, District of Columbia.

#### SURGEON-GENERAL BARNES'S STATEMENT.

On the night of the assassination, Surgeon-General Barnes was met in front of Willard's Hotel, by an officer, pale and breathless, who informed him that the President had been shot. Supposing that the deed was done at the White House, General Barnes hurried thitherward. Stopping at the Surgeon-General's office, to give orders for assistance, he found a summons to

the bedside of Secretary Seward, who had been attacked by an assassin. Believing that the two stories were from this, Barnes hurried to the chamber of Mr. Seward. He found him lying upon the bed, with one cheek cut open and part of the flesh lying upon the pillow. The room presented a horrible scene. Blood was everywhere. The attendants were helpless. A deed of horror had been enacted; but there was no one to explain its details. Dr. Barnes immediately gave his attention to Mr. Seward; but soon afterward Dr. Norris arrived, and turning over the Secretary to his care, the Surgeon-General proceeded to look after the Assistant Secretary, Frederick Seward, who was lying insensible upon a sofa in the adjoining room. In the meantime, other surgical attendants had come, among whom was Dr. Notson, and while ministering to the wounded at Secretary Seward's, the Surgeon-General was summoned to the dying murdered President.

#### DESCRIPTION OF FORD'S THEATRE.

Ford's Theater, now converted into a museum of war relics, is situated on Tenth Street, just above E Street; a large edifice, built of brick, and plain in appearance. The four upper boxes were *the* boxes of the theatre, and very elegant and spacious.

The box which the President occupied, and which was known as "The President's Box," consisted of the two upper boxes on the right-hand side of the house as you face the stage, thrown into one. It was fitted up with great elegance and taste. The curtains were of fine lace and buff satin, the paper dark and figured, the carpet Turkey, the seats velvet, and the exterior ornamentations were lit up with a chaste chandelier suspended from the outside. A winding staircase led up to the lobbies which conducted to the box, and unless the arrangements were stringent, no decently dressed person would find much difficulty, probably, in entering after being opened for the ingress of the party. The house would hold probably between two and three thousand people.

There were two alleys at Ford's Theater. One led from the stage, along the east side of the theater, between the theatre and a refreshment saloon, and so out to Tenth Street. The alley was neatly paved, and boarded and papered on both sides. The entry to it from the stage was through a glass door, and the exit from it on to Tenth Street through a wooden one.

The other passage-way led from the back of the theatre to a small alley which communicated with Ninth and other streets, and conducted to a livery-stable locality. It was in this alley that the horse of the murderer was kept waiting.

The Tenth Street door would have been too public, and escape, even temporary, a matter of impossibility. But the escape by the alley leading from the back of the stage was comparatively safe.

There were two doors there, one used for the egress and ingress of the actors, and the other devoted to the accommodation of scenery and machinery. It was through the smaller one that the assassin made his exit.

On one occasion I carried to Mr. Lincoln two anonymous communications, in which he was threatened with assassination. In a laughing, joking manner, he remarked, "Well, Baker, what do they want to kill me for? If they kill me, they will run the risk of getting a worse man."

## CHAPTER XXXV.

### THE ASSASSINS CAPTURED.

Excitement around my Headquarters at Washington—The Chief Conspirator—A Graphic Narrative of his Arrest—His Burial—Desire for Relics from his Body—Hanging of the Conspirators.

ALONG with my own narrative, and that of other officers, I shall freely quote from sketches written at the time by others, and chiefly at my headquarters, around which the excitement attending the dreadful tragedy seemed to surge, like a felt but invisible tide, gathering strength every hour. To gratify, as far as possible to do so, the mournful curiosity of the people to learn the details of the affair, some correspondence directly from the centre of investigation and emotion was allowed. With this general explanation, there will be no further reference to the extracts; they will be indicated by their connection and the tone of narrative, and quite accurate in detail.

One of the writers, whose account of Booth's arrest may seem somewhat "sensational," and who sat in my office under unusual nervous excitement, created by the extraordinary circumstances, is now a foreign correspondent of a leading New York daily.

"John Wilkes Booth was the projector of the plot against the President, which culminated in the taking of that good man's life. He had rolled under his tongue the sweet paragraphs of Shakespeare referring to Brutus, as his father had so well, that the old man named one son Junius Brutus, and the other John Wilkes, after the wild English agitator, until it became his ambition, like the wicked Lorenzino de Medici, to stake his life upon one stroke for fame, the murder of a ruler obnoxious to the South.

"Booth shrank at first from murder, until another and

less dangerous resolution failed. This was no less than the capture of the President's body, and its detention or transportation to the South. I do not rely for this assertion upon his sealed letter, where he avows it; there has been found upon a street within the city limits a house belonging to one Mrs. Greene, mined and furnished with underground apartments, furnished with manacles, and all the accessories to private imprisonment. Here the President, and as many as could be gagged and conveyed away with him, were to be concealed, in the event of failure to run them into the Confederacy. Owing to his failure to group around him as many men as he desired, Booth abandoned the project of kidnapping; but the house was discovered, as represented, ready to be blown up at a moment's notice.

"It was at this time that Booth devised his triumphal route through the South. The dramatic element seems to have been never lacking in his design, and with all his base purposes he never failed to consider some subsequent notoriety to be enjoyed. He therefore shipped, before the end of 1861, his theatrical wardrobe from Canada to Nassau. After the commission of his crime he intended to reclaim it, and 'star' through the South, drawing many, as much by his crime as his abilities.

"When Booth began, 'on his own responsibility,' to hunt for accomplices, he found his theory at fault. The bold men he had dreamed of refused to join him in the rash attempt at kidnapping the President, and were too conscientious to meditate murder. All those who presented themselves were military men, unwilling to be subordinate to a civilian and a mere play actor, and the mortified bravo found himself, therefore, compelled to sink to a petty rank in the plot or to make use of base and despicable assistants. His vanity found it easier to compound with the second alternative than the first.

"Here began the first resolve, which, in its mere animal state, we may name courage. Booth found that a tragedy in real life could no more be enacted without greasy-faced and knock-kneed supernumeraries than upon the mimic stage. Your 'First Citizen,' who swings a stave for Marc Antony, and drinks hard porter behind the flies, is very like

the bravo of real life, who murders between his cocktails at the nearest bar. Wilkes Booth had passed the ordeal of a garlicky green-room, and did not shrink from the broader and ranker green-room of real life. He assembled around him, one by one, the cut-throats at whom his soul would have revolted, except that he had become, by resolve, a cut-throat in himself.

"About this time certain gentlemen in Canada began to be unenviably known. I make no charges against those whom I do not know, but simply say that the Confederate agents, Jacob Thompson, Larry McDonald, Clement Clay, and some others, had already accomplished enough villainy to make Wilkes Booth, on the first of the present year, believe that he had but to seek an interview with them.

"He visited the provinces once certainly, and three times it is believed, stopping in Montreal at St. Lawrence Hall, and banking four hundred and fifty-five dollars odd at the Ontario Bank. This was his own money. I have myself seen his bank-book with the single entry of this amount. It was found in the room of Atzeroth at Kirkwood's Hotel.

"Some one or all of these agents furnished Booth with a murderer—the fellow Wood, or Payne, who stabbed Mr. Seward, and was caught at Mrs. Surratt's house in Washington. He was one of three Kentucky brothers, all outlaws, and had himself, it is believed, accompanied one of his brothers, who is known to have been at St. Albans on the day of the bank delivery. This Payne, besides being positively identified as the assassin of the Swards, had no friends nor haunts in Washington. He was simply a dispatched murderer, and after the night of the crime struck northward for the frontier, instead of southward in the company of Booth. The proof of this will follow in the course of the article.

"Half applauded, half rebuffed by the rebel agents in Canada, Booth's impressions of his visit were just those which would whet him soonest for the tragedy. His vanity had been fed by the assurance that success depended upon himself alone, and that as he had the responsibility he would absorb the fame; and the method of correspondence

was of that dark and mysterious shape which powerfully operated upon his dramatic temperament.

"What could please an actor, and the son of an actor, better than to mingle as a principal in a real conspiracy, the aims of which were pseudo-patriotic, and the ends so astounding, that at its coming the whole globe would reel. Booth reasoned that the ancient world would not feel more sensitively the death of Julius Cæsar, than the new the sudden taking off of Abraham Lincoln.

"And so he grew into the idea of murder. It became his business thought. It was his recreation and his study. He had not worked half so hard for histrionic success as for his terrible graduation into an assassin. He had fought often on the boards, and had seen men die in well-imitated horror, with flowing blood upon the keen sword's edge, and the strong stride of mimic victory with which he flourished his weapon at the closing of the curtain. He embraced conspiracy like an old diplomatist, and found in the woman and the spot subjects for emulation.

"Southeast of Washington stretches a tapering peninsula, composed of four fertile counties, which at the remote tip make Point Lookout, and do not contain any town within them of more than a few hundred inhabitants. Tobacco has ruined the land of these, and slavery has ruined the people. Yet in the beginning they were of that splendid stock of Calvert and Lord Baltimore, but retain to-day only the religion of the peaceful founder. I mention, as an exceptional and remarkable fact, that every conspirator in custody is by education a Catholic. These are loyal citizens elsewhere, but the western shore of Maryland is a noxious and pestilential place for patriotism.

"The country immediately outside of the District of Columbia, to the south, is named Prince George's, and the pleasantest village of this county, close to Washington, is called Surrattsville. This consists of a few cabins at a cross-road, surrounding a fine old hotel, the master whereof, giving the settlement his name, left the property to his wife, who for a long time carried it on with indifferent success. Having a son and several daughters, she moved to Washington soon after the beginning of the war, and left the tav-

ern to a trusty friend—one John Lloyd. Surrattsville has gained nothing in patronage or business from the war, except that it became, at an early date, a rebel post-office. The great secret mail from Matthias Creek, Virginia, to Port Tobacco, struck Surrattsville, and thence headed off to the east of Washington, going meanderingly north. Of this post route Mrs. Surratt was a manageress ; and John Lloyd, when he rented her hotel, assumed the responsibility of looking out for the mail, as well as the duty of making Mrs. Surratt at home when she chose to visit him.

"So Surrattsville, only ten miles from Washington, has been throughout the war a seat of conspiracy. It was like a suburb of Richmond, reaching quite up to the rival capital ; and though the few Unionists on the peninsula knew its reputation well enough, nothing of the sort came out until after the murder.

"Treason never found a better agent than Mrs. Surratt. She was a large, masculine, self-possessed female, mistress of her house, and as lithe a rebel as Belle Boyd or Mrs. Greensborough. She had not the flippancy and menace of the first, nor the social power of the second ; but the rebellion has found no fitter agent.

"At her country tavern and Washington home, Booth was made welcome, and there began the muttered murder against the nation and mankind.

"The acquaintance of Mrs. Surratt in Lower Maryland undoubtedly suggested to Booth the route of escape, and made him known to his subsequent accomplices. Last fall he visited the entire region, as far as Leonardstown, in St. Mary's County, professing to buy land, but really making himself informed upon the rebel post stations, with all the leading affiliations upon whom he could depend. At this time he bought a map, a fellow to which I have seen among Atzeroth's effects, published at Buffalo for the rebel government, and marking at hap-hazard all the Maryland villages, but without tracing the high-roads at all. The absence of these roads, it will be seen hereafter, very nearly misled Booth during his crippled flight.

"When Booth cast around him for assistants, he naturally selected those men whom he could control. The first that

recommended himself was one Harold, a youth of inane and plastic character, carried away by the example of an actor, and full of execrable quotations, going to show that that he was an imitator of the master spirit, both in text and admiration. This Harold was a gunner, and therefore versed in arms; he had traversed the whole lower portion of Maryland, and was therefore a geographer as well as a tool. His friends lived at every farm-house between Washington and Leonardsville, and he was respectably enough connected, so as to make his association creditable as well as useful.

"Young Surratt does not appear to have been a puissant spirit in the scheme; indeed, all design and influence therein was absorbed by Mrs. Surratt and Booth. The latter was the head and heart of the plot; Mrs. Surratt was his anchor, and the rest of the boys were disciples to Iscariot and Jezebel. John Surratt, a youth of strong Southern physiognomy, beardless and lanky, knew of the murder and connived at it. 'Sam' Arnold and one McLaughlin were to have been parties to it, but backed out in the end. They all relied upon Mrs. Surratt, and took their 'cues' from Wilkes Booth.

"The conspiracy had its own time and kept its own counsel. Murder, except among the principals, was seldom mentioned except by genteel implication. But they all publicly agreed that Mr. Lincoln ought to be shot, and that the North was a race of fratricides. Much was said of Brutus, and Booth repeated heroic passages, to the delight of Harold, who learned them also, and wondered if he was not born to greatness.

"In this growing darkness, where all rehearsed cold-hearted murder, Wilkes Booth grew great of stature. He had found a purpose consonant with his evil nature and bad influence over weak men; so he grew moodier, more vigilant, more plausible. By mien and temperament he was born to handle a stiletto. We have no face so markedly Italian; it would stand for Cæsar Borgia any day in the year. All the rest were swayed or persuaded by Booth; his schemes were three in order:—

"1st. To kidnap the President and Cabinet, and run them South or blow them up.

"2d. Kidnapping failed, to murder the President and the rest, and seek shelter in the Confederate capital.

"3d The rebellion failed, to be its avenger, and throw the country into consternation, while he escaped by the unfrequented parts of Maryland.

"When this last resolution had been made, the plot was both contracted and extended. There were made two distinct circles of confidants, those aware of the meditated murder, and those who might shrink from murder, though willing accessories for a lesser object. Two colleagues for blood were at once accepted, Payne and Atzeroth.

"The former I have sketched; he is believed to have visited Washington once before, at Booth's citation; for the murder was at first fixed for the day of inauguration. Atzeroth was a fellow of German descent, who had led a desperate life at Port Tobacco, where he was a house-painter. He had been a blockade-runner across the Potomac, and a mail-carrier. When Booth and Mrs. Surratt broke the design to him, with a suggestion that there was wealth in it, he embraced the offer at once, and bought a dirk and pistol. Payne also came from the North to Washington, and, as fate would have it, the President was announced to appear at Ford's Theater in public. Then the resolve of blood was reduced to a definite moment.

"On the night before the crime, Booth found one on whom he could rely. John Surratt was sent northward by his mother on Thursday. Sam Arnold and McLaughlin, each of whom was to kill a Cabinet officer, grew pigeon-livered and ran away. Harold, true to his partiality, lingered around Booth to the end; Atzeroth went so far as to take his knife and pistol to Kirkwood's, where President Johnson was stopping, and hid them under the bed. But either his courage failed, or a trifling accident deranged his plan. But Payne, a professional murderer, stood 'game,' and fought his way over prostrate figures to the sick victim's bed. There was great confusion and terror among the tacit and rash conspirators on Thursday night. They had looked upon the plot as of a melodrama, and found to their horror that John Wilkes Booth meant to do murder.

"Six weeks before the murder, young John Surratt had

taken two splendid repeating carbines to Surrattsville, and told John Lloyd to secrete them. The latter made a hole in the wainscoting and suspended them from strings, so that they fell within the plastered wall of the room below. On the very afternoon of the murder, Mrs. Surratt was driven to Surrattsville, and she told John Lloyd to have the carbines ready, because they would be called for that night. Harold was made quartermaster, and hired the horses. He and Atzeroth were mounted between eight o'clock and the time of the murder, and riding about the streets together.

"The whole party was prepared for a long ride, as their spurs and gauntlets show. It may have been their design to ride in company to the Lower Potomac, and by their numbers exact subsistence and transportation.

"Lloyd, I may interpolate, ordered his wife, a few days before the murder, to go on a visit to Allen's Fresh. She says she does not know why she was so sent away, but swears that it is so. Harold, three weeks before the murder, visited Port Tobacco, and said that the next time the boys heard of him he would be in Spain; he added that with Spain there was no extradition treaty. He said at Surrattsville that he meant to make a barrel of money, or his neck would stretch.

"Atzeroth said that if he ever came to Port Tobacco again he would be rich enough to buy the whole place.

"Wilkes Booth told a friend to go to Ford's on Friday night and see the best acting in the world.

"At Ford's Theater, on Friday night, there were many standers in the neighborhood of the door, and along the dress circle in the direction of the private box where the President sat.

"The play went on pleasantly, though Mr. Wilkes Booth, an observer of the audience, visited the stage and took note of the position. His alleged associate, the stage-carpenter, then received quiet orders to clear the passage by the wings from the prompter's post to the stage door. All this time, Mr. Lincoln, in his family circle, unconscious of the death that crowded fast upon him, witnessed the pleasantry and smiled, and felt heartful of gentleness.

"Suddenly there was a murmur near the audience door, as of a man speaking above his bound. He said:—

"'Nine o'clock and forty-five minutes!'

"These words were reiterated from mouth to mouth until they passed the theater door, and were heard upon the sidewalk.

"Directly a voice cried, in the same slightly raised monotone—

"'Nine o'clock and fifty minutes!'

"This also passed from man to man, until it touched the street like a shudder.

"'Nine o'clock and fifty-five minutes!' said the same relentless voice, after the next interval, each of which narrowed to a lesser span the life of the good President.

"Ten o'clock here sounded, and conspiring echo said in reverberation—

"'Ten o'clock!'

"So, like a creeping thing, from lip to lip went—

"'Ten o'clock and five minutes!'

"An interval,

"'Ten o'clock and ten minutes!'

"At this instant Wilkes Booth appeared in the door of the theater, and the men who had repeated the time so faithfully and so ominously, scattered at his coming as at some warning phantom.

"All this is so dramatic that I fear to excite a laugh when I write it. But it is true and proven, and I do not say it, but report it.

"All evil deeds go wrong. While the click of the pistol, taking the President's life, went like a pang through the theater, Payne was spilling blood in Mr. Seward's house from threshold to sick-chamber. But Booth's broken leg delayed him or made him lose his general calmness, and he and Harold left Payne to his fate.

"I have not adverted to the hole bored with a gimlet in the entry door of Mr. Lincoln's box, and cut out with a penknife. The theory that the pistol-ball of Booth passed through this hole is now exploded. When Booth leaped from the box he strode straight across the stage by the foot-lights, reaching the prompter's post, which is immediately

behind that private box opposite to Mr. Lincoln. From this box to the stage-door in the rear, the passage-way leads behind the ends of the scenes, and is generally either closed up by one or more withdrawn scenes, or so narrow that only by doubling and turning sidewise can one pass along. On this fearful night, however, the scenes were so adjusted to the murderer's design that he had a free aisle from the foot of the stage to the exit-door.

"Within fifteen minutes after the murder the wires were severed entirely round the city, excepting only a secret wire for Government uses, which leads to Old Point. I am told that by this wire the Government reached the fortifications around Washington, first telegraphing all the way to Old Point, and then back to the out-lying forts. This information comes to me from so many credible channels that I must concede it.

"Payne having, as he thought, made an end of Mr. Seward, which would have been the case but for Robinson, the nurse, mounted his horse, and attempted to find Booth. But the town was in alarm, and he galloped at once for the open country, taking, as he imagined, the proper road for the East Branch. He rode at a killing pace, and when near Port Lincoln, on the Baltimore pike, his horse threw him headlong. Afoot and bewildered, he resolved to return to the city, whose lights he could plainly see; but before doing so he concealed himself some time, and made some almost absurd efforts to disguise himself. Cutting a cross section from the woolen undershirt which covered his muscular arm, he made a rude cap of it, and threw away his bloody coat. This has since been found in the woods, and blood has been found also on his bosom and sleeves. He also spattered himself plentifully with mud and clay, and taking an abandoned pick from the deserted intrenchments near by, he struck out at once for Washington.

"By the providence which always attends murder, he reached Mrs. Surratt's door just as the officers of the Government were arresting her. They seized Payne at once, who had an awkward lie to urge in his defense—that he had come there to dig a trench. That night he dug a trench deep and broad enough for them both to lie in forever. They

washed his hands, and found them soft and womanish ; his pockets contained tooth and nail-brushes, and a delicate pocket-knife. All this apparel consorted ill with his assumed character.

"Coarse, and hard, and calm, Mrs. Surratt shut up her house after the murder, and waited with her daughters till the officers came. She was imperturbable, and rebuked her girls for weeping, and would have gone to jail like a statue, but that in her extremity Payne knocked at her door. He had come, he said, to dig a ditch for Mrs. Surratt, whom he very well knew. But Mrs. Surratt protested that she had never seen the man at all, and had no ditch to clean.

"'How fortunate, girls,' she said, 'that these officers are here ; this man might have murdered us all.'

"Her effrontery stamps her as worthy of companionship with Booth. Payne has been identified by a lodger of Mrs. Surratt's as having twice visited the house, under the name of Wood.

"Atzeroth had a room almost directly over Vice-President Johnson's. He had all the materials to do murder, but lost spirit or opportunity. He ran away so hastily, that all his arms and baggage were discovered ; a tremendous bowie knife and a Colt's cavalry revolver were found between the mattresses of his bed. Booth's coat was also found there, showing conspired flight in company, and in it three boxes of cartridges, a map of Maryland, gauntlets for riding, a spur, and a handkerchief marked with the name of Booth's mother —a mother's souvenir for a murderer's pocket.

"Atzeroth fled alone, and was found at the house of his uncle, in Montgomery County, Maryland. I do not know that any instrument of murder has ever made me thrill as when I drew his terrible bowie-knife from its sheath.

"I come now to the ride out of the city by the chief assassin and his dupe. Harold met Booth immediately after the crime in the next street, and they rode at a gallop past the Patent Office and over Capitol Hill.

"As they crossed the Eastern Branch at Uniontown, Booth gave his proper name to the officer at the bridge. This, which would seem to have been foolish, was, in reality, very shrewd. The officers believed that one of

Booth's accomplices had given this name in order to put them out of the real Booth's track. So they made efforts elsewhere, and Booth got a start. At midnight, precisely, the two horsemen stopped at Surrattsville, Booth remaining on his nag, while Harold descended and knocked lustily at the door. Lloyd, the landlord, came down at once, when Harold pushed past him into the bar, and obtained a bottle of whisky, some of which he gave to Booth immediately. While Booth was drinking, Harold went up stairs and brought down one of the carbines. Lloyd started to get the other, but Harold said :—

“‘ We don't want it ; Booth has broken his leg, and can't carry it.’

“So the second carbine remained in the hall, where the officers afterward found it.

“As the two horsemen started to go off, Booth cried out to Lloyd :—

“‘ Don't you want to hear some news ?’

“‘ I don't care much about it,’ cried Lloyd, by his own account.

“‘ We have murdered,’ said Booth, ‘the President and Secretary of State.’

“And, with this horrible confession, Booth and Harold dashed away in the midnight, across Prince George's County.

“On Saturday, before sunrise, Booth and Harold, who had ridden all night without stopping elsewhere, reached the house of Dr. Mudd, three miles from Bryantown. They contracted with him, for twenty-five dollars in greenbacks, to set the broken leg. Harold, who knew Dr. Mudd, introduced Booth under another name, and stated that he had fallen from his horse during the night. The doctor remarked of Booth that he draped the lower part of his face while the leg was being set ; he was silent, and in pain. Having no splints in the house, they split up an old-fashioned wooden band-box and prepared them. The doctor was assisted by an Englishman, who at the same time began to hew out a pair of crutches. The inferior bone of the left leg was broken vertically across, and, because vertically, it did not yield when the crippled man walked upon it.

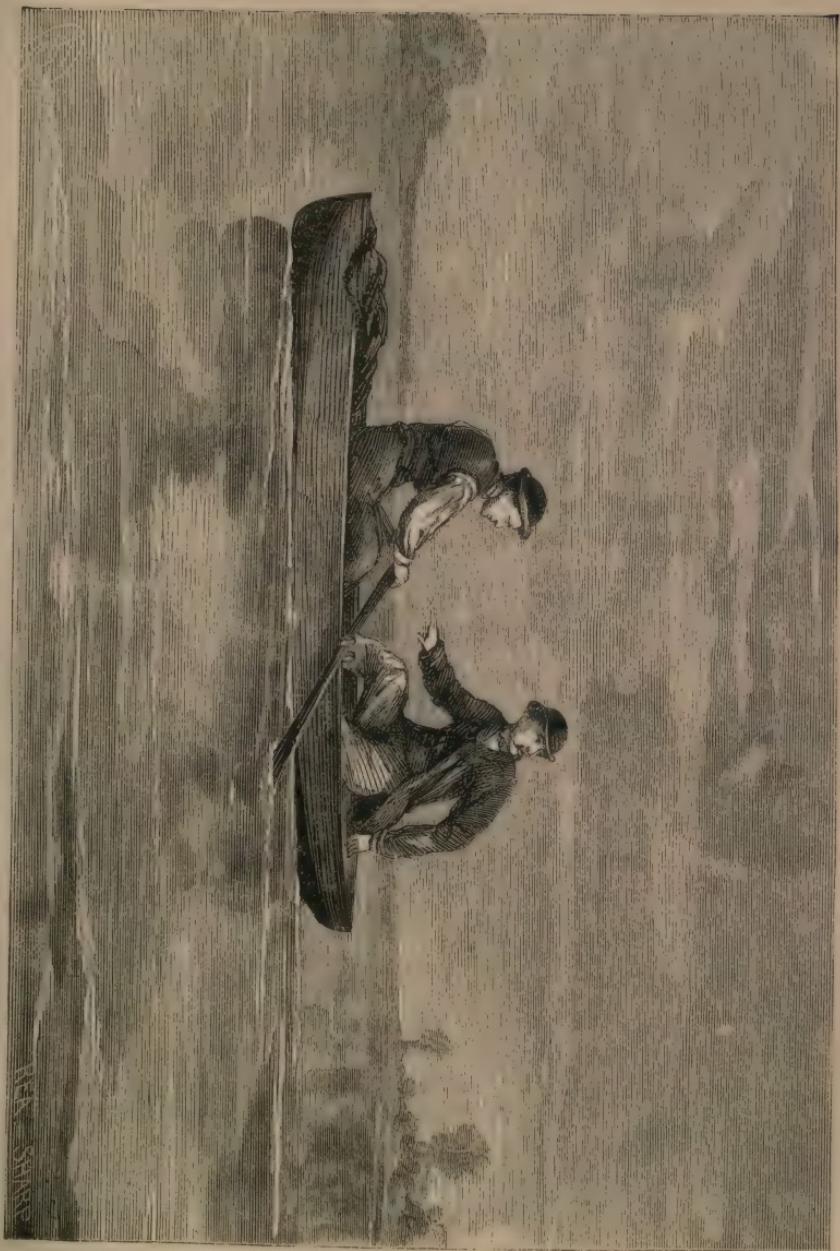
“The riding boot of Booth had to be cut from his foot ;

within were the words 'J. Wilkes.' The doctor says he did not notice these. The two men waited around the house all day, but toward evening they slipped their horses from the stable and rode away in the direction of Allen's Fresh.

"Below Ervantown run certain deep and slimy swamps. Along the belt of these Booth and Harold picked up a negro named Swan, who volunteered to show them the road for two dollars. They gave him five more to show them the route to Allen's Fresh; but really wished, as their actions intimated, to gain the house of one Sam Coxe, a notorious rebel, and probably well advised of the plot. They reached the house at midnight. It is a fine dwelling, one of the best in Maryland; and after hallooing for some time, Coxe came down to the door himself. As soon as he opened it, and beheld who the strangers were, he instantly blew out the candle he held in his hand, and, without a word, pulled them into the room, the negro remaining in the yard. The confederates remained in Coxe's house till 4 A. M., during which time the negro saw them eat and drink heartily; but when they reappeared they spoke in a loud tone, so that Swan could hear them, against the hospitality of Coxe. All this was meant to influence the darkey; but their motives were as apparent as their words. He conducted them three miles further on, when they told him that now they knew the way, and giving him five dollars more, making twelve in all, told him to go back.

"But when the negro, in the dusk of the morning, looked after them as he receded, he saw that both horses' heads were turned once more toward Coxe's, and it was this man, doubtless, who harbored the fugitives from Sunday to Thursday, aided, possibly, by such neighbors as the Wilsons and Adamses.

"At the point where Booth crossed the Potomac the shores are very shallow, and one must wade out some distance to where a boat will float. A white man came up here with a canoe on Friday, and tied it by a stone anchor. Between seven and eight o'clock it disappeared, and in the afternoon some men at work on Methxy Creek, in Virginia, saw Booth and Harold land, tie the boat's rope to a stone and fling it ashore, and strike at once across a ploughed field for



BOOTH AND HARROLD CROSSING THE POTOMAC.



King George Court House. Many folks entertained them, without doubt, but we positively hear of them next at Port Royal Ferry, and then at Garrett's farm.

"The few Unionists of Prince George's and Charles Counties, long persecuted and intimidated, came forward and gave important testimony.

"Among these was one Roby, a very fat and very zealous old gentleman, whose professions were as ample as his perspiration. He told the officers of the secret meetings for conspiracy's sake at Lloyd's Hotel, and although a very John Gilpin on horseback, rode here and there to his great loss of wind and repose, fastening fire coals upon the guilty or suspected.

"Lloyd was turned over to Mr. Cottingham, who had established a jail at Robytown; that night his house was searched, and Booth's carbine found hidden in the wall. Three days afterward, Lloyd himself confessed.

"The little party, under the untiring Lovett, examined all the farm-houses below Washington, resorting to many shrewd expedients, and taking note of the great swamps to the east of Port Tobacco; they reached Newport at last, and fastened tacit guilt upon many residents.

"Beyond Bryantown they overhauled the residence of Dr. Mudd, and found Booth's boots. This was before Lloyd confessed, and was the first positive trace the officers had that they were really close upon the assassins.

"I do not recall any thing more wild and startling than this vague and dangerous exploration of a dimly known, hostile, and ignorant country. To these few detectives we owe much of the subsequent successful precaution of the pursuit. They were the Hebrew spies.

"By this time the country was filling up with soldiers, but previously a second memorable detective party went out under the personal command of Major O'Bierne. It consisted, besides that officer, of Lee, D'Angelis, Callahan, Hoey, Bostwick, Hanover, Bevins, and McHenry, and embarked at Washington on a steam-tug for Chappell's Point. Here a military station had long been established for the prevention of blockade and mail running across the Potomac. It was commanded by Lieutenant Laverty, and garrisoned by sixty-

five men. On Tuesday night Major O'Bierne's party reached this place, and soon afterward a telegraph station was established here by an invaluable man to the expedition, Captain Beckwith, General Grant's chief cipher operator, who tapped the Point Lookout wire, and placed the War Department within a moment's reach of the theater of events.

"Major O'Bierne's party started at once, over the worst road in the world, for Port Tobacco.

"If any place in the world is utterly given over to depravity, it is Port Tobacco. From this town, by a sinuous creek, there is flat-boat navigation to the Potomac, and across that river to Mattox Creek. Before the war, Port Tobacco was the seat of a tobacco aristocracy and a haunt of negro traders. It passed very naturally into a rebel post for blockade-runners and a rebel post-office general. Gambling, corner-fighting, and shooting matches were its lyceum education. Violence and ignorance had every suffrage in the town. Its people were smugglers, to all intents, and there was neither Bible nor geography to the whole region adjacent. Assassination was never very unpopular at Port Tobacco, and when its victim was a Northern President, it became quite heroic. A month before the murder, a provost-marshall near by was slain in his bed-chamber. For such a town and district, the detective police were the only effective missionaries.

"The hotel here is called the Brawner House; it has a bar in the nethermost cellar, and its patrons, carousing in that imperfect light, look like the denizens of some burglar's crib, talking robbery between their cups; its dining-room is dark and tumble-down, and the cuisine bears traces of Kaffir origin; a barbecue is nothing to a dinner there. The courthouse of Port Tobacco is the most superfluous house in the place, except the church. It stands in the center of the town, in a square, and the dwellings lie about it closely, as if to throttle justice. Five hundred people exist in Port Tobacco; life there reminds me, in connection with the slimy river and the adjacent swamps, of the great reptile period of the world, when iguanodons, and pterodactyls, and plesiosauri ate each other.

"Into this abstract of Gomorrah the few detectives went

like angels who visited Lot. They pretended to be inquiring for friends, or to have business designs, and the first people they heard of were Harold and Atzeroth. The latter had visited Port Tobacco three weeks before the murder, and intimated at that time his design of fleeing the country. But everybody denied having seen him subsequent to the crime.

"Atzeroth had been in town just prior to the crime. He had been living with a widow woman, named Mrs. Wheeler, and she was immediately called upon by Major O'Bierne. He did not tell her what Atzeroth had done, but vaguely hinted that he had committed some terrible crime, and that since he had done her wrong, she could vindicate both herself and justice by telling his whereabouts. The woman admitted that Atzeroth had been her bane, but she loved him, and refused to betray him.

"His trunk was found in her garret, and in it the key to his paint shop in Port Tobacco. The latter was fruitlessly searched, but the probable whereabouts of Atzeroth in Montgomery County obtained, and Major O'Bierne telegraphing there immediately, the desperate fellow was found and locked up. A man named Crangle, who had succeeded Atzeroth in Mrs. Wheeler's pliable affections, was arrested at once and put in jail. A number of disloyal people were indicated or "spotted" as in no wise angry at the President's taking off, and for all such a provost prison was established.

"A few miles from Port Tobacco dwelt a solitary woman, who, when questioned, said that for many nights she had heard, after she had retired to bed, a man enter her cellar, and be there all night, departing before dawn. Major O'Bierne and the detectives ordered her to place a lamp in her window the next night she heard him enter; and at dark they established a cordon of armed officers around the place. At midnight punctually she exhibited the light, when the officers broke into the house and thoroughly searched it, without result. Yet the woman positively asserted that she had heard the man enter.

"It was afterward found that she was of diseased mind.

"By this time the military had come up in considerable

numbers, and Major O'Bierne was enabled to confer with Major Wait, of the Eighth Illinois.

"The major had pushed on, on Monday night, to Leonardstown, and pretty well overhauled that locality.

"It was at this time that preparations were made to hunt the swamps around Chapmantown, Bethtown, and Allen's Fresh. Booth had been entirely lost since his departure from Mudd's house, and it was believed that he had either pushed on for the Potomac or taken to the swamps. The officers sagaciously determined to follow him to the one, and to explore the other.

"The swamps tributary to the various branches of the Wicomico River, of which the chief feeder is Allen's Creek, bear various names, such as Jordan's Swamp, Atchall's Swamp, and Scrub Swamp. There are dense growths of dogwood, gum, and beech, planted in sluices of water and bog, and their width varies from a half mile to four miles, while their length is upward of sixteen miles. Frequent deep ponds dot this wilderness place, with here and there a stretch of dry soil, but no human being inhabits the malarious extent; even a hunted murderer would shrink from hiding there. Serpents and slimy lizards are the only living denizens; sometimes the coon takes refuge in this desert from the hounds, and in the soft mud a thousand odorous muskrats delve, and now and then a tremulous otter. But not even the hunted negro dare to fathom the treacherous clay, nor make himself a fellow of the slimy reptiles which reign absolute in this terrible solitude. Here the soldiers prepared to seek for the President's assassins, and no search of the kind has ever been so thorough and patient. The Shawnee, in his stronghold of despair in the heart of the Okeefenokee, would scarcely have changed homes with Wilkes Booth and David Harold, hiding in this inhuman country.

"The military forces deputed to pursue the fugitives were seven hundred men of the Eighth Illinois Cavalry, six hundred men of the Twenty-second Colored Troops, and one hundred men of the Sixteenth New York. These swept the swamps by detachments, the mass of them dismounted, with cavalry at the belts of clearings, interspersed with detectives

at frequent intervals in the rear. They first formed a strong picket cordon entirely around the swamps, and then, drawn up in two orders of battle, advanced boldly into the bog by two lines of march. One party swept the swamps longitudinally, the other pushed straight across their smallest diameter.

"A similar march has not been made during the war; the soldiers were only a few paces apart, and in steady order they took the ground as it came, now plunging to their arm-pits in foul sluices of gangrened water, now hopelessly submerged in slime, now attacked by legions of wood-ticks, now tempting some unfaithful log or greenishly solid morass, and plunging to the tip of the skull in poisonous stagnation; the tree boughs rent their uniforms; they came out upon dry land many of them without a rag of garment, scratched, and gashed, and spent, repugnant to themselves, and disgusting to those who saw them; but not one trace of Booth or Harold was anywhere found. Wherever they might be, the swamps did not contain them.

"While all this was going on, a force started from Point Lookout, and swept the narrow necks of St. Mary's quite up to Medley's Neck. To complete the search in this part of the country, Colonel Wells and Major O'Bierne started, with a force of cavalry and infantry, for Chappell's Point. They took the entire peninsula, as before, and marched in close skirmish line across it, but without finding any thing of note. The manner of inclosing a house was by cavalry advances, which held all the avenues till mounted detectives came up. Many strange and ludicrous adventures occurred on each of these expeditions. While the forces were going up Cobb's Neck there was a counter force coming down from Allen's Fresh.

"Major O'Bierne started for Leonardstown with his detective force, and played off Laverty as Booth, and Hoey as Harold. These two advanced to farm-houses and gave their assumed names, asking at the same time for assistance and shelter. They were generally avoided, except by one man named Claggert, who told them they might hide in the woods behind his house. When Claggert was arrested, however, he stated that he meant to hide only to give them up. While

on this adventure, a man who had heard of the reward came very near shooting Laverty. The ruse now became hazardous, and the detectives resumed their real characters.

"One Mills, a rebel mail-carrier, also arrested, saw Booth and Harold lurking along the river bank on Friday; he referred Major O'Bierne to one Claggert, a rebel, as having seen them also; but Claggert held his tongue and went to jail. On Saturday night, Major O'Bierne, thus assured, also crossed the Potomac with his detectives to Boone's farm, where the fugitives had landed. While collecting information here, a gunboat swung up the stream, and threatened to open fire on the party.

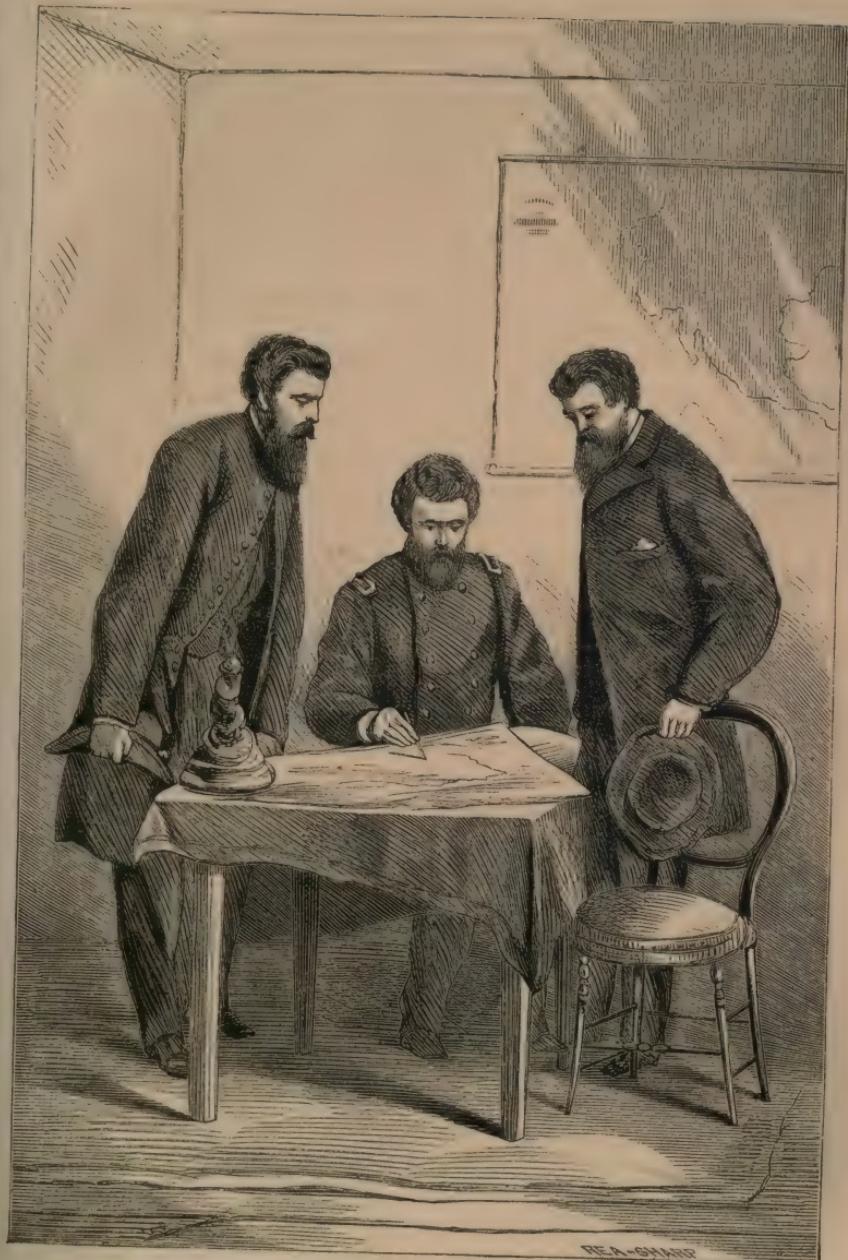
"It was now night, and all the party worn to the ground with long travel and want of sleep. Lieutenant Laverty's men went a short distance down the country and gave up, and Major O'Bierne, with a single man, pushed all night to King George's Court-House, and next day, Sunday, re-embarked for Chappell's Point. Hence he telegraphed his information, and asked permission to pursue, promising to catch the assassins before they reached Port Royal.

"This the department refused. Colonel Baker's men were delegated to make the pursuit with the able Lieutenant Doherty; and O'Bierne, who was the most active and successful spirit in the chase, returned to Washington, cheerful and contented."

No lapse of time, nor varied experience, can ever efface the memory of the hour at headquarters when the following was penned :—

"The face of Lafayette Baker, Colonel, and Chief of the Secret Service, overlooks me. He has played the most perilous parts of the war, and is the captor of the late President's murderer. The story that I am to tell you, as he and his trusty dependants told it to me, will be aptly commenced here, where the net was woven which took the dying life of Wilkes Booth.

"When the murdering occurred, Colonel Baker was absent from Washington. He returned on the third morning and was at once brought by Secretary Stanton to join the hue and cry against the escaped Booth. The sagacious detective learned that nearly ten thousand cavalry, and one-fourth



PLANNING THE CAPTURE OF BOOTH.

RE-A-SHARD



as many policemen, had been meantime scouring, without plan or compass, the whole territory of Southern Maryland. They were treading on each others' heels, and mixing up the thing so badly, that the best place for the culprits to have gone would have been in the very midst of their pursuers. Baker at once possessed himself of the little the War Department had learned, and started immediately to take the usual detective measures, till then neglected, of offering a reward, and getting out photographs of the suspected ones. He then dispatched a few chosen detectives to certain vital points, and awaited results.

"The first of these was the capture of Atzeroth. Others, like the taking of Dr. Mudd, simultaneously occurred. But the district suspected being remote from the railway routes, and broken by no telegraph station, the Colonel, to place himself nearer the theater of events, ordered an operator, with the necessary instrument, to tap the wire running to Point Lookout, near Chappell's Point, and send him prompt messages.

"The same steamer which took down the operator and two detectives, brought back one of the same detectives and a negro. This negro, taken to Colonel Baker's office, stated so positively that he had seen Booth and another man cross the Potomac in a fishing boat, while he was looking down upon them from a bank, that the Colonel was at first sceptical; but, when examined, the negro answered so readily and intelligently, recognizing the man from the photographs, that Baker knew at last that he had the true scent.

"Straightway he sent to General Hancock for twenty-five men, and while the order was going drew down his coast survey maps, with that quick detective intuition amounting almost to inspiration. He cast upon the probable route and destination of the refugees, as well as the point where he would soonest strike them. Booth, he knew, would not keep along the coast, with frequent deep rivers to cross, nor, indeed, in any direction east of Richmond, where he was liable at any time to cross our lines of occupation; nor, being lame, could he ride on horseback, so as to place himself very far westward of his point of debarkation in Virginia. But he would travel in a direct course from Bluff

Point, where he crossed to Eastern Maryland, and this would take him through Port Royal, on the Rappahannock River, in time to be intercepted by the outgoing cavalrymen.

"When, therefore, twenty-five men, under one Lieutenant Dogherty, arrived at his office doors, Baker placed the whole under control of his former Lieutenant-Colonel, E. J. Conger, and of his cousin, Lieutenant L. B. Baker—the first of Ohio, the last of New York—and bade them go with all dispatch to Belle Plain, on the Lower Potomac, there to disembark and scour the country faithfully around Port Royal, but not to return unless they captured their men.

"Quitting Washington at two o'clock p. m., on Monday, the detectives and cavalrymen disembarked at Belle Plain, on the border of Stafford County, at ten o'clock, in the darkness. Belle Plain is simply the nearest landing to Fredericksburg, seventy miles from Washington City, and located upon Potomac Creek. It is a wharf and warehouse merely, and here the steamer *John S. Ide* stopped and made fast, while the party galloped off in the darkness. Conger and Baker kept ahead, riding up to farm-houses and questioning the inmates, pretending to be in search of the Maryland gentlemen belonging to the party. But nobody had seen the parties described, and after a futile ride on the Fredericksburg road, they turned shortly to the east, and kept up their baffled inquiries all the way to Port Conway, on the Rappahannock.

"On Tuesday morning they presented themselves at the Port Royal Ferry, and inquired of the ferryman, while he was taking them over in squads of seven at a time, if he had seen any two such men. Continuing their inquiries at Port Royal, they found one Rollins, a fisherman, who referred them to a negro, named Lucas, as having driven two men a short distance toward Bowling Green, in a wagon. It was found that these men answered to the description, Booth having a crutch, as previously ascertained.

"The day before Booth and Harold had applied at Port Conway for the general ferry-boat, but the ferryman was then fishing, and would not desist for the inconsiderable fare of only two persons; but to their supposed good fortune a lot of Confederate cavalrymen just then came along, who

threatened the ferryman with a shot in the head if he did not instantly bring across his craft and transport the entire party. These cavalrymen were of Moseby's disbanded command, returning from Fairfax Court House to their homes in Caroline County. Their captain was on his way to visit a sweetheart at Bowling Green, and he had so far taken Booth under his patronage, that when the latter was haggling with Lucas for a team, he offered both Booth and Harold the use of his horse to ride and walk alternately.

"This is the court house town of Caroline County, a small and scattered place, having within it an ancient tavern, no longer used for other than lodging purposes; but here they hauled from his bed the captain aforesaid, and bade him dress himself. As soon as he comprehended the matter, he became pallid, and eagerly narrated the facts in his possession. Booth, to his knowledge, was then lying at the house of one Garrett, which they had passed, and Harold had departed the existing day with the intention of rejoining him.

"Taking this captain along for a guide, the worn-out horsemen retraced their steps, though some were so haggard and wasted with travel that they had to be kicked into intelligence before they could climb to their saddles. The objects of the chase thus at hand, the detectives, full of sanguine purpose, hurried the cortege so well along, that by two o'clock early morning all halted at Garrett's gate. In the pale moonlight, three hundred yards from the main road, to the left, a plain, old farm-house looked grayly through the environing locusts. It was worn, and whitewashed, and two-storied, and its half-human windows glowered down upon the silent cavalrymen like watching owls, which stood as sentries over some horrible secret asleep within.

"Dimly seen behind, an old barn, high and weather beaten, faced the roadside gate, for the house itself lay to the left of its own lane; and nestling beneath the barn, a few long corn-cribs lay, with a cattle-shed at hand.

"In the dead stillness, Baker dismounted and forced the outer gate, Conger kept close behind him, and the horsemen followed cautiously. They made no noise in the soft clay, nor broke the all-foreboding silence anywhere, till the second

gate swung open gratingly, yet even then nor hearse nor shrill response came back, save distant croaking, as of frogs or owls, or the whiz of some passing night-hawk. So they surrounded the pleasant old homestead, each horseman, carbine in poise, adjusted under the grove of locusts, so as to inclose the dwelling with a circle of fire. After a pause, Baker rode to the kitchen door on the side, and dismounting, rapped and hallooed lustily. An old man, in drawers and night-shirt, hastily undrew the bolts, and stood on the threshold, peering shiveringly into the darkness.

"Baker seized him by the throat at once, and held a pistol to his ear.

"Who is it that calls me?" cried the old man.

"Where are the men who stay with you?" challenged Baker. "If you prevaricate, you are a dead man!"

"The old fellow, who proved to be the head of the family, was so overawed and paralyzed that he stammered and shook and said not a word.

"Go light a candle," cried Baker, sternly, "and be quick about it."

The trembling old man obeyed, and in a moment the imperfect rays flared upon his whitening hairs, and bluishly pallid face. Then the question was repeated, backed up by the glimmering pistol. "Where are these men?"

"The old man held to the wall, and his knees smote each other. "They are gone," he said. "We haven't got them in the house; I assure you that they are gone."

In the interim Conger had also entered, and while the household and its invaders were thus in weird tableau, a young man appeared, as if he had risen from the ground. The eyes of everybody turned upon him in a second; but, while he blanched, he did not lose loquacity. "Father," he said, "we had better tell the truth about the matter. Those men whom you seek, gentlemen, are in the barn, I know. They went there to sleep." Leaving one soldier to guard the old man—and the soldier was very glad of the job, as it relieved him of personal hazard in the approaching combat—all the rest, with cocked pistols at the young man's head, followed on to the barn. It lay a hundred yards from the house, the front barn-door facing the west gable, and was an

old and spacious structure, with floors only a trifle above the ground level.

"The troops dismounted, were stationed at regular intervals around it, and ten yards distant at every point, four special guards placed to command the door, and all with weapons in supple preparation, while Baker and Conger went direct to the door. It had a padlock upon it, and the key of this Baker secured at once. In the interval of silence that ensued, the rustling of planks and straw was heard inside, as of persons rising from sleep.

"At the same moment Baker hailed :—

"To the persons in this barn I have a proposal to make. We are about to send in to you the son of the man in whose custody you are found. Either surrender to him your arms, and then give yourself up, or we'll set fire to the place. We mean to take you both, or to have a bonfire and shooting-match.'

"No answer came to this of any kind. The lad, John M. Garrett, who was in deadly fear, was here pushed through the door by a sudden opening of it, and immediately Lieutenant Baker locked the door on the outside. The boy was heard to state his appeal in under tones. Booth replied :—

"— you. Get out of here. You have betrayed me."

"At the same time he placed his hand in his pocket, as if for a pistol. A remonstrance followed ; but the boy slipped on and over the reopened portal, reporting that his errand had failed, and that he dare not enter again. All this time the candle brought from the house to the barn was burning close beside the two detectives, rendering it easy for any one within to have shot them dead. This observed, the light was cautiously removed, and everybody took care to keep out of its reflection. By this time the crisis of the position was at hand ; the cavalry exhibited very variable inclinations, some to run away, others to shoot Booth without a summons ; but all excited and fitfully silent. At the house near by, the female folks were seen collected in the doorway, and the necessities of the case provoked prompt conclusions. The boy was placed at a remote point, and the summons repeated by Baker :—

" ' You must surrender inside there ! Give up your arms and appear ; there's no chance for escape. We give you five minutes to make up your mind.'

" A bold, clarion reply came from within, so strong as to be heard at the house door :—

" ' Who are you, and what do you want with us ?'

" Baker again urged :—

" ' We want you to deliver up your arms, and become our prisoners.'

" ' But who are you ?' hallooed the same strong voice.

" ' That makes no difference ; we know who you are, and we want you. We have here fifty men, armed with carbines and pistols. You cannot escape.'

" There was a long pause, and then Booth said :—

" ' Captain, this is a hard case, I swear. Perhaps I am being taken by my own friends.'

" No reply from the detectives.

" ' Well, give us a little time to consider.'

" ' Very well ; take time.'

" Here ensued a long and eventful pause. What thronging memories it brought to Booth we can only guess. In this little interval he made the resolve to die. But he was cool and steady to the end. Baker, after a lapse, hailed for the last time :—

" ' Well, we have waited long enough ; surrender your arms and come out, or we'll fire the barn.'

" Booth answered thus :—

" ' I am but a cripple—a one-legged man. Withdraw your forces one hundred yards from the door, and I will come. Give me a chance for my life, captain. I will never be taken alive !'

" ' We did not come here to fight, but to capture you. I say again appear, or the barn shall be fired.'

" Then, with a long breath, which could be heard outside, Booth cried, in sudden calmness, still invisible, as were to him his enemies :—

" ' Well, then, my brave boys, prepare a stretcher for me !'

" There was a pause repeated, broken by low discussions within between Booth and his associate, the former saying,

as if in answer to some remonstrance or appeal: “Get away from me. You are a —— coward, and mean to leave me in my distress; but go—go! I don’t want you to stay—I won’t have you stay!” Then he shouted aloud:—

“There’s a man inside who wants to surrender.”

“Let him come, if he will bring his arms.”

“Here Harold, rattling at the door, said: ‘Let me out; open the door; I want to surrender.’

“Hand out your arms, then.”

“I have not got any.”

“You are the man who carried the carbine yesterday; bring it out!”

“I haven’t got any.”

“This was said in a whining tone, and with an almost visible shiver. Booth cried aloud at this hesitation:—

“He hasn’t got any arms; they are mine, and I have kept them.”

“Well, he carried the carbine, and must bring it out.”

“On the word and honor of a gentleman, he has no arms with him. They are mine, and I have got them.”

“At this time Harold was quite up to the door, within whispering distance of Baker. The latter told him to put out his hands to be handcuffed, at the same time drawing open the door a little distance. Harold thrust forth his hands, when Baker, seizing him, jerked him into the night, and straightway delivered him over to a deputation of cavalrymen. The fellow began to talk of his innocence, and plead so noisily, that Conger threatened to gag him, unless he ceased. Then Booth made his last appeal, in the same clear, unbroken voice:—

“Captain, give me a chance. Draw off your men, and I will fight them singly. I could have killed you six times to-night, but I believe you to be a brave man, and would not murder you. Give a lame man a show.”

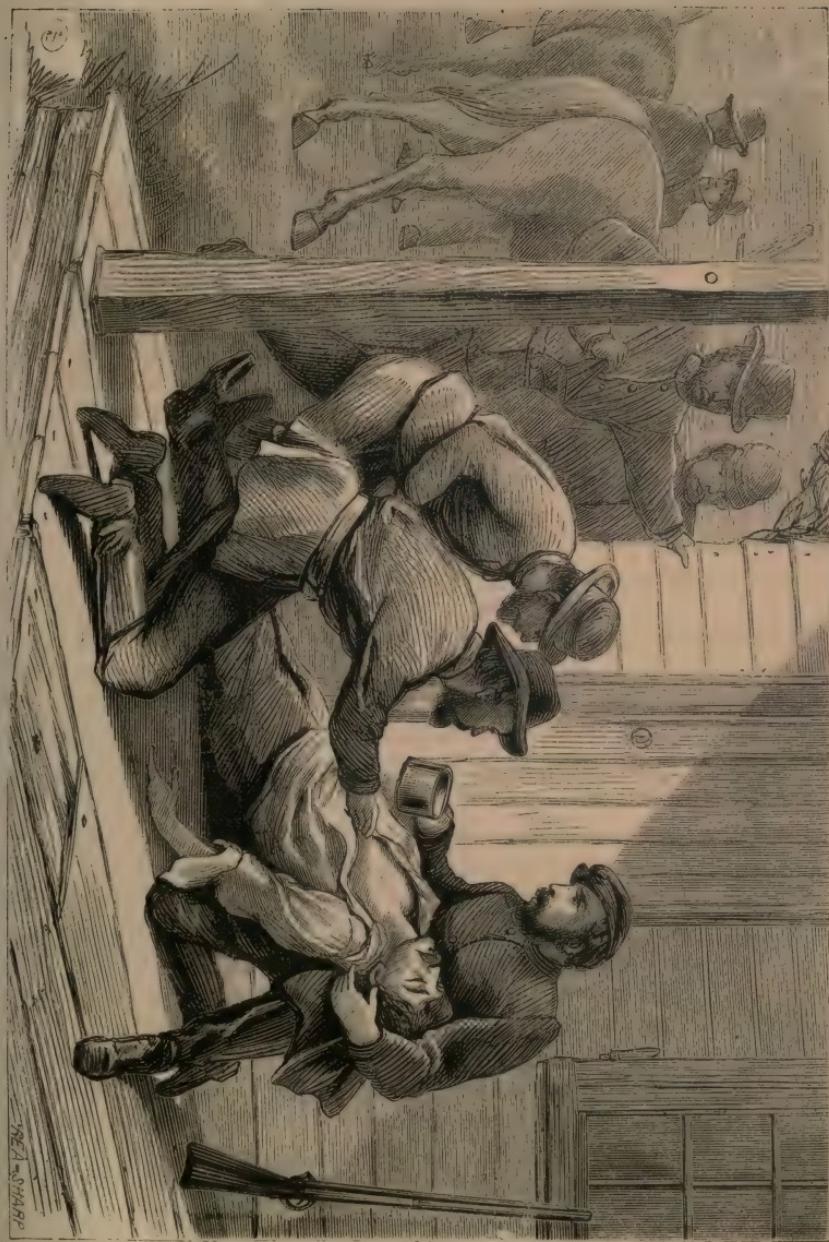
“It was too late for parley. All this time Booth’s voice had sounded from the middle of the barn.

“Ere he ceased speaking, Colonel Conger slipped around to the rear, drew some loose straws through a crack, and lit a match upon them. They were dry and blazed up in an instant, carrying a sheet of smoke and flame through the

parted planks, and heaving in a twinkling a world of light and heat upon the magazine within. The blaze lit up the black recesses of the great barn, till every wasp's nest and cobweb in the roof were luminous ; flinging streaks of red and violet across the tumbled farm gear in the corner, ploughs, harrows, hoes, rakes, sugar-mills, and making every separate grain in the high bin adjacent gleam like a mote of precious gold. They tinged the beams, the upright columns, the barricades, where clover and timothy, piled high, held toward the hot incendiary their separate straws for the funeral pile. They bathed the murderer's retreat in a beautiful illumination, and while in bold outline his figure stood revealed, they rose like an impenetrable wall to guard from sight the hated enemy who lit them.

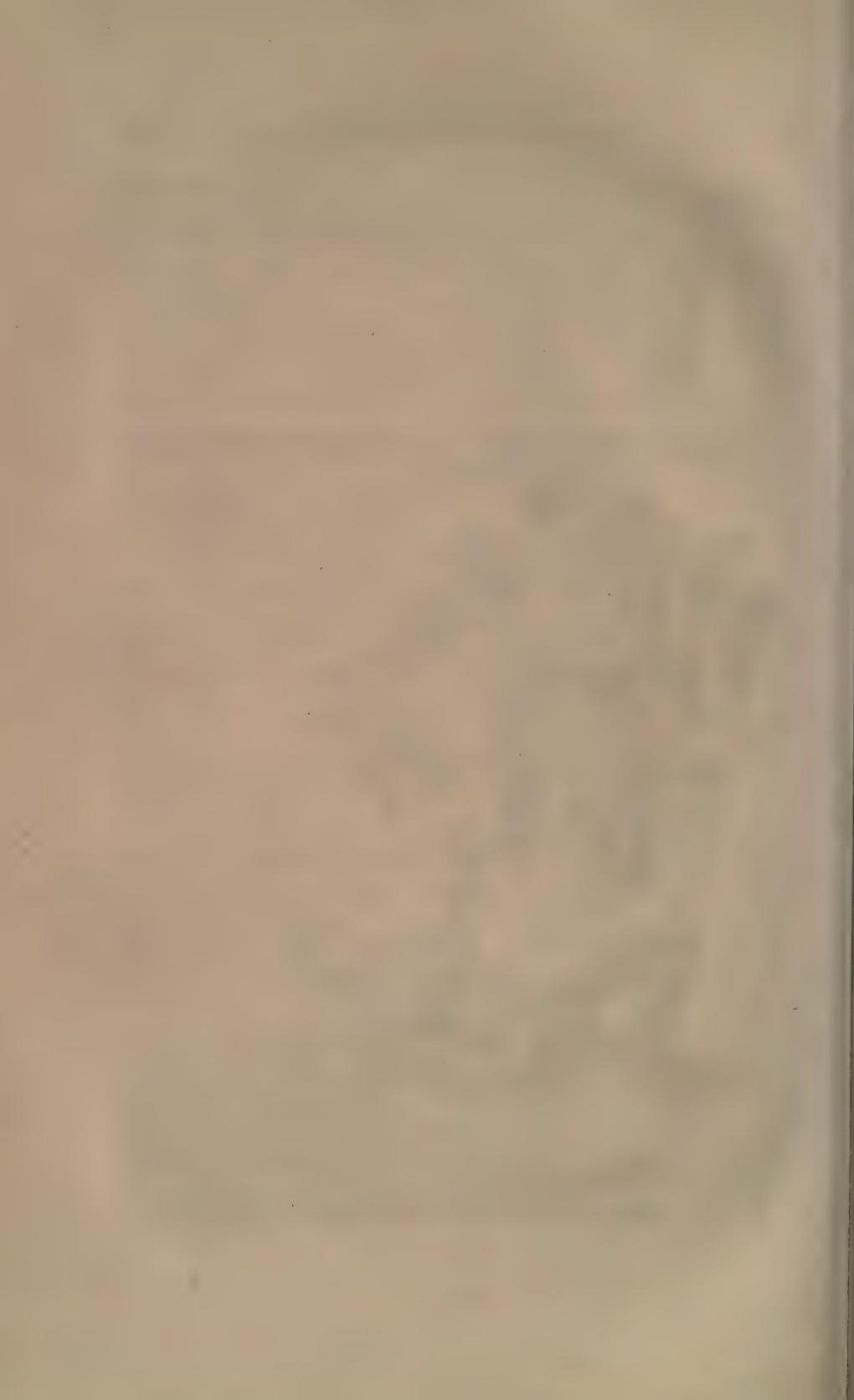
" Behind the blaze, with his eye to a crack, Conger saw Wilkes Booth standing upright upon a crutch. He likens him at this instant to his brother Edwin, whom, he says, he so much resembled that he believed, for the moment, the whole pursuit to have been a mistake. At the gleam of the fire, Wilkes dropped his crutch and carbine, and on both hands crept to the spot to espy the incendiary and shoot him dead. His eyes were lustrous, like fever, and swelled and rolled in terrible beauty, while his teeth were fixed, and he wore the expression of one in the calmness before frenzy. In vain he peered, with vengeance in his look ; the blaze that made him visible concealed his enemy. A second he turned glaring at the fire, as if to leap upon it and extinguish it, but it had made such headway that this was a futile impulse, and he dismissed it. As calmly as upon the battle-field a veteran stands, amidst the hail of ball, and shell, and plunging iron, Booth turned at a man's stride and pushed for the door, carbine in poise, and the last resolve of death, which we name despair, sat on his high, bloodless forehead.

" As so he dashed, intent to expire not unaccompanied, a disobedient sergeant, at an eyehole, drew upon him the fatal bead. The barn was all glorious with conflagration, and in the beautiful ruin this outlawed man strode like all that we know of wicked valor, stern in the face of death. A shock, a shout, a gathering up of his splendid figure, as if to overtip the stature God gave him, and John Wilkes Booth



DEATH OF J. WILKES BOOTH

REED & MARSH



fell headlong to the floor, lying there in a heap, a little life remaining. But no.

"'He has shot himself,' cried Baker, unaware of the source of the report, and rushing in, he grasped his arm, to guard against any feint or strategy. A moment convinced him that further struggle with the prone flesh was useless. Booth did not move, nor breathe, nor gasp. Conger and the two sergeants now entered, and, taking up the body, they bore it in haste from the advancing flame, and laid it without upon the grass, all fresh with heavenly dew.

"'Water,' cried Conger; 'bring water.'

'When this was dashed into his face, he revived a moment, and stirred his lips. Baker put his ear close down and heard him say:—

"'Tell mother—and—die—for my country.'

"They lifted him again, the fire encroaching in hotness upon them, and placed him upon the porch before the dwelling.

"A mattress was brought down, on which they placed him, and propped his head, and gave him water and brandy. The women of the household, joined meantime by another son, who had been found in one of the corn-cribs, watching, as he said, to see that Booth and Harold did not steal the horses, were nervous, but prompt to do the dying man all kindnesses, although waved sternly back by the detectives. They dipped a rag in brandy and water, and this being put between Booth's teeth, he sucked it greedily. When he was able to articulate again, he muttered to Baker the same words, with an addenda:—

"'Tell mother I died for my country. I thought I did for the best.'

"Baker repeated this, saying at the same time, 'Booth, do I repeat it correctly?' Booth nodded his head.

"By this time the grayness of dawn was approaching; moving figures, inquisitively coming near, were to be seen distinctly, and the cocks began to crow gutturally, though the barn by this time was a hulk of blaze and ashes, sending toward the zenith a spiral line of dense smoke.

"The women became importunate at this time that the troops might be ordered to extinguish the fire, which was

spreading toward their precious corn-cribs. Not even death could banish the call of interest. Soldiers were sent to put out the fire, and Booth, relieved of the bustle around him, drew near to death apace. Twice he was heard to say, 'Kill me—kill me!' His lips often moved, but could complete no appreciable sound. He made once a motion, which the quick eye of Conger understood to mean that his throat pained him. Conger put his finger there, when the dying man attempted to cough, but only caused the blood at his perforated neck to flow more lively. He bled very little, although shot quite through, beneath and behind the ears, his collar being severed on both sides.

"A soldier had been meanwhile dispatched for a doctor, but the route and return was quite six miles, and the sinner was sinking fast. Still the women made efforts to get to see him, but were always rebuffed, and all the brandy they could find was demanded by the assassin, who motioned for strong drink every two minutes. He made frequent desires to be turned over—not by speech, but by gesture—and he was alternately placed upon his back, belly, and side. His tremendous vitality evidenced itself almost miraculously. Now and then his heart would cease to throb, and his pulse would be as cold as a dead man's. Directly life would begin anew, the face would flush up effulgently, the eyes open and brighten, and soon relapsing, stillness reasserted, would again be dispossessed by the same magnificent triumph of man over mortality. Finally, the fussy little doctor arrived, in time to be useless. He probed the wound to see if the ball were not in it, and shook his head sagely, and talked learnedly.

"Just at his coming, Booth had asked to have his hands raised and shown him. They were so paralyzed that he did not know their location. When they were displayed, he muttered, with a sad lethargy, 'Useless—useless!' These were the last words he ever uttered.

"As he began to die, the sun rose and threw beams into all the tree-tops. It was at a man's height when the struggle of death twitched and lingered in the fading bravo's face. His jaw drew spasmodically and obliquely downward; his eyeballs rolled toward his feet, and began to swell; lividness, like a horrible shadow, fastened upon him, and with

a sort of gurgle, and sudden check, he stretched his feet, and threw his head back, and gave up the ghost.

"They sewed him up in a saddle-blanket. This was his shroud; too like a soldier's. Harold, meantime, had been tied to a tree, but was now released for the march. Colonel Conger pushed on immediately for Washington; the cortege was to follow. Booth's only arms were his carbine, knife, and two revolvers. They found about him bills of exchange, Canada money, and a diary. A venerable old negro living in the vicinity had the misfortune to possess a horse. This horse was the relic of former generations, and showed by his protruding ribs the general leanness of the land. He moved in an eccentric amble, and when put upon his speed was generally run backward. To this old negro's horse was harnessed a very shaky and absurd wagon, which rattled like approaching dissolution, and each part of it ran without any connection or correspondence with any other part. It had no tail-board, and its shafts were sharp as famine; and into this mimicry of a vehicle the murderer was to be sent to the Potomac River, while the man he had murdered was moving in state across the mourning continent. The old negro geared up his wagon by means of a set of fossil harness, and when it was backed to Garrett's porch, they laid within it the discolored corpse. The corpse was tied with ropes around the legs, and made fast to the wagon side.

"Harold's legs were tied to stirrups, and he was placed in the centre of four murderous-looking cavalrymen. The two sons of Garrett were also taken along, despite the sobs and petitions of the old folks and women, but the rebel captain who had given Booth a lift got off amid the night's agitations, and was not rearrested. So moved the cavalcade of retribution, with death in its midst, along the road to Port Royal. When the wagon started, Booth's wound, now scarcely dribbling, began to run anew. It fell through the crack of the wagon, and fell dripping upon the axle, and spotting the road with terrible wafers. It stained the planks and soaked the blankets; and the old negro, at a stoppage, dabbed his hands in it by mistake; he drew back instantly, with a shudder and stifled expletive, 'Gor-r-r, dat 'll never come off in de world; it's murderer's blood.' He wrung his

hands, and looked imploringly at the officers, and shuddered again ; ‘ Gor-r-r, I wouldn’t have dat on me for thousand tousand dollars.’

“ The progress of the team was slow, with frequent danger of shipwreck altogether, but toward noon the cortegé filed through Port Royal, where the citizens came out to ask the matter, and why a man’s body, covered with sombre blankets, was going by with so great escort. They were told that it was a wounded Confederate, and so held their tongues. The little ferry, again in requisition, took them over by squads, and they pushed from Port Conway to Belle Plain, which they reached in the middle of the afternoon. All the way the blood dribbled from the corpse in a slow, incessant, sanguine exudation. The old negro was niggardly dismissed with two paper dollars. The dead man untied and cast upon the vessel’s deck, steam gotten up in a little while, and the broad Potomac shores saw this skeleton ship flit by, as the bloody sun threw gashes and blots of unhealthy light along the silver surface.

“ All the way associate with the carcass went Harold, shuddering in so grim companionship, and in the awakened fears of his own approaching ordeal, beyond which it loomed already, the gossamer fabric of a scaffold. He tried to talk for his own exoneration, saying he had ridden as was his wont, beyond the East Branch, and returning found Booth wounded, who begged him to be his companion. Of his crime he knew nothing, so help him God, &c. But nobody listened to him. All interest of crime, courage, and retribution centered in the dead flesh at his feet. At Washington, high and low turned out to look on Booth. Only a few were permitted to see his corpse for purposes of recognition. It was fairly preserved, though on one side of the face distorted, and looking blue like death, and wildly bandit-like, as if beaten by avenging winds.

“ Finally, the Secretary of War, without instructions of any kind, committed to Colonel Lafayette C. Baker, of the Secret Service, the stark corpse of J. Wilkes Booth. The Secret Service never fulfilled its vocation more secretly. ‘ What have you done with the body ? ’ said I to Baker. ‘ That is known,’ he answered, ‘ to only one man living

beside myself. It is gone ; I will not tell you where ; the only man who knows is sworn to silence ; never till the great trumpeter comes shall the grave of Booth be discovered.' And this is true. Last night, the 27th of April, a small row-boat received the carcass of the murderer ; two men were in it ; they carried the body off into the darkness, and out of that darkness it will never return ; in the darkness, like his great crime, may it remain forever ; impassable, invisible, nondescript, condemned to that worse than damnation—annihilation.

"The river bottom may ooze about it, laden with great shot and drowning manacles. The earth may have opened to give it that silence and forgiveness which man will never give to its memory. The fishes may swim around it, or the daisies grow white above it ; but we shall never know. Mysterious, incomprehensible, unattainable, like the dim times through which we live, we think upon it as if we only dreamed in a perturbed fever ; the assassin of a nation's head rests somewhere in the elements, and that is all ; but if the indignant seas or the profaned turf shall ever vomit this corpse from their recesses, and it receives Christian burial from some one who does not recognize it, let the last words those decaying lips ever uttered be carved above them with a dagger, to tell the history of a young, and once promising life."

It is not improper to state, that only two persons on earth know where the body of Booth lies. Lieutenant Baker, on whose lap his dying head was laid, and myself, have the dark secret to keep. The night before the removal of the remains I was ordered, by the Secretary of War, to have them securely guarded, that no one might touch them ; as "every hair of his head would be a valued relic to the sympathizers with the South in Washington." I had not had my clothes off for nearly two weeks, and was granted leave of absence from the vessel, on whose deck was lying the corpse of the assassin, covered with two blankets sewed together like a sack, completely concealing it. Upon my return, I was greatly surprised and indignant, to find persons of high position, and some of secession proclivities, around the dead body, the coarse shroud parted at the seam,

and a lady at that moment cutting off a lock of the black, curled, and beautiful hair. I seized the fair hands, and, after a refusal to give me the relic, forcibly took it, and then cleared the deck, to the amazement and displeasure of some of the party.

At noon of that night, with my trusty lieutenant, a man of thoroughly Christian principles, I placed the body in a small boat, and we rowed away from the silent Leviathan of Mars, which had borne the loathsome body to the nation's capital ; with no watchful eye upon us, but that of Him who scattered above us the shining stars. It was a strange, wild hour on the calm Potomac ; and yet, so great was my exhaustion and fatigue, that I fell to dozing with the oar in my hand, and the sack containing the assassin's corpse at my feet. Further I cannot go—it is best to let the curtain of unbroken secrecy and mystery remain between the burial and all human curiosity.

The diary kept by Booth after the murder of the President, to which I referred in connection with the giving of the personal effects of Booth to the Secretary of War, recorded the adventures of the fugitive ; one of these was the killing of his horse in the tangled forest to avoid detection, and then sleeping between the animal's legs to get the warmth while it remained in the dead body, during the long hours of the horrible night. With the dawn, he dragged his own painful limbs along his untrodden path of flight from the apparently slow, but certain, grasp of avenging justice.

"On the 9th of July, 1865, at as early an hour as eight A. M.," says an eye-witness, "people commenced to went their way down to the prison, and the boats to Alexandria, which ran close by the jail, were crowded all day by those who took the trip in hopes of catching a glimpse of the gallows, or of the execution, but it was all in vain. The only position outside of the jail that could be used as an observatory, was the large building upon the left side of the arsenal, which had about fifty spectators upon it, who had a good view of the whole.

"Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning the three ante-rooms of the prison, on the first floor, were thronged with army officers, principally of Hancock's corps, anxious



BURIAL OF BOOTH.



to get a view of the execution from the windows, from which the scaffold could be plainly seen. The newspaper reporters soon began to congregate there also, and in a few minutes not less than a score were in attendance, waiting to pick up the smallest item of interest. No newspaper man was allowed to see the prisoners in their cells before they were led out to execution, and General Hartranft was very decided on this point.

"While waiting here for over two hours, the clergymen passed in and out through the heavily riveted door leading to the prisoners' cells, which creaked heavily on its hinges as it swung to and fro, and the massive key was turned upon the inner side with a heavy sound as a visitor was admitted within its portals.

"Mrs. Surratt's daughter passed into the ante-room, accompanied by a lady, who remained seated, while the daughter rapidly entered the hall, and, passing through the heavy door, is soon in the corridor where her mother is incarcerated.

"Messrs. Cox, Doster, Aiken, and Clampitt, counsel for the prisoners, are specially passed in for a short interview, and in a few minutes they return again to the ante-rooms. Time flies rapidly, and not a moment is to be lost. No useless words are to be spoken, but earnest terse sentences are from necessity employed when conversing with the doomed prisoners, whose lives are now measured by minutes.

"Aiken and Clampitt are both here. They walk impatiently up and down the room, whispering a word to each other as to the prospect of Mrs. Surratt's being reprieved through the operations of the habeas corpus, which, Aiken confidently tells us, has been granted by Justice Wylie, and from which he anticipates favorable results. Strange infatuation! It was the last straw to which, like drowning men, they clutched with the fond hope that it was to rescue their client from her imminent peril.

"Atzeroth passed the night previous to the execution without any particular manifestations. He prayed and cried alternately, but made no other noise that attracted the attention of his keeper. On the morning of the execution

he sat most of the time on the floor of his cell in his shirt sleeves.

"He was attended by a lady dressed in deep black, who carried a prayer-book, and who seemed more exercised in spirit than the prisoner himself. Who the lady was could not be ascertained. She left him at half-past twelve o'clock, and exhibited great emotion at parting.

"During the afternoon Atzeroth was greatly composed, and spent part of the time in earnest conversation with his spiritual adviser, Rev. Mr. Butler, of St. Paul's Lutheran Church, Washington. He occupied cell No. 151 on the ground floor, which was directly in view of the yard, where he could see the gathering crowd and soldiery, although he could not see the scaffold. He sat in the corner of his cell on his bed, and when his spiritual adviser would go out for a few minutes and leave his Testament in his hands, his eyes would be dropped to it in a moment, and occasionally wander with a wild look toward the open window in front of his cell.

"He wore nothing but a white linen shirt and a gray pair of pants. The long irons upon his hands, which he had worn during the trial, were not removed.

"Atzeroth made a partial confession to the Rev. Mr. Butler, a few hours before his execution. He stated that he took a room at the Kirkwood House on Thursday afternoon, and was engaged in endeavoring to get a pass to Richmond. He then heard the President was to be taken to the theater and there to be captured. He said he understood that Booth was to rent the theater for the purpose of carrying out the plot to capture the President. He stated that Harold brought the pistol and knife to the Kirkwood House, and that he (Atzeroth) had nothing to do with the attempted assassination of Andrew Johnson.

"Booth intended that Harold should assassinate Johnson, and he wanted him (Atzeroth) to back him up and give him courage. Booth thought that Harold had more pluck than Atzeroth.

"He alluded to the meeting at the restaurant about the middle of March. He said Booth, Harold, Payne, Arnold,

and himself were present, and it was then concerted that Mr. Lincoln should be captured and taken to Richmond.

"They heard that Lincoln was to visit a camp near Washington, and the plan was that they should proceed there and capture the coach and horses containing Lincoln, and run him through Prince George' County and Old Fields to G. B. There they were to leave the coach and horses and place the President in a buggy which Harold would have on hand, and thus convey him to a boat to be in readiness, and run him by some means to Richmond. He denies that he was in favor of assassinating Lincoln, but was willing to assist in his capture.

"He stated, however, that he knew Lincoln was to be assassinated about half-past eight o'clock on the evening of the occurrence, but was afraid to make it known, as he feared Booth would kill him if he did so.

"He said that slavery caused his sympathies to be with the South. He had heard a sermon preached which stated that a curse on the negro race had turned them black. He always hated the negroes, and thought they should be kept in ignorance.

"Booth had promised him that if their plan succeeded for the capture of Lincoln they should all be rich men, and they would become great. The prisoners would all be exchanged, and the independence of the South would be recognized, and their cause be triumphant. He had never received any money as yet.

"The crowd increases. Reporters are scribbling industriously. A suppressed whisper is audible all over the room and the hall as the hour draws nearer, and the preparations begin to be more demonstrative.

"The rumbling sound of the trap, as it falls in the course of the experiments which are being made to test it, and to prevent any unfortunate accident occurring at the critical moment, is heard through the windows, and all eyes are involuntarily turned in that direction, for curiosity is excited to the highest pitch to view the operations of the fatal machinery. There are two or three pictorial papers represented. One calmly makes a drawing of the scaffold for the

next issue of his paper, and thus the hours till noon passed away.

"The bustle increases. Officers are running to and fro, calling for orderlies and giving orders. General Hartranft is trying to answer twenty questions at once from as many different persons. The sentry in the hall is becoming angry because the crowd will keep intruding on his beat, when suddenly a buggy at the door announces the arrival of General Hancock.

"He enters the room hurriedly, takes General Hartranft aside, and a few words pass between them in a low tone, to which Hartranft nods acquiescence; then, in a louder voice, Hancock says: 'Get ready, General; I want to have every thing put in readiness as soon as possible.' This was the signal for the interviews of the clergymen, relatives, and friends of the prisoners to cease, and for the doomed to prepare for execution.

"The bustle increases. Mr. Aiken approaches General Hancock, and a few minutes' conversation passes between them. Aiken's countenance changes perceptibly at General Hancock's words. The reason is plain; there is no hope for Mrs. Surratt. The habeas corpus movement, from which he expected so much, has failed; and Aiken, in a voice tremulous with emotion, said to me: 'Mrs. Surratt will be hung.'

"The bright hopes he had cherished had all vanished, and the dreadful truth stood before him in all its horror. Clampitt, too, till General Hancock arrived, indulged in the hope that the habeas corpus would effect a respite for three or four days.

"Three or four of Harold's sisters, all in one chorus of weeping, come through the prison-door into the hall. They had left their brother and spoken to him the last words, and heard his voice for the last time.

"At fifteen minutes after one o'clock, General Hartranft blandly informs the 'press gang' to be in readiness for the prison-doors to be opened, when they can pass into the prison-yard, from whence a good view of the procession can be obtained as it passes by to the scaffold. About 11 A. M., the prison-yard was thrown open to those having passes, and about fifty entered. The first object in view was the scaffold,

which was erected at the northeast corner of the penitentiary yard, and consisted of a simple wooden structure, of very primitive appearance, faced about due west. The platform was elevated about twelve feet from the ground, and was about twenty feet square. Attached to the main platform were the drops, &c., two in number, on which the criminals stood. At the moment of execution, these drops were connected with the main platform, by means of large hinges, four to each drop.

"The drops were supported by a post, which rested on a heavy piece of timber placed on the ground, and so arranged that two soldiers stationed at the rear of the scaffold instantaneously detached the two supports from their positions by means of pressing two poles, which occupied a horizontal position, the action of which dislodged the props of the scaffold and permitted the drops to fall.

"The gallows proper was divided into two parts by means of a perpendicular piece of timber, resting on the platform, and reaching up to the cross-beam of the gallows. Two ropes hung on either side of the piece of timber mentioned. They were wound around the cross-beam, and contained large knots and nooses at the lower end. The platform was ascended by means of a flight of steps, thirteen in number, erected at the rear of the scaffold, and guarded on either side by a railing, which also extended around the platform. The platform was sustained by nine heavy uprights, about which rose the two heavy pieces of timber which supported the cross-beam and constituted the gallows. The entire platform was capable of holding conveniently about thirty people, and was about half full at the time of the execution.

"The executioners were all fine stalwart specimens of Union soldiers, and did their work well. The rope was furnished from the navy yard, and was one and a half inches in circumference, and composed of twenty strands.

"The graves were dug close to the scaffold, and next to the prison wall. They were four in number, and were about three feet and a half deep, in a dry, clayey soil, and about seven feet long and three wide. Four pine boxes, similar to those used for packing guns in, stood between the graves and the scaffold. These were for coffins, both being in full

view of the prisoners as they emerged from their cells, and before them until they commenced the dreadful ascent of those thirteen steps.

"About a thousand soldiers were in the yard and upon the high wall around it, which is wide enough for sentries to patrol it. The sun's rays made it very oppressive, and the walls kept off the little breeze that was stirring. There was no shade, and men huddled together along the walls and around the pump to discuss with one another the prospect of a reprieve or delay for Mrs. Surratt. But few hoped for it, though some were induced by Mrs. Surratt's council to believe she would not be hanged to-day. When one of them came out and saw the four ropes hanging from the beam, he exclaimed to one of the soldiers: 'My God! they are not going to hang all four, are they?'

"But there are times when it is mercy to hang criminals, and that time was drawing nigh, it seemed, for those who have been used for years to apologizing for the Rebellion, and its damning acts, to be brought to believe that any crime is to be punished. Of such material were the prisoner's counsel.

"The drops, at 11:30, are tried with three hundred pound weights upon them, to see if they will work. One falls all right; one hangs part way down, and the hatchet and saw were brought into play. The next time they were all right. The rattle echoes around the walls; it reaches the prisoners' cells close by, and penetrates their inmost recesses. All is quiet in the yard, save the scuffle of the military, and the passing to and fro of a few civilians.

"At 12:40, four arm-chairs are brought out and placed upon the scaffold, and the moving around of General Hartranft indicates the drawing near of the time. The newspaper correspondents and reporters are admitted to a position about thirty feet from the gallows, and about one o'clock and ten minutes, the heavy door in front of the cells is swung upon its hinges for the hundredth time within an hour, and a few reporters, with General Hancock, pass in and through to the yard, and the big door closes with a slam behind them. All take positions to get a good view. General Hancock for the last time takes a survey of the preparations, and being

satisfied that every thing is ready, he re-enters the prison building, and in a few minutes the solemn procession marched down the steps of the back door and into the yard.

"Mrs. Surratt cast her eyes upward upon the scaffold, for a few moments, with a look of curiosity, combined with dread. One glimpse, and her eyes fell to the ground, and she walked along mechanically, her head drooping, and if she had not been supported would have fallen.

"She ascended the scaffold, and was led to an arm-chair, in which she was seated. An umbrella was held over her by the two holy fathers, to protect her from the sun, whose rays shot down like the blasts from a fiery furnace. She was attired in a black bombazine dress, black alpaca bonnet, with black veil, which she wore over her face till she was seated on the chair. During the reading of the order for the execution, by General Hartranft, the priests held a small crucifix before her, which she kissed fervently several times.

"She first looked around at the scene before her, then closed her eyes and seemed engaged in silent prayer. The reading and the announcement of the clergymen in behalf of the other prisoners having been made, Colonel McCall, assisted by the other officers, proceeded to remove her bonnet, pinion her elbows, and tie strips of cotton stuff around her dress below the knees. This done, the rope was placed around her neck and her face covered with a white cap reaching down to the shoulders.

"When they were pinioning her arms, she turned her head, and made some remarks to the officers in a low tone, which could not be heard. It appeared they had tied her elbows too tight, for they slackened the bandage slightly, and then awaited the final order. All the prisoners were prepared thus at the same time, and the preparations of each were completed at about the same moment, so that when Mrs. Surratt was thus pinioned, she stood scarcely ten seconds, supported by those standing near her, when General Hartranft gave the signal, by clapping his hands twice, for both drops to fall, and as soon as the second and last signal was given, both fell, and Mrs. Surratt, with a jerk, fell to the full length of the rope. She was leaning over when the drop fell, and this gave a swinging motion to her body,

which lasted several minutes before it assumed a perpendicular position. Her death was instantaneous ; she died without a struggle. The only muscular movement discernible was a slight contraction of the left arm, which she seemed to try to disengage from behind her as the drop fell.

"After being suspended thirty minutes, she was cut down, and placed in a square wooden box or coffin, in the clothes in which she died, and was interred in the prison yard. The rope made a clean cut around her neck, fully an inch in diameter, which was black and discolored with bruised blood. The cap was not taken off her face, and she was laid in the coffin with it on, and thus has passed away from the face of the earth Mary E. Surratt. Her body, it is understood, will be given to her family for burial.

"Payne died as he has lived, at least as he has done since his arrest, bold, calm, and thoroughly composed. The only tremor exhibited by this extraordinary man during the terrible ordeal of the execution was an involuntary vibration of the muscles of his legs after the fatal drop fell. He was next in order to Mrs. Surratt in the procession of the criminals from their cells to the place of execution.

"He was supported on one side by his spiritual adviser, and on the other by a soldier, although he needed no such assistance, for he walked erect and upright, and retained the peculiar piercing expression of the eye that has ever characterized him. He was dressed in a blue flannel shirt, and pants of the same material. His brawny neck was entirely exposed, and he wore a new straw hat. He ascended the steps leading to the scaffold with the greatest ease, and took his seat on the drop with as much *sang froid* as though he was sitting down to dinner.

"Once or twice he addressed a few words in an undertone to persons close by him, and occasionally glanced at the array of soldiers and civilians spread out before him. A puff of wind blew off his hat, and he instantly turned around to see where it went to. When it was recovered and handed to him, he intimated by gesturing that he no longer required it, and it was laid aside.

"During the reading of the sentence by General Hartranft, just previous to the execution, he calmly listened, and once

or twice glanced upward at the gallows, as if inspecting its construction. He submitted to the process of binding his limbs very quietly, and watched the operation with attention.

"His spiritual adviser, Rev. Dr. Gillette, advanced, a few minutes previous to the execution, and made some remarks in Payne's behalf. He thanked the different officials for the attention and kindness bestowed on Payne, and exhorted the criminal in a few impassioned words to give his entire thoughts to his future state. Payne stood immovable as a statue when the drop fell. Although next to Harold, who died the hardest, he exhibited more bodily contortions than the others while suspended. While the noose was being adjusted to his neck, Payne raised his head, and evidently desired to assist the executioner in that delicate operation.

"Probably no one of the criminals felt as great a dread of the terrible ordeal through which they were to pass as young Harold. From the time he left his cell until his soul was sent into the presence of the Almighty, he exhibited the greatest emotion, and seemed to thoroughly realize his wretched condition. His face wore an indefinable expression of anguish, and at times he trembled violently. He seemed to desire to engage in conversation with those around him while sitting in the chair awaiting execution, and his spiritual adviser, Rev. Mr. Old, was assiduous in his attentions to the wretched man.

"Harold was dressed in a black cloth coat and light pants, and wore a white shirt without any collar; he wore also a black slouch hat, which he retained on his head until it was removed to make room for the white cap. At times he looked wildly around, and his face had a haggard, anxious, inquiring expression. When the drop fell, he exhibited more tenacity of life than any of the others, and he endeavored several times to draw himself up as if for the purpose of relieving himself from the rope by which he was suspended.

"Atzeroth ascended the steps of the scaffold without difficulty, and took his seat at the south end of the drop without exhibiting any particular emotion. He was dressed in a dark gray coat and pants, and black vest and white linen shirt, without any collar; on his feet he wore a pair of

woolen slippers and socks. He sat in such a position that he could see the profiles of his fellow-prisoners, and he had his hands pinioned behind him. He wore no hat, had a white handkerchief placed over his head with a tuft of hair protuding from it and spreading over his forehead.

"Directly behind him stood his spiritual adviser, who held an umbrella over him to keep off the burning rays of the sun. During the reading of the sentence by General Hartranft, he kept perfectly quiet, but his face wore an expression of unutterable woe, and he listened attentively. He wore a thin moustache and small goatee, and his face was pale and sallow. Once, and once only, he glanced around at the assembled throng, and occasionally muttered incoherent sentences, but he talked, while on the scaffold, to no one immediately around him.

"Just before his execution, his spiritual adviser, Mr. Butler, advanced and stated that Atzeroth desired to return his sincere thanks to General Hartranft and the other officials for their many acts of kindness extended toward him. He then called on God to forgive George A. Atzeroth for his many sins, and, turning to Atzeroth, reminded him that while the wages of sin were death, that whomsoever placed their hope in the Lord Jesus Christ were not forgotten. He hoped that God would grant him a full and free forgiveness, and ended by saying: 'May the Lord God have mercy on you, and grant you his peace.'

"The handkerchief was then taken from his head, and he stood up, facing the assembled audience, directly alongside of the instrument of his death. His knees slightly trembled, and his legs were bent forward. He stood for a few moments the very embodiment of wretchedness, and then spoke a few words in an undertone to General Hartranft, after which he shook hands with his spiritual adviser and a few others near him; while he was being secured with bands, tied around his legs and arms, he kept muttering to himself, as if engaged in silent prayer.

"Suddenly he broke forth with the words, 'Gentlemen, beware who you—' and then stopped, as if with emotion; as the white cap was being placed over his head he said, 'Good-bye, gentlemen; may we all meet in the other world. God

take me now.' He muttered something loud enough for those close by him to hear, just as the drop fell, evidently not anticipating such an event at that moment. He died without apparent pain, and his neck must have been instantly broken.

"After hanging a few seconds, his stomach heaved considerably, and subsequently his legs quivered a little. His death appeared to be the easiest of any of the criminals, with the exception of Mrs. Surratt, who did not apparently suffer at all. After hanging half an hour, Atzeroth's body was taken down, it being the first one lowered, and an examination made by Surgeons Otis, Woodward, and Porter.

"About half-past eight o'clock this morning, Miss Surratt, accompanied by a female friend, again visited the White House, having been there last evening for the purpose of obtaining an interview with the President. President Johnson having given orders that he would receive no one to-day, the door-keeper stopped Miss Surratt at the foot of the steps leading up to the President's office, and would not permit her to proceed further. She then asked permission to see General Mussey, the President's Military Secretary, who promptly answered the summons, and came down stairs where Miss Surratt was standing.

"As soon as the General made his appearance, Miss Surratt threw herself upon her knees before him, catching him by the coat, with loud sobs and streaming eyes, implored him to assist her in obtaining a hearing with the President.

"General Mussey, in as tender a manner as possible, informed Miss Surratt that he could not comply with her request, as President Johnson's orders were imperative, and he would receive no one.

"Upon General Mussey's returning to his office, Miss Surratt threw herself upon the stair steps, where she remained a considerable length of time, sobbing aloud in the greatest anguish, protesting her mother's innocence, and imploring every one who came near her to intercede in her mother's behalf. While thus weeping, she declared her mother was too good and kind to be guilty of the enormous crime of which she was convicted, and asserted that if her mother was put to death she wished to die also.

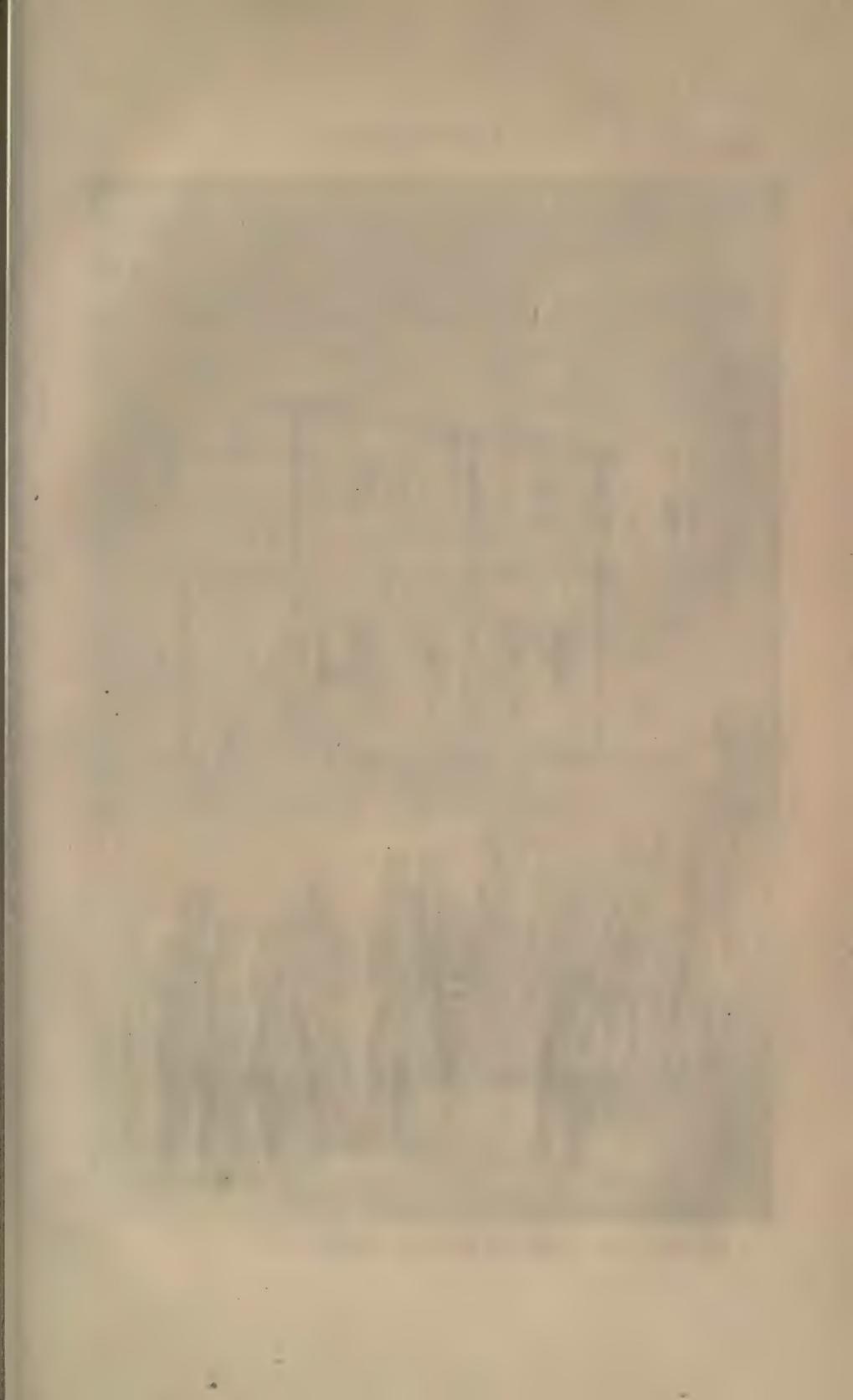
"The scene was heart-rending, and many of those who witnessed it, including a number of hardy soldiers, were moved to tears. Miss Surratt, having become quiet, was finally persuaded to take a seat in the East Room, and here she remained for several hours, jumping up from her seat each time the front door of the mansion was opened, evidently in hopes of seeing some one enter who could be of service to her in obtaining the desired interview with the President, or that they were the bearers of good news to her.

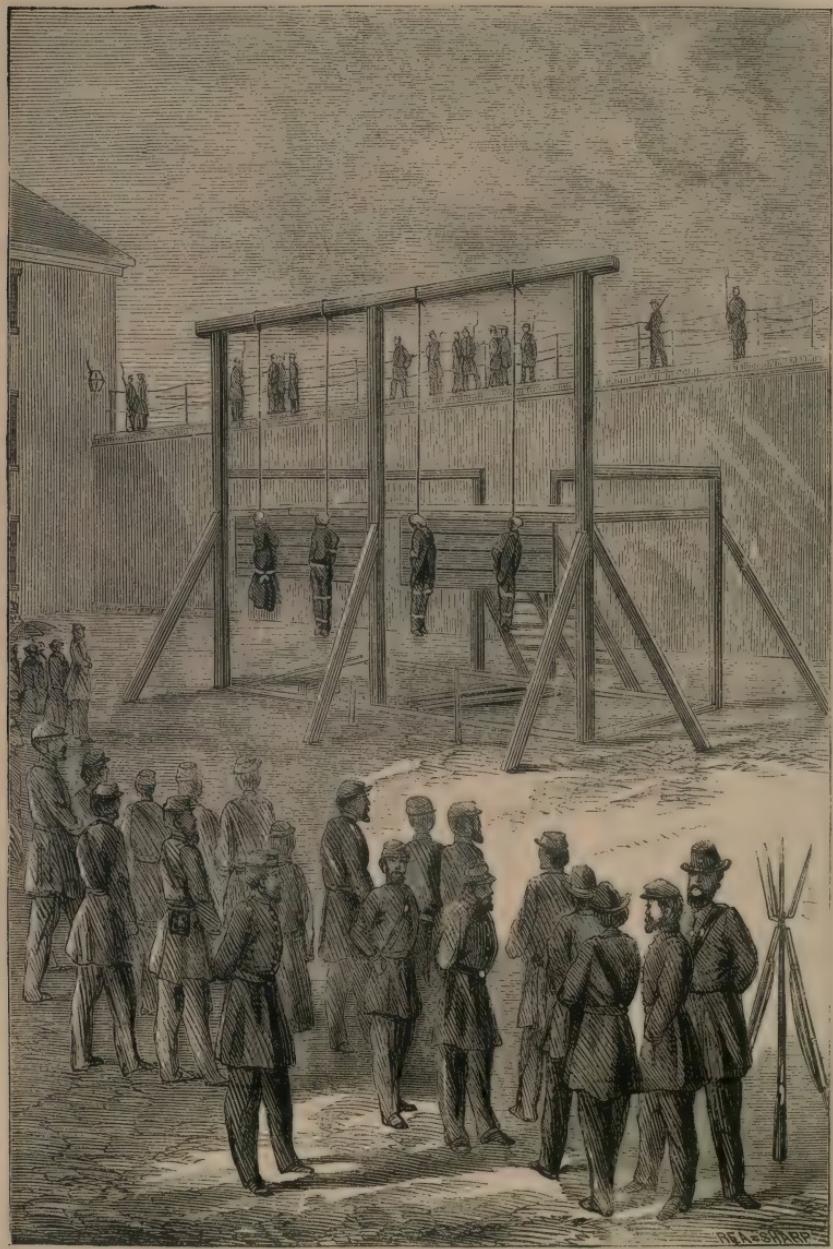
"Two of Harold's sisters, dressed in full mourning and heavily veiled, made their appearance at the White House shortly after Miss Surratt, for the purpose of interceding with the President in behalf of their brother. Failing to see the President, they addressed a note to Mrs. Johnson, and expressed a hope that she would not turn a deaf ear to their pleadings. Mrs. Johnson being quite sick, it was thought expedient by the ushers not to deliver the note, when, as a last expedient, the ladies asked permission to forward a note to Mrs. Patterson, the President's daughter, which privilege was not granted, as Mrs. Patterson was also quite indisposed.

"Payne, during the night, slept well for about three hours, the other portion of the night being spent in conversation with Rev. Dr. Gillette, of the First Baptist Church, who offered his services as soon as he was informed of the sentence. Payne, without showing any particular emotion, paid close attention to the advice of Dr. Gillette. Up to ten o'clock this morning, no relations or friends had been to see Payne.

"Atzeroth was very nervous throughout the night, and did not sleep, although he made several attempts. His brother was to see him yesterday afternoon, and again this morning. His aged mother, who arrived during the night, was also present. The meeting of the condemned man and his mother was very affecting, and moved some of the officers of the prison, who have become used to trying scenes, to tears.

"Rev. Dr. Butler, of the Lutheran Church, was sent for last night, and has been all night ministering to Atzeroth. Harold was visited yesterday by Rev. Mr. Olds, of Christ





EXECUTION OF THE ASSASSINS.

Episcopal Church, and five of his sisters, and this morning the minister and the entire family of seven sisters were present with him. Harold slept very well several hours during the night.

"Miss Surratt was with her mother several hours last night, as also Rev. Fathers Wiget and Walter, and Mr. Brophy, who were also present this morning. She slept very little, if any, and required considerable attention, suffering with cramps and pains the entire night, caused by her nervousness. The breakfast was sent to the prisoners at the usual hour this morning, but none eat, excepting Payne, who ate heartily.

"About three thousand troops were employed in guarding the building and its surroundings.

"The execution ground was a large square inclosure, called the Old Penitentiary jail yard, directly south of the Old Penitentiary building. It comprises probably three acres of ground, surrounded by a brick wall, about twenty feet in height.

"This wall is capped with white stone and surmounted with iron stakes and ropes, to prevent the guard from falling off while patrolling the tops of the wall. The Sixth Regiment Veteran Volunteers were formed on the summit of the wall during the execution, and they presented quite a picturesque appearance in their elevated position.

"The gallows occupied a position in the angle of the inclosure formed by the east wall and the Penitentiary building on the north. The First Regiment Veteran Volunteers were posted around the gallows, two sides being formed by the east wall and the Penitentiary building.

"The spectators, about two hundred in number, were congregated directly in front of the gallows, the soldiers forming a barrier between them and the place of execution. The criminals were led to the scaffold from a small door about one hundred feet from the place of execution. But for a small projection that runs south of the Penitentiary building, the gallows would be in plain view of the prisoners' cells, which are all on the first floor of the building.

"It was a noticeable incident of the execution that scarcely any Government officials or citizens were present, the

spectators being nearly all connected with the trial in some capacity, or else representatives of the press.

"By permission of the authorities, the daughter of Mrs. Surratt passed the night previous to the execution with her mother, in her cell. The entire interview was of a very affecting character. The daughter remained with her mother until a short time before the execution, and when the time came for separation the screams of anguish that burst from the poor girl could be distinctly heard all over the execution ground.

"During the morning the daughter proceeded to the Metropolitan Hotel, and sought an interview with General Hancock. Finding him, she implored him in pitiable accents to get a reprieve for her mother. The general, of course, had no power to grant or obtain such a favor, and so informed the distressed girl, in as gentle a manner as possible.

"General Hancock, with the kindness that always characterizes his actions apart from the stern duties of his noble profession, did his best to assuage the mental anguish of the grief-stricken girl.

"The alleged important after-discovered testimony which Aiken, counsel for Mrs. Surratt, stated would prove her innocence, was submitted to Judge Advocate-General Holt, and, after a careful examination, he failed to discover any thing in it having a bearing on the case. This was communicated to the President, and doubtless induced him to decline to interfere in the execution of Mrs. Surratt.

"The residence of Mrs. Surratt, on H Street, north, near Sixth, remained closed after the announcement of her fate had become known.

"In the evening but a single dim light shone from one of the rooms, while within the house all was as quiet as death up to about eight o'clock, at which hour Miss Annie E. Surratt, who had been in constant attendance upon her mother, drove up to the door in a hack, accompanied by a gentleman.

"She appeared to be perfectly crushed with grief, and as she alighted from the carriage some ladies standing near were moved to tears of sympathy with the unfortunate girl whose every look and action betrayed her anguish.

"Miss Surratt, after gaining admittance to the house, fainted several times, causing great bustle and excitement among the inmates, who were untiring in their efforts to console the almost heart-broken young lady.

"From early in the evening until a late hour at night, hundreds of persons, old and young, male and female, visited the vicinity of Mrs. Surratt's residence, stopping upon the opposite side of the street, glancing over with anxious and inquiring eyes upon the house in which the conspirators met, commenting upon the fate of the doomed woman, and the circumstances connected therewith.

"During the evening not less than five hundred persons visited the spot."

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### THE DETECTIVE POLICE AND THE ARREST OF THE ASSASSINS.

Personal Relations to President Lincoln—His Kindness and Confidence—My Order to Pursue the Conspirators—Results—Statements of Subordinates and Others.

I SHALL now proceed to give a brief official history of my connection with the arrest of the assassins of the President. For some weeks previous to the assassination I had been on duty in New York, engaged in making investigations with reference to frauds committed in the recruiting service. On Saturday morning, April 15, while in my room at the Astor House, having just risen to dress, Lieutenant L. C. Baker, who had come on from Washington the evening previous, rushed into my room and announced the fact that President Lincoln had been assassinated. This announcement called to my mind at once the various communications containing threats of assassination that had for nearly two years been received. The last advices from Washington, received early on Saturday morning, simply announced that the President still lived, but no hopes were entertained of his recovery. The feeling of indignation and sadness exhibited by my whole force, then on duty in New York, when I announced to them the fact, I have never seen equaled. We had all learned to love the President as a father. Amid all our scenes of trial, through the prejudice of loyal citizens and the passion of enemies of the Republic, and of detected criminals, we had received the kindest treatment from Mr. Lincoln. Whenever he was plied with charges against the bureau, he vindicated its character, and affirmed it to be one of the necessary institutions of the civil war.

He never hastily accepted the opinion of the highest in position, nor in a single instance arraigned the national police for its action, however loud the clamor of the victims of its *argus-eyed* vigilance.

At twelve o'clock on Saturday, April 15, I received the following dispatch from the Secretary of War :—

Colonel L. C. BAKER:—

Come here immediately and see if you can find the murderer of the President.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

No train left New York by which I could reach Washington before the following morning. On Sunday morning, April 16, I arrived in Washington. My interview with the Secretary of War was a sad one. As I entered the Secretary's office, and he recognized me, he turned away to hide his tears. He remarked—"Well, Baker, they have now performed what they have long threatened to do; they have killed the President. You must go to work. My whole dependence is upon you."

I made some inquiries with reference to what had been done toward the capture of the assassins, and ascertained that no direct clue even had been obtained, beyond the simple conceded fact that J. Wilkes Booth was the assassin of the President.

The popular excitement in Washington was fearfully intense. For the time the gigantic crime, and the arrest of the criminals, put into the background of interest the crisis of National affairs and the ordinary business of life. Every face which did not bear the affected anxiety or indifference of Southern sympathy, had the gloomy, mournful aspect of inexpressible, bewildering horror and grief.

The practical duties which engaged the exhausting labors of my bureau, and the results that followed, between the murder of the President and the capture of Booth, are narrated truthfully in the paper addressed to the Secretary of War :—

WASHINGTON CITY, July 7, 1865.

On the morning of April 15, 1865, while on duty in New York City, under orders from the War Department to investigate certain frauds in connection with the secret service, I first heard of the assassination of President Lincoln, and attempts to assassinate the Secretary of State. On the afternoon of the day before referred to, I received a telegram from the Secretary of War, directing me to come to Washington by first train, and bring my detective employés with me. Accordingly, on Saturday evening, April 15th, as directed, I came to Washington. On Sunday morning, the 16th, I called on the Secretary of

War, to learn the particulars of the assassination, and what measures had been adopted to secure the capture of the assassins. I could learn but little beyond the simple fact that J. Wilkes Booth was the supposed assassin, and that Harrold was his accomplice. I asked if any photographs of the supposed assassins, or descriptions of their persons, had been secured or published. To my surprise I learned that nothing of the kind had been done; during the afternoon of Sunday rumors were freely circulated throughout the city connecting the name of John Surratt and others with the assassination. I immediately secured pictures of those mentioned above, and on Monday the 17th had them copied, with a full and accurate description of each assassin printed in a circular, in which I offered a reward of *Ten Thousand Dollars*. These, with their photographs and descriptions, I dispatched to a number of detective agents in all parts of the country. I also mailed large numbers to different localities. These photographs and descriptions were the first ever published or circulated. At this time it was almost impossible to obtain any information of a reliable character; the unparalleled atrocity of this terrible event, and the fact that the assassins had for the time being escaped, had seemingly paralyzed the entire community. The local detective force of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and other cities, had arrived, and, with the entire military force of this department, had reported to General Augur, whose headquarters were in Washington. On Monday, April 18th, or Tuesday following, I dispatched six men of my force into Lower Maryland. After being absent four or five days, they returned, unsuccessful, toward the end of the week succeeding the assassination.

No reliable information having been obtained, so far as I knew, concerning the whereabouts of the assassins, and having become thoroughly convinced that Booth and Harrold had passed into Lower Maryland *via* Anacosta or Navy Yard Bridge, within an hour after the assassination, and being aware that nearly every rod of ground in Lower Maryland must have been repeatedly passed over by the great number of persons engaged in the search, I finally decided, in my own mind, that Booth and Harrold must have crossed the river into Virginia. After crossing they could not go toward Richmond or down the Potomac, as the Federal troops were then in possession of that entire section of country; the only possible way left open for escape was to take a south-western course, in order to reach the mountains of Tennessee or Kentucky, where such aid could be secured as would insure their ultimate escape from the country. On examining the map, I ascertained where the principal crossings of the Rappahannock were located. On Sunday morning, April 23d, I asked Major Eckert to furnish me with a competent telegraph operator, and necessary apparatus, with the intention of opening an office at Port Tobacco. This request was complied with, as indicated by the note appended:—

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH,  
WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C., April 23, 1865. }

**COLONEL BAKER:—**

This will introduce to you Mr. Beckwith, a cipher operator, of great scouting experience, who may be of great service to you, in addition to his telegraphing.

I also send with him Mr. Cheney, a repair man, to make speedy connections wherever it may be found necessary. Please furnish him a side-arm.

Yours truly,

THOS. F. ECKERT.

Mr. Beckwith was sent to me on Sunday afternoon. This operator, with two of my detective agents, Hubbard and Woodall, left Washington on Sunday afternoon or evening, on board the steamer *Keyport*. They did not reach the landing at Port Tobacco until nearly morning on Monday. There was brought to my headquarters a colored man, who I was informed had important information respecting the assassins. On questioning the colored man, I found he had seen two men, answering the description of Booth and Harrold, entering a small boat in the vicinity of Swan's Point. After a series of questions propounded and answered by this colored man, giving a description of the assassins, I was surprised to learn from him that he had three days previously communicated precisely the same information to some soldier-men (as he expressed it) then engaged in searching for the assassins, but that the soldier-men called him a damned black, lying nigger, and did not believe his story. This information, with my preconceived theory as to the movements of the assassins, decided my course. I wrote a note to Major-General Hancock, then in command of this Department, requesting him to send me a detachment of twenty-five cavalry, under charge of a competent, discreet, and reliable officer, to report at my headquarters for duty as soon as possible. I then called Lieutenant-Colonel Conger and Lieutenant L. B. Baker, formerly of my regiment (the First District Cavalry), and informed them that I had information concerning Booth and Harrold, and spreading a map of Virginia on my table, with a pencil I marked out the point where I supposed the assassins crossed, and their course after crossing the ferry at Port Conway. I then remarked, "I will give you the cavalry, and don't come back without them, for they are certainly in that vicinity." About one o'clock, or soon after (the precise time I cannot now recollect), a squad of cavalry rode up in front of my headquarters; the officer in command dismounted, and entered the office and inquired, "Is this Colonel Baker's headquarters?" Some one standing by said "Yes." I then said, "I am Colonel Baker." The officer said, "I am ordered to report to you." I asked the officer his name. He replied, "Lieutenant Dougherty." I asked, "What cavalry have you got?" He replied, "A detachment from the Sixteenth New York Cavalry." I called Lieutenant Dougherty to where Conger and Baker were standing, and said, "Lieutenant, you will act under the orders and direction of these two men," referring to Conger and Baker. "You are going after Booth, and have got the only reliable information concerning his whereabouts." Some further conversation occurred respecting the cavalry, rations, forage, transportation, &c. As I intended and did place the control and management of the expedition solely and exclusively under my own men, I did not deem it necessary to give Lieutenant Dougherty any instructions whatever, and only called to my assistance the military to protect my men in the execution of my orders and instructions. This had usually been the practice in my bureau for two or three

years previously. The unsettled condition of affairs in the section of Virginia to be visited by the expedition made it necessary that a military force should accompany it, otherwise my plans for the capture of the assassins could and would have been much more promptly and satisfactorily carried out and consummated by my detectives—for Booth would have been brought to Washington *alive*.

The expedition left Washington on the afternoon of Monday, April 24. The facts of the capture, killing of Booth, &c., having been detailed by those directly connected with and actual participants in the same, I shall conclude my statement by briefly referring to what occurred after the capture. On Wednesday, April 26, about 5 o'clock p. m., Colonel Conger arrived at my headquarters with the first information respecting the result of the capture of the assassins. I immediately took him to the house of the Secretary of War, when he detailed briefly the facts of the pursuit, capture, and killing of Booth, &c., at the same time handing to the Secretary of War the effects, or articles, taken from the dead body of Booth. By direction of the Secretary of War, with Colonel Conger, I went immediately to Alexandria, to intercept and take charge of the prisoner Harrold, and the dead body of Booth, which since the capture had been in charge of Lieutenant Baker. About 12 o'clock, the steamer *Ide*, with the assassins, arrived at Alexandria. I went on board, and took charge of the management and disposition of the prisoner Harrold and body of Booth. It is a well-known fact, with few exceptions, that as soon as it was publicly known that the assassins were captured, those that had been the most persistent in forcing their claims before the committee appointed to investigate the matter, entirely ceased and abandoned all efforts to procure, or even assist in procuring, the requisite proofs to convict the assassins. I desire to state positively that the information that prompted me to send the expedition to Port Conway was not, in any way, shape, or manner, derived from the War Department, or from any information or intimation furnished by any one connected with the search for the assassins. I neither saw nor knew the contents of any telegrams, letter, or memorandums, referring in the slightest manner to the fact that the murderers had crossed the Potomac River. I desire further to state that the information before referred to in this statement, and my belief and preconceived theory as to the intended movement of the assassins, was the sole and only incentive that prompted the sending out of the expedition which resulted so successfully. My honest conviction is, and it is the opinion repeatedly expressed by those in authority, that, had not this expedition reached the Garrett Farm as they did, on Wednesday morning, before daylight, Booth and Harrold would have escaped entirely:

Respectfully submitted,

L. C. BAKER,  
Late Brig.-Gen., and Pro.-Mar. War Department.

It is well known among the authorities at Washington, that the preliminary steps and investigations, with reference to the assassination, had already been taken, before my

arrival there, at General Augur's headquarters. A commission, consisting of Colonel Wells, Colonel Foster, and Colonel Alcott, was then in session, and all information, from whatever sources derived, was laid before this commission. The enormity of the crime committed by the assassins, and the anxiety of the public for their arrest, had divested my mind entirely of any thing like rivalry in the investigations going on. I was willing, and indeed anxious, to work and co-operate with any officer or officers in the prosecution of this investigation. I was even willing to place myself under the advice, counsel, and direction of any officer, whether military or civil. Accordingly, I repaired to General Augur's headquarters, and asked some questions with regard to the information already obtained. I was informed that neither my services nor the services of my force were required ; that a positive clue had been obtained as to who the assassins were, and their whereabouts. After making some further inquiries, to all of which I received either evasive or insulting replies, I determined to set on foot an investigation under my own direction. With this view, I immediately obtained photographs of the supposed assassins, and had a large number of them copied, which I sent in all directions. I believe the first clue obtained as to the assassins was derived from a man named Fletcher, employed in the livery stable of Mr. Naylor, in Washington. Harrold had, on the afternoon previous to the evening of the assassination, hired a horse at Mr. Naylor's stable. Mr. Naylor, fearing that Harrold would run away with the horse, had sent Fletcher to watch him. The evidence of Fletcher, given before the commission on the trial of the assassins, shows that he went to the Navy Yard bridge. The bridge being guarded by a military force, and having no pass, he could not cross ; but he learned that two suspicious characters had just crossed on horseback. He returned to General Augur's headquarters about one o'clock on Saturday morning, and reported the fact. Here begins the first series of blunders in this attempted search for the assassins. Fletcher's statement was entirely disregarded. No steps were taken by those in possession of this information to follow up the clue thus given until sixteen hours afterward. This delay enabled the assassins to get



entirely beyond the reach of those sent in pursuit. On Sunday, at ten o'clock, I received the following information:—

BALTIMORE, April 16, 1865.

The following information has just been received from Polk Gardner, a lad who left Upper Marlborough, Prince George County, on Friday night, to come here to see his father, who is dying. On the road, about four miles from Washington, he met a man on a roan horse, who inquired the way to Upper Marlborough, and whether he had seen a man riding rapidly in that direction. About two miles from Washington he met another man, on a bay horse, who also inquired the road to Upper Marlborough, and asked him if he had seen a man riding in that direction. The last named then rode on rapidly. This occurred at eleven o'clock, or a little later.

The steamer *Commerce* left here yesterday morning at six o'clock, without passengers, but with a guard and shrewd officer, with orders to make her usual trip and take in all passengers that presented themselves, and then secure them and bring them all here. As she goes to Upper Marlborough, stopping at Benedict and other places, it is not unlikely that the guilty parties may be caught.

I immediately sent for Polk Gardner, and had his statement taken. The description given of the horses—to wit, one bay and one roan—corresponded exactly with the description furnished by Fletcher of the horses hired from Naylor's stable. This, with Fletcher's statement, furnished to my mind conclusive evidence that the assassins had gone in the direction of Lower Maryland.

It is proper to state, in this connection, that a large military force, consisting of a whole brigade of infantry and over one thousand cavalry, together with over two hundred detectives and citizens, had gone into Lower Maryland. My force being small at the time, many of them being engaged in the Western States in pursuit of criminals, I sent a small detachment of detectives with photographs and circulars into Lower Maryland. They were absent four or five days, and returned with no clue to the assassins. The community were becoming impatient at the delay in the capture of the assassins, and beginning to fear that they would finally escape. On Sunday morning, the 23d of April, I sent the following note to Major-General Hancock:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, April 24, 1865.

Major-General HANCOCK, United States Army:—

GENERAL—I am directed by the Secretary of War to apply to you for a

small cavalry force of twenty-five (25) men, well mounted, to be commanded by a reliable and discreet commissioned officer.

Can you furnish them? and if so, will you please direct the officer commanding the squad to report to me with the men at No. 217 Pennsylvania Avenue, opposite Willard's Hotel, at once?

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Agent War Department.

Official:

DUNCAN S. WALKER, A. A. General.

In response to this communication, the cavalry arrived at my headquarters. I immediately called into my private office two of my detective officers—Colonel Conger and Lieutenant Baker—and informed them that I had information that Booth and Harrold had crossed the Potomac, at the same time pointing out with a pencil the place on a map where they had crossed, and where I believed they would be found. Lieutenant Dougherty, of the Sixteenth New York Cavalry, who commanded this squad, was introduced to Colonel Conger and Lieutenant Baker, with the following remark:—"You are going in pursuit of the assassins. You have the latest reliable information concerning them. You will act under the orders of Colonel Conger."

I then dispatched a messenger to the quartermaster at Sixth Street wharf, with a request to furnish a boat as soon as possible, to take a squad of cavalry down the Potomac. The messenger returned, bringing the following communication from Captain Allen, the quartermaster:—

ASSISTANT QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE,  
RIVER TRANSPORTATION, SIXTH STREET WHARF,  
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 22, 1865.

Colonel L. C. BAKER, Agent War Department:—

SIR—I have the honor to inform you that I will have a boat ready for you at four p. m. this day.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

A. S. ALLEN,

Captain and Assistant Quartermaster.

The expedition left Washington on board the steamer *Ida*, about four o'clock. The facts and incidents connected with the pursuit and capture of the assassins, from this time until the body of Booth was returned to Washington, and

placed in my possession, I will leave to be detailed by Colonel Conger and Lieutenant Baker :—

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 24, 1865.

To the Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War :—

SIR—Under General Order No. 164, in reference to the rewards offered by the Secretary of War for the apprehension of Booth and Harrold, the assassins of the late President, E. J. Conger, late a lieutenant-colonel, and L. B. Baker, late a lieutenant, beg to submit the following narrative of the events of that service :—

They were important actors in the pursuit and capture of those parties, and themselves did, and saw others do, every thing that went to make up that enterprise, from its inception in the brain of its projector and master-spirit, until the bodies of the two fugitives, living and dead, were delivered into the hands of the Department of War; and it is that this narrative may, in some degree, help to the proper appreciation of the services of the parties to whose hands the chief of the Detective Bureau committed the execution of his plans.

General Baker, under the orders of the Department, reported at Washington for duty Sunday morning, April 16th. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Baker, and joined by Colonel Conger the Monday following. Both of these gentlemen, then private citizens, were taken into service by General Baker, and assigned, under his immediate orders, to the special duty of the subject of this statement.

Upon the arrival of General Baker, he found the entire field occupied by a numerous corps of detectives, whom the importance of the service and the calls of the Government had assembled from various points, and in whose hands seemed to be all the various sources of information, and the clues to all that was known or suspected, then at command.

He found, upon approaching these parties, that they were unwilling to impart to him their information, receive him into confidence, and share with him their counsels; and with such slender information as was then in the personal possession of the Secretary of War, the chief of the Military Bureau was obliged to take the case up from the beginning; and after the field had been gone over and gleaned by other hands and the footprints of the assassins effaced or lost.

It was an accepted fact that Booth was the immediate assassin of the President, and that Harrold was his accomplice, and shared his flight or place of concealment.

A careful analysis of all that could be ascertained satisfied General Baker that these parties had fled, and would probably attempt to escape across the Lower Potomac; and his first efforts were directed to securing the accurate likenesses of Booth and Harrold, as well as of others, and a full and minute description of their persons. These likenesses were taken, and printed—the first and only ones issued of these parties—he caused to be extensively circulated in every direction likely to be taken by the fugitives; in particular,

Lieutenant Baker was detailed, with five or six active and reliable men, to traverse Lower Maryland and distribute them. He was also to examine and note every possible indication of the presence of the parties, or other suspected persons, from which labor he returned the Saturday following, having explored the whole region unsuccessfully, while the chief remained at headquarters, with Colonel Conger and other assistants, constantly, anxiously, and exhaustively collating and exploring every outside rumor, theory, and source of information that sleepless labor, vigilance, and experienced sagacity could compass.

It is out of place here, perhaps, to refer to the weight of indignant and impotent grief that was added to a nation's sorrow for its loss, as the conviction settled upon the hearts of men that the murderers had escaped—that the resources and ingenuity of the police of the nation, aroused by a huge crime, and made active by the temptation of a great money reward, were baffled.

While this feeling was hardening into certainty, the energy and determination of the chief of the military detectives were preparing more effective efforts.

On Monday, the 24th, General Baker, steady in the opinion he had formed, sent one of his men, Theodore Woodall, with a telegraph operator, into Lower Maryland with his instruments, to be attached to the wire at given points, and thus enable him to communicate, without loss of time, with that region. Woodall, while on this duty, fell in with \_\_\_\_\_, an old negro, whose statement so impressed him, that, instead of sending it by telegraph to Washington, he took and delivered him bodily to his superior.

The examination of the colored man satisfied General Baker that he had at last struck the trail of the fleeing murderers. That they had crossed the Potomac, near Matthews Point, on Saturday night, the 22d of April, and that Booth was lame.

A hasty interview with the Secretary of War, and Colonel Conger was sent with a note from General Baker to General Hancock for a commissioned officer and twenty-five cavalry, to report immediately to General Baker, for duty under his command, while Lieutenant Baker made the necessary arrangements with the Quartermaster's Department for transportation down the Potomac. Upon their return from these duties, General Baker fully explained to them the information on which he was acting, and, with the aid of a map, pointed out with care the place of Booth and Harrold's crossing and their probable course and plans, and told them he was about to send them in pursuit; that they were to have full charge of the expedition, and that the cavalry force would go, subject to their orders; that the expedition was to start the moment it could be got ready. It was to go down to Belle Plains, and, if there was no dock for landing at that point, to go to Aquia Creek, and if the dock had been destroyed there, that the horses must be made to take the water, for in no event must they go below; once on land, they must act on their own judgment and discretion; that they must, if possible, discover the trail of Booth and Harrold, and, once upon it, must push forward to their capture over all obstacles; that the cavalry would go with nothing but

their arms, and men and horses must not be spared; that he knew Conger and Lieutenant Baker, and had entire confidence in their judgment, sagacity, and courage, and committed the enterprise fully to them.

About two P. M. of the 24th, Lieutenant Dougherty of the Sixteenth New York Cavalry, reported to General Baker for orders, and was by him introduced to Colonel Conger and Lieutenant Baker; General Baker told him that he was to be sent with him in pursuit of Booth and Harrold; that they had full information and instructions as to the service, and would have the direction of it, and he must render them all the assistance in his power. No other or further orders were given by General Baker to Lieutenant Dougherty, nor were explanations made to him about the service by General Baker, nor by Colonel Conger nor Lieutenant Baker.

The party left Washington about sundown on the evening of the 24th, on steamer *Ide*; arrived at Belle Plains about ten in the evening and landed. Colonel Conger, while in service, having been the senior of Lieutenant Baker in the same cavalry regiment, and of large experience, by tacit consent as between them, took the main direction of affairs when present. In his absence, Lieutenant Baker was the acknowledged director of the expedition.

Colonel Conger refused to have an advanced guard, but himself and Lieutenant Baker took the lead. At the divergence of the roads, a mile and a half from the river, the party took that which led to the Rappahannock. Conger went to almost every house they passed during the night. He called himself Boyd, a brother of the Maryland Boyd, who had been killed. Said his party were rebels, trying to avoid the Union soldiers and escape into the interior. That they had been scattered, and he had lost some of his companions, one of whom was lame, and they were anxious to learn of his whereabouts, &c. He inquired who had crossed the Rappahannock, and where; and the location of all the crossings, whether by ferry or ford; also about all the doctors, as they supposed Booth would seek the aid of some of them. Nothing was learned during the night. Daylight disclosed the character of the party, and changed the tactics of the leaders.

The party arrived, without incident or information bearing on the service, at Point Conway on the Rappahannock, opposite Port Royal, about twelve o'clock, when they halted for thirty minutes.

While resting here, Lieutenant Baker went to the ferry, near which he fell in with a man who gave his name as Rollins. A conversation ensued, in which Lieutenant Baker showed him the likeness of Booth, which Rollins recognized as one of the party who crossed the day before, except that that man had no *moustache*. He also recognized the likeness of Harrold. Colonel Conger was sent for, and took Rollins's statement, now on file in the Judge-Advocate-General's office. The substance was, that Booth and Harrold arrived there the day before, late in the afternoon, in an old wagon driven by a negro, and wanted to go on. Booth was lame, and would give him, Rollins, ten dollars in gold to take them on to Bowling Green, fifeeen miles toward Orange Court House. Meantime three rebels came up on horseback, Bainbridge, Ruggles, and Jett, who had a conversation with Booth and Harrold, and agreed to help them on, and did so. As some of that party resided at Bow-

ing Green, it was supposed that Booth and Harrold would be taken there by them. Rollins was willing to go as a guide for Conger and Baker, and was put under arrest to save appearances.

The expedition was ferried over the river with as little delay as possible, and pickets posted to prevent any parties leaving Port Royal till the party was again in motion. After passing the river a short distance, two men were discovered on horseback, as if observing the party, to whom Conger and Baker gave chase. After pursuing them about two miles, they plunged into the woods and disappeared.

The command reached the "Half-way House," so-called, a solitary building, about nine in the evening. The occupants, four or five young women, raised and kept up such a clamor, that Conger's and Baker's inquiries were a "pursuit of knowledge under difficulties," until one of them said that they were looking for a party that had committed an outrage on a girl, which led to their being told that a party of five men, describing them, with three horses, had called there the day before and taken drinks, and that they all came back but one. The supposition was that Booth, the principal, had been left at Bowling Green. Once more in the saddle, horses exhausted, and men weary, hungry, and sleepy, the command pushed forward, and reached Bowling Green between eleven and twelve o'clock.

The one hotel, where Booth might be, a large, rambling, utterly silent and dark building, was surrounded by the dismounted cavalry, and a vain effort made to arouse the inmates, if occupants it had.

A negro finally conducted Colonel Conger to a shanty in the rear, where another negro told him that a woman and her daughter occupied the tavern, and that Jett was there also.

Colonel Conger entered the house and found his way to Jett's room and arrested him, when he was joined by Baker and Lieutenant Dougherty. Jett was alarmed, wanted to see the commander of the party, and was referred to Colonel Conger. Baker and Lieutenant Dougherty withdrew, when Jett said he knew what Colonel Conger wanted; he wanted Booth and Harrold, and he, Jett, could take him and show him where they were.

He wanted assurances of personal safety, and Colonel Conger gave them. Jett dressed, and on joining Lieutenant Baker, he told them, Conger and Baker, that Booth and Harrold were about three miles from Port Royal, at Garrett's. And on being told that the party had just passed along there, he was disconcerted, for he had supposed that they came from Richmond, and found that their coming from Port Royal had frightened Booth and Harrold away, as it had.

Upon remounting the party, it was found that one or two of the men had straggled, and two or three others were left to look them up. The object of the return was not made known to Lieutenant Dougherty until near Garrett's house.

The party reached the lane that led from the road to Garrett's house about two A. M., of the 20th. During the time that Conger and Baker were exploring the way to the house, the men had dismounted, thrown themselves on the ground, and gone to sleep; and it was with much exertion that they

were aroused and got in motion again. The house was surrounded, and, in response to the summons of Lieutenant Baker, the elder Garrett appeared, struck a light, and said, in reply to Baker's inquiry, that the two men had gone off into the woods. At the approach of Colonel Conger, a son of Garrett's came up and said the men were in the barn, and offered to show them where they were. The party proceeded to the barn, Lieutenant Baker with a lighted candle, and having the young Garrett in custody.

The barn, with the buildings near it, were as promptly and effectually surrounded as the condition and discipline of the command would permit.

The barn, as it was called, was in fact an old tobacco-house, perhaps sixty feet square, weather-boarded, with large doors in the middle of the front side, and in one of which was a smaller door; a barn, a shed, with other buildings, were near this building. Colonel Conger and Lieutenant Dougherty placed the dismounted soldiers about the buildings, while Lieutenant Baker with young Garrett approached the door with the candle, when young Garrett remembered that the door was locked on the outside. Another young Garrett then came up and was sent by Baker for the key. When the key arrived, Lieutenant Baker in a loud voice said to Garrett, "Go in and tell the men to come out and surrender." He said he was afraid; the men were armed with pistols and carbines, and would shoot him. Lieutenant Baker, then addressing the parties inside, said, "We are going to send in the men in whose custody you are to demand your arms and surrender." Baker then unlocked the door, and Garrett, in much trepidation, went in; and Baker heard a mumbled conversation inside, Booth finally saying, "Get out of here or I will shoot you. Damn you, you have betrayed me," and Garrett came back much frightened, and was let out, saying that Booth was going to shoot him, and "You may burn the barn." Something had been before said about burning the barn, partly to alarm Booth and Harrold, and as one of the means that might ultimately be resorted to, to which young Garrett had objected.

In the mean time, it had occurred to Conger and Baker, that in the event of an attempt to escape by Booth and Harrold at the door, and which would bring on a general contest, that it would be very likely to draw the fire of the soldiers nearest, which would endanger them quite as much as it would Booth and Harrold, and as a precaution for their own safety, they removed all the soldiers from the front of the building, and all whose posts were such as to command a view of the area immediately about the door.

Colonel Conger also found on his rounds one man who refused to do duty, because he was without arms—took none with him, but was supplied with a pistol on the ground. It was also found necessary to place a rail or pole, or some other object, on the ground, to indicate to each man his position, and they were ordered by Colonel Conger, personally, not to leave their posts on any pretext whatever without orders. Lieutenant Dougherty was most of the time, in the early part of the affair, at the barn, and took a position under an open shed, not far from the building; and there consulted about burning the barn. Colonel Conger had ordered one of the young Garretts to deposit a quantity of brush against an angle of the barn, but at a point where he did

not intend to fire it, and for the purpose of distracting the attention of Booth, and to mislead him.

Understanding what Garrett was doing, Booth threatened to shoot him if he did not desist. He also twice offered to Lieutenant Baker that if he would withdraw his men fifty yards he would come out and fight him.

Harrold finally came to the door, offered to surrender, and Lieutenant Baker opened it, took him by the hands, pulled him out, called Lieutenant Dougherty and turned him over to him.

As a more effective means to insure the capture of Booth, it was finally determined to set the building on fire. There was on the floor a quantity of litter, thrown in a loose pile against one side near an angle. From an opening at this Colonel Conger drew out some straw, twisted it, set it on fire, and instantly the whole mass was in flames. Under the eye of Colonel Conger, Booth immediately approached the fire, with a carbine in both hands, as if to fire, and cast his eye up and down the opening between the boards, but with the intense light between him and the opening, and the darkness without, it was impossible for him to see any thing outside. He paused, dropped his hands, his head fell, as if in thought, and he then turned and went toward the door. Colonel Conger immediately started around the building, to reach the same point, when, on his way, he heard a pistol-shot, and upon going round he found Lieutenant Baker standing over the body of Booth, near the center of the building, and where he obviously had been in no position to injure anybody. Colonel Conger at first supposed, and so said, that Booth had shot himself.

At the moment of firing the barn, Lieutenant Baker opened the door, and saw Booth just as he turned from the fire, when he dropped his crutch, and came with a rapid, halting walk, toward the door; when within twelve or fifteen feet of the door, with his carbine in his hand, he received the shot, and fell. Baker rushed to him, seized him by the arm, and was there found by Conger. Lieutenant Baker saw that the shot was from some one outside, and remarked to Conger that "the man who fired it should go back to Washington under arrest."

Sergeant Boston Corbitt, who fired the shot, had been placed by Colonel Conger about thirty feet from the barn, with orders not to leave his post on any pretext. Yet he did leave it, and approach the barn, when without order, pretext or excuse, he shot Booth.

The communications from the party of Conger and Baker, to Booth and Harrold, in the barn, were made entirely through Lieutenant Baker. It is believed that no other one of the party addressed them. Much more passed between them than is stated above. Among other things, Booth said to Baker, whom he addressed as "Captain," "I could have shot you five or six times, but I believe you to be a brave and honorable man, and I will not hurt you."

To the offers of Booth to come out and fight, Lieutenant Baker replied that "we did not come to fight you but to capture you."

The few words and incoherent mutterings of the dying Booth are of no value in this narrative. Nor does it seem requisite to correct and contradict, to any great extent, the statements of some of the parties present, as to the

details of the transaction, and their own part in it. Lieutenant Dougherty was the mere commander of the soldiers, under Colonel Conger or Lieutenant Baker, the former of whom often gave orders directly to them. At the barn, Lieutenant Dougherty took no part in the communications with Booth and Harrold, and was absent from the door when Booth was shot.

As soon after the termination of the affair as possible, Colonel Conger, in possession of Booth's diary, papers, &c., started for Washington, where he reported to General Baker, about four P. M. of the 20th, leaving Lieutenant Baker with the body of Booth, and Harrold under arrest, under the escort of Lieutenant Dougherty and the cavalry, to make their slower way back, which was accomplished with little delay, the party arriving before daylight of the 27th.

For a corroboration of the statements of this narrative, reference is had to the official report of General Baker, the statement of Rollins, already referred to, the statements of the two young Garretts, on file in the War Office, the evidence of E. J. Conger on the trial of Harrold and others, the statement of Lieutenant Baker, taken by the Judge-Advocate-General, and the evidence of Jetts, given on the trial.

Respectfully submitted.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, }  
Washington County. } ss.

Personally appeared, E. J. Conger and L. B. Baker, who severally made oath that all the matters and things set forth in the narrative hereto attached are true in substance and in fact, before me,

(Signed)

E. J. CONGER.  
L. B. BAKER.

WAIT N. HAWLEY, Notary Public.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

In submitting the narrative of the capture of Booth and Harrold, the undersigned beg leave also to offer the following, upon the distribution of the rewards offered by the Secretary of War for that service.

The rewards are special offers for specific services, and qualified by no conditions whatever—\$50,000 for the apprehension of Booth, and \$25,000 for the capture of Harrold.

It is assumed that Booth is the murderer, and whether he proves to be or not, \$50,000. It is asserted that Harrold was his accomplice, and the Secretary will pay \$25,000 for him. The payment in neither case is made to depend upon a conviction of the party, but merely upon his apprehension. So, too, nothing is said as to the condition in which the parties shall be delivered to the Government, although obviously the Secretary did not contemplate the death of either, still it is submitted that if one of them should be slain in a *bona fide* attempt to capture him, and his body should be placed by the captors in the hands of the Government, that would be substantially an apprehension, under the proclamation offering the rewards.

The promise of payment is limitless as to the persons to whom it is made. Whoever, of all mankind, will render the service, shall receive the specified compensation. No matter whether citizen, soldier, or alien; whether in the public service or private life. The service required is extraordinary, furnishes its own law, of necessity, and the Secretary felt at liberty to summon and reward, in the market-place of the world, whoever should perform it. And it is submitted that, in the controlling equity of the case, no ordinary rule of public service, and no existing law of Congress, can be permitted to disqualify any man, fortunate enough to have performed this labor, from being compensated according to the terms of the Secretary's proclamation.

The thing to be accomplished was the apprehension of Booth or Harrold, or both; and to entitle a man to the reward, or any part of it, he must have done the labor, or at least must have been voluntarily, actively, and intelligently engaged with others who accomplished the enterprise. The mere giver of information, however important, and who does not go beyond that, is not within the terms of the offer of the rewards for the apprehensions; for there is in the Secretary's proclamation another distinct and independent promise of rewards, to the bringers of "any information that shall conduce to the arrest of either of the above-named criminals or their accomplices."

In the light of these observations, under the known facts of the case, General L. C. Baker apprehended both Booth and Harrold, within the words and meaning of the proclamation of the Secretary of War promising rewards for that service, and is entitled to the reward primarily.

Next to him stand Colonel Conger and Lieutenant Baker, the sagacious, vigilant, and intrepid executors who carried out his plans, and by whose brains and hands the work was promptly accomplished.

Lieutenant Dougherty and the cavalry were the subordinate, though necessary, instruments, with whose assistance Colonel Conger and Lieutenant Baker achieved the objects of the expedition.

Under what view of the case can others be permitted to share in the reward for the capture of Booth and Harrold? It is true that numberless active, sagacious, and vigilant men were endeavoring to capture Booth and Harrold. But they did not do it; and it is submitted that they did not in any appreciable way help to do it.

Can it be said that the presence of these parties in Lower Maryland frightened the fugitives across the Potomac, and obliged them to make a trail that General Baker could find, and thus enable him to capture them? Is there any proof that Booth and Harrold were thus driven out of Maryland? That they went an hour sooner, or a shade differently from what they would if these detective gentlemen had remained in Washington? These gentlemen intended no such result, did not intend to drive the parties out of Maryland, and did not know that they had left it for days after the death of Booth, and the imprisonment of Harrold, and nothing could have been further from their purpose than to contribute, by accident even, to the success of General Baker.

So, too, the negro informant of Woodall is entitled to the most liberal consideration, as is also Woodall himself; but, under the distinct promise of a

separate reward, for information, how can these be admitted to a part of the rewards under consideration?

With the most entire confidence in the wisdom and justice of the Secretary of War, these observations are submitted.

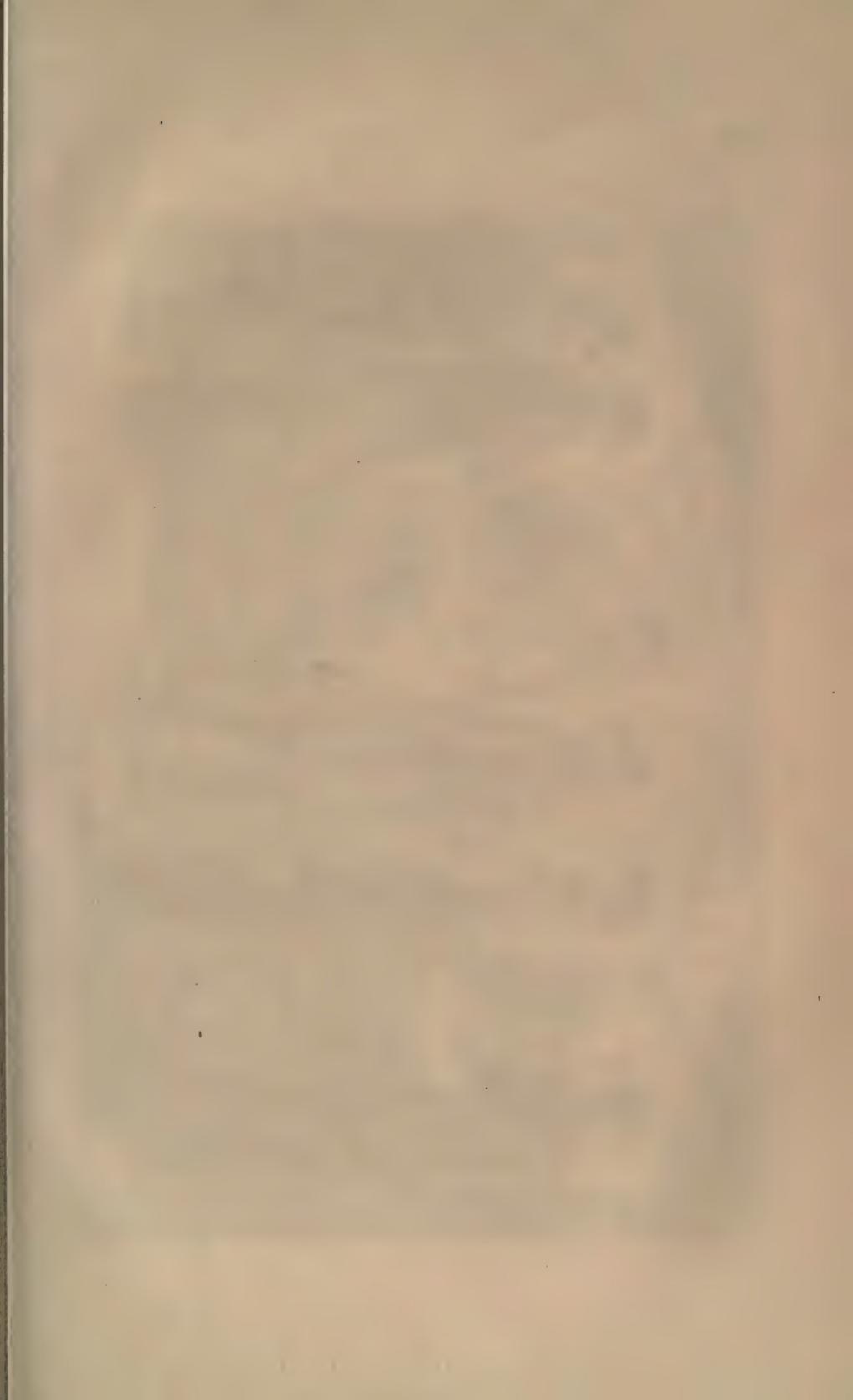
Respectfully.

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 27, 1865.

I have the honor to respectfully request that the Secretary of War will carefully read the inclosed statement of E. J. Conger and L. B. Baker, and particularly that portion under the head of "Observations," relating to the rewards about to be distributed by the Secretary of War for the apprehension of the assassins Booth and Harrold.

L. C. BAKER,  
Brig.-Gen., and Pro.-Mar. of War Department.

On Wednesday afternoon, April 26th, about five o'clock, Colonel Conger came to my headquarters, and, in a low whisper, announced the capture of Booth and Harrold, adding that the former was shot. It is not often that I am unbalanced by tidings of any sort; but I sprang to my feet, and across the room, and felt like raising a shout of joy over the triumph of justice, and the relief to millions of burdened hearts which would attend the tidings over the land. I immediately called for a carriage, took Colonel Conger with me, and drove to the house of the Secretary of War. He had been very despondent regarding the capture, and had often spoken of the disgrace it would be if the base assassins should escape. When I entered the room he was lying upon a sofa. I had in my hand Booth's two pistols, his belt, knife, and compass—the latter all covered with tallow, where he had held the light up at night, to see in what direction he was going—his pipe, and his diary. I rushed into the room, and said, "We have got Booth." Secretary Stanton was distinguished during the whole war for his coolness, but I had never seen such an exhibition of it in my life as at that time. He put his hands over his eyes, and lay for nearly a moment without saying a word. Then he got up and put on his coat very coolly. In the mean time I had laid on his table all the effects that had been taken from Booth. He asked where he was captured. I said, "Near Port Conway, beyond the Rappahannock in Virginia. Here are the things found on Booth's body." Colo-





INQUEST HELD UPON THE BODY OF BOOTH.

nel Conger gave the Secretary a brief statement of the capture. The Secretary directed me to take a boat and go to Alexandria and meet the boat that was bringing the body up. Accordingly I proceeded to Alexandria, and at twenty minutes to eleven o'clock the steamer *Ide*, having on board the assassin Harrold and the dead body of Booth, with Lieutenant Baker in charge, arrived. The Secretary had directed that the boat conveying the assassins should go directly to the Navy Yard, and that the prisoner Harrold and the body of Booth should be placed on board a gunboat, as will be shown by the following order:—

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, April 26, 1865.

To the Commandant of the Washington Navy Yard:—

Let Colonel Baker come into the Navy Yard wharf and alongside the Iron-clad, to place one or two prisoners on board.

EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War.

We proceeded to the Navy Yard, and at the dead hour of the night disembarked our prisoner, put him in double irons, and confined him in the hold of the vessel, where a number of other prisoners, arrested for their supposed connection with the assassination, had been already some days confined. The body of Booth was placed on deck, in charge of a marine guard. It had been securely sewed up in a blanket before it left the Garrett farm. On the following morning a *post-mortem* examination was held, in order to the proper identification of the body. Dr. May, a physician of Washington, who had some two years before removed a tumor from Booth's neck, was called in as a witness. The scar of this tumor was readily found by Dr. May, and his testimony, with that of six or seven others, as to the identification, placed the question of identity beyond all cavil. Afterward Dr. Barnes, the Surgeon-General of the United States Army, with an assistant, cut from Booth's neck a section of the spine through which the ball passed. This section is now on exhibition at the Government Medical Museum at Washington. This was the only mutilation of J. Wilkes Booth that ever occurred, notwithstanding the numerous reports that his head was cut off and sent to Europe or Canada. On Thursday, the 27th, I was sent for

by the Secretary of War, and directed to make a disposition of the body of Booth. In compliance with these instructions, with the assistance of Lieutenant L. B. Baker, I disposed of the body, as related on another page, and also the circumstances connected with the trial of the assassins.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### LETTERS ON THE ASSASSINATION.

Jacob Thompson—Volunteer Suggestions respecting the Assassin's Hiding-Places before his Death, and the Disposal of his Remains afterward—Threats of more Assassinations—A Mysterious Letter—J. H. Surratt.

I SHALL now copy a few of the many letters from different parts of the North, called forth by the exciting tragedy at our capital, the most of which were addressed to the Secretary of War, and by him placed in my hands. Their chief value and interest arises from the expressions of feeling they furnish, and the manifold suggestions respecting the discovery and disposal of the homicide.

The first communication relates to Jacob Thompson, for whose arrest subsequently a reward of \$25,000 was offered.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, April 18, 1865.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington:—

DEAR SIR—I was yesterday told a story, by a young man from New York, implicating one George Thompson, a companion of Booth, and, I believe, an actor in Laura Keene's Theatre, in the assassination of the President and Secretary Seward; will write further about it if you think advisable. Hoping this may be serviceable in discovering the guilty assassin,

I am, very respectfully, yours,

Wm. O.

Temple Street.

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, April 18, 1865.

W. O. SUMNER, JR.:—

States that he has been told a story implicating one George Thompson, a companion of Booth, in the murder of President Lincoln.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 22, 1865.

Respectfully referred to Colonel L. C. Baker, Agent, &c., for his information, action, and report.

By order of the Secretary of War,

H. S. BURNETT, Judge-Advocate.

The indorsement on the back of the next letter will explain its import.

BUFFALO, NEW YORK, April 18, 1865.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:—

MY DEAR SIR—Business has called me to Toronto, C. W., several times within the past two months, and while there I have seen and heard some things, knowledge of which may be of service to the Government.

About five weeks since I saw at the Queen's Hotel, at Toronto, a letter written by the late John Y. Beale just previous to his execution, which, after speaking of his mock trial, unjust sentence, the judicial murder that was to be perpetrated by his execution, &c., called upon Jacob Thompson to vindicate his character before his countrymen of the South, and expressed his belief that his death would be speedily and terribly avenged. The letter itself was addressed to Colonel J. Thompson, Confederate Commissioner at Toronto, but the superscription upon the envelope (which was in a different handwriting from the body of the letter) read simply, J. Thompson, Toronto, Canada. This circumstance caused it to be delivered to a Mr. Thompson for whom it was not intended. I was permitted to peruse but not to copy the letter. I was informed at that time that the friends of Beale were banded together for the double purpose of avenging his death and aiding the Rebel Government. I have heard the same statement repeated many times since, and have frequently been told by citizens of Toronto, that some great mischief was being plotted by Beale's friends and other refugees in Canada. More than a month General Dix's name was mentioned in my hearing in connection with the threatened vengeance. I regarded all such stories as idle tales unworthy of notice, consequently I never repeated them. Last Friday evening, while sitting in the office of the Queen's Hotel, I overheard a conversation between some persons sitting near me, which convinced me that the plan to assassinate the President was known to some at least of the refugees in Canada. The party was mourning over the late rebel reverses; commenting also upon the execution of Beale, the extradition of Burley, the discharge of the raiders, &c.; after which they endeavored to cheer themselves after this fashion: "We'll make the damned Yankees howl yet." "I'll wager, boys, that we'll get better news in forty-eight hours." "I reckon, by God, that Jeff. Davis will live as long as Abe Lincoln." "Old Abe won't hang Davis." "We'll have something from Washington that will make people stare." "Won't the damned Yankees curse us more than ever." I do not pretend to give the exact language of any of the parties, but expressions like those above quoted were of frequent occurrence during the conversation. I took very little notice of the party. Their words at the time appeared to me to be simply profane and vulgar, implying idle threats which could never be executed. Some of the party had evidently been drinking freely. They were all strangers to me. The next morning (Saturday, April 15), when I received the news of the assassination, I could not help feeling that the party I had heard the night before were implicated in the act. I met two of them in company with Ben Young, and one or two others of the St. Albans raiders, on Saturday, in the

bar-room of the Queen's. One remarked, "Good news for us this morning," and another, "Damn well done, but not quite enough of it." And as they raised their glasses, one of them said, "Here's to Andy Johnson's turn next," which was replied to, "Yes, damn his soul." On relating this circumstance to Hon. E. G. Spaulding and others, they were of opinion that I should communicate them to your Department. For my own part, I beg to refer to Hon. Ira Harris, of the Senate, and Hon. John A. Griswold, of the House.

I am, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

G. S. C.

Mr. C. is a respectable lawyer in this city, and his statements are entitled to credit.

E. G. G.,  
Buffalo, N. Y.

From G. S. C.

*April 18, 1865.*

To Secretary of War:—

States that while at Toronto, C. W., five weeks ago, he saw a letter written by John Y. Beale to Colonel Jacob Thompson, Confederate Commissioner at Toronto, expressing, among other things, his belief that his death would be speedily and terribly revenged. Was informed that the friends of Beale were banded to avenge his death. Respectfully referred to Colonel Baker for his information.

H. S. BURNETT,  
Judge-Advocate, &c.

I received several missives like the following:—

BLODGET MILLS, N. Y., *April 19, 1865.*

Colonel L. C. BAKER, Agent of War Department at Washington:—

DEAR SIR—I have been engaged with different traveling companies for some eight or ten years. I know the habits of them pretty well. I used to be acquainted with J. Wilkes Booth. I don't think there is a theatre or circus company of any note but what I am more or less acquainted with. I am so well acquainted with that class of people that I think I could be of some use in tracking him out. If I had the means I should have been after him before now. I am at your service if you think I can be of any use to you.

From your obedient servant,

S. D. S.

P. S.—I could find out things from that class of people that those unacquainted with them could not so readily.

S. D. S.

Astrologists and spiritualists offered the Government the benefit of their prophetic gifts:—

LAFAYETTE, IND., *April 28, 1865.*

Mr. E. M. S.:—

DEAR SIR—I wish to say a few words to you in regard to the whereabouts of Booth, who now lays concealed in a house in the State of Virginia, near

the town of Middleburg, a little northeast of the Town House, one story, cottage style, roof very steep, back of the house high hills, in front a garden laid out into squares. The man of the house is tall and straight, of sandy complexion and sore eyes. If I had means to go to the south part of the State to consult with a friend of mine, I think that we could draw a diagram of the exact location and send to you, but I am poor. I have had thieves caught through my way of telling things. I have been put in prison for telling the same, and life threatened also. If you should think this of any importance, please answer. If I can get means to go and see my friend, we will send you a correct diagram of the house and place of concealment. It won't cost much to try. Sir, please not mention this to no one but your friends. You may not have any faith in this, but *try*.

Yours truly,

H. F.

Threats of additional assassination followed the murder of Mr. Lincoln :—

TANNER, CANADA, April 20, 1865.

To ANDREW JOHNSON, President of United States, or other authority :—

With certainty I state to you that John A. Payne and thirteen others are sworn to murder Andrew Johnson, E. M. Stanton, and L. S. Fisher, within thirty days from 23d April, 1865. The arrangements are all made and in progress of execution. I do not know where John A. Payne is now; he was at Montreal and Tanner, Canada, when this plot was projected. His brother (name I do not recollect) is also implicated. Seven of the plotters are at Washington, four at Bedford, Bedford Co., Penn., and the thirteenth is with Payne. These are plain facts. Do not reveal this, but arrest John A. Payne and his brother.

Yours truly,

JOHN P. H. HALL,  
Of Tanner, Canada

I send this to Detroit to avoid suspicion.

PHILADELPHIA, April 20, 1865.

To Hon. W. H. SEWARD :—

You may survive the fatal blow which I aimed at your throat, but know, thou most *cruel, cunning, and remorseless man*, that *sooner or later* you will fall by the *very hand* which assaulted you *last* Friday night, and now pens these calm, solemn words.

MOOHEAD CITY, NORTH CAROLINA, May 5, 1865.

Hon. WM. H. SEWARD, Secretary of State :—

SIR—Inclosed you will find a letter which I found floating in the river by the new Government wharf, at this place, on the evening of the 2d instant. It was not until late last night that I succeeded in learning its purport, it being in cipher. Having learned its nature, I lose no time in transmitting it to you, as one concerned. I send also a copy of the letter as I translate it. It is easy to perceive that the first word is Washington; the second, April; the fourth, Dear; and the fifth, John. Having ascertained that much, I had

but little difficulty in making out the remainder. The letter, evidently, had not been opened when thrown in the river. I think the fiend was here awaiting the arrival of General Sherman, and, on learning the General had gone to Wilmington, and feeling himself pressed by the detectives, threw it overboard.

Respectfully yours,

CHAS. DENET.

P. S.—If the letter should lead to any thing of importance, so that it would be necessary that I should be seen, I can be found at 126 South H Street, between 6th and 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . I am at present engaged in the Construction Corps, Railroad Department, at this place. Will be in Washington in a few days.

CHAS. DENET.

[COPY.]

*Translation of the Cipher Letter.*

WASHINGTON, April 15, 1865.

DEAR JOHN—I am happy to inform you that Pet. has done his work well. He is safe and Old Abe is in hell. Now, sir, all eyes are on you—you must bring Sherman. Grant is in the hands of Old Gray ere this. Red Shoes showed lack of nerve in Seward's case, but fell back in good order. Johnson must come, Old Crook has him in charge. Mind well that brother's oath and you will have no difficulty; all will be safe, and enjoy the fruit of our labors. We had a large meeting last night—all were bent on carrying out the programme to the letter. The rails are laid for safe exit. Old—always behind—lost the pass at City Point. Now, I say again, the lives of our brave officers, and the life of the South, depend upon the carrying this programme into effect. No. 2 will give you this. It is ordered no more letters shall be sent by mail. When you write, sign no real name, and send by some of our friends who are coming home. We want you to write us how the news was received there. We received great encouragement from all quarters. I hope there will be no getting weak in the knees. I was in Baltimore yesterday. Pet. has not got there yet. Your folks are well, and have heard from you. Don't lose your nerve.

O. B.

No. Five.

A few brief communications are taken at random, which need no words of introduction, but will be readily understood and appreciated.

MCHENRY HOUSE, MEADVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA, April 25, 1865.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.:—

SIR—Recent dispatches, referring to a former and futile attempt upon the life of the late Abraham Lincoln, by poison, have induced me to write you regarding a circumstance occurring at this hotel, where I have been cashier for a year and a half. Some time ago the following words were observed to have been scratched upon a pane of glass in room No. 22 of this house, evi-

dently done with a diamond: "Abe Lincoln departed this life August 13, 1864, by the effects of poison." I give this just as it appears upon the glass. In view of recent events, it was deemed best to take the pane of glass out and preserve it, and we have it safe. As to the date of the writing, we cannot determine. It was noticed some months ago by the housekeeper, but was not thought particularly of until after the assassination, being considered a freak of some individual who was probably partially intoxicated. My theory now is, that the words were written in prophecy or bravado by some villain who was in the plot, and that they were written before the date mentioned, August 13th. As to who was the writer, we can, of course, give no definite information. J. Wilkes Booth was here several times during last summer and fall, on his way to and from the oil regions. He was here upon the 10th, and again upon the 29th of June, 1864, but does not appear to have been assigned to that room, still he may have been in it in company with others who did occupy it. Upon the 10th the room was assigned to W. H. Crowell and J. C. Ford, of Irvine, Pennsylvania; and upon the 29th, to R. E. Glass and J. W. King, of New York. Should you consider the matter of sufficient importance to desire it, I will give you a list of the persons occupying the room in question for a long time preceding the above date, as you may request.

With a hearty desire to do all in my power to bring to light and to punishment the author of this terrible crime,

I remain, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

S. D. PAGE.

BOSTON, April 18, 1865.

DEAR SIR—As I am willing to do all in my power to aid in the arrest of the assassin Booth, perhaps the following may be of service to you, as I have considerable confidence in my information, which I will let you know about at some future time. Go through Mass. Avenue to 8th Street near the market, to house No. 61, in the rear. Mrs. Caroline or Angeline Wright lives or stays there, and Booth is secreted there. He goes out in the disguise of a negro, and also did before the assassination. He hides up stairs in a concealed closet, which would be difficult to find, unless carefully looked after, as there is a slide or panel. He jumped off his horse after the crime was committed, another man taking his place, to avoid suspicion. The house may be No. 84, and may possibly be some other avenue, but on 8th street, or near the corner. I am just and honest about this matter, but dare not give my name for fear I may be arrested; but should this give any information to you I shall probably know it.

Yours,

H—.

ST. CLAIRSVILLE, OHIO, April 26, 1865.

To Hon. E. M. STANTON:—

Believing in the efficacy of prayer, and earnestly desiring that the assassin of our beloved President be brought to justice, I clearly dreamed that the assassin was in a man's house by the name of Cromwell, at Reading, Pennsylvania. I am no believer in Spiritualism or fanaticism of any kind, I am a

matter-of-fact woman, but for the intelligence I prayed fervently; take it for what it is worth, but I desire that it never be made public. I feel it to be a duty to give my name, but a delicacy prevents me from so doing.

Yours truly,

ST. CLAIRSVILLE, BELMONT CO., OHIO.

BUFFALO, April 25, 1865.

Hon. Secretary of War:—

SIR—I crave your pardon for troubling you again with what some folks call foolishness, and perhaps you have no faith in. I have called several times on the person I mentioned to you since I wrote you; she still insists that the assassin is hid in the same place where he first went, and it is not three miles from the theater; she thinks he is clothed in female attire, and is making arrangements to go off on a large boat. I think it would be well to examine every female, young or old, that wants a pass to leave the city, and especially if their destination is Europe. You are aware, I presume, that a person of his profession can adapt themselves to any disguise. Do not let your disbelief in fortune-telling prevent you from using this as a means of information to bring the assassin to justice, for I have faith to believe he is concealed in a house of that description. You will forgive me for troubling you when you know how much we loved our late President.

Your humble servant,

MEROY.

28 Tenth Street.

The indignation of all classes of loyal people, which will deepen in its tone of condemnation and scorn around the nameless, unknown grave of the assassin, with the years of all coming time, is illustrated in the curious and varied correspondence copied below. Patriotism and religion entered alike into the absorbing interest of the exciting national experience during the spring of 1865.

To the Editor of the Chronicle:—

As any thing pertaining to Booth since his infamous deed (the murder of our noble, beloved President, Abraham Lincoln, who is lamented by all, and above all by the soldiers, as a kind, generous Father departed) possesses an interest to the great reading public, I, a soldier, relate the following incident, as showing how persistent and unchangeable the wretch has been in his treason since the outbreak of the Rebellion. At the commencement of the war, when black-browed and defiant treason stretched out its impious hand, red with murder, to tear in pieces the Constitution, to which the millions of the North clung, as to their sheet-anchor of hope, J. Wilkes Booth was playing an engagement at the little Gayety Theatre, Albany, N. Y., which city, when startled from its propriety by the news of the unholy attack on Sumter, attested in action, more eloquent than words, its love for the old flag, by displaying it from every roof and window. Booth at that time openly and

boldly avowed his admiration for the rebels and their deeds, which he characterized as the most heroic of modern times, and boasted loudly that the Southern leaders knew how to defend their rights, and would not submit to oppression.

So vehement and incautious was he in his expressions that the people became incensed, and, threatening him with popular violence, compelled his hasty departure from the city he had too long polluted with his presence. Before leaving, however, he attempted the life of a lady who, for the one or two past seasons, has been an established favorite at Mrs. John Wood's Olympic Theatre, New York City, with whom he (Booth) had a *liaison*, as was thought by many, more intimate than honorable; and conceiving, as I suppose, that she, with a profusion truly regal, showered her charms and blandishments on other suitors, he, in a fit of insane jealousy, entered her room at deep midnight and struck her with a dagger in the side. She, who could find no pleasure in becoming a martyr, merely for fun, turned upon him with the fury of a tigress, and in turn wounded him. Would to God that the dagger of the actress, to quote Carlyle, "had intervened fatally," and saved the wretch from the black, gigantic crime that was impending over his guilty head, and the nation from the universal grief which now shrouds it with the funereal gloom of the grave, and which has excited among the good Blue Coats of the army an indignant, piercing anguish, that goes far beyond all power of description in words.

A. D. Doty,  
Carver U. S. General Hospital, Washington, D. C.

STATE OF MARYLAND, WASHINGTON COUNTY, *to wit*:

On this 2d day of March, 1865, before me, the subscriber, one of the Justices of the Peace of the State of Maryland in and for Washington County, personally appeared G. Y., and after being duly sworn according to law, doth depose and say, that he was in the clothing-store of John D. Reamer about three weeks since, and he heard Mr. John D. Reamer, in conversation with William Gabriel, say that there was in Canada from England fifty thousand men and that there would be in a short time fifty thousand more. He was then asked by Gabriel what that meant, and in answer he said he did not know, but we would find it out in a short time, and said that there was one hundred thousand dollars made up now for a man to kill Abraham Lincoln, and that the man wanted the one-half in hand and the balance when the deed was done. He was asked the question by Gabriel who the man was that was to do the act, and was answered by Reamer that that was not yet known, and by the 1st day of April next we would have Lincoln out of his seat. And further this deponent saith not. Sworn before

J. W. COOK, J. P.

I hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the original.

J. W. COOK, J. P.

Hon. E. M. STANTON:—

DEAR SIR—Thinking that any information tending to bring the actors and accomplices connected with the late lamentable occurrences in Washington

to the bar of justice would be acceptable to your Government, I am induced to give the following particulars relative to a young man who came into our village some three days subsequent to the assassination of Mr. Lincoln, and whom I am inclined to believe is the Mr. Surratt spoken of in your paper as having escaped to this province. He is a young man of twenty-four or twenty-six years of age, five feet ten inches, perhaps six feet in height, black hair, parted behind, rather inclined to curl, lower jaw very large and deep, body small, legs disproportionately lengthy, figure good, bearing soldierly. His eyes are rather small and black. He had a moustache of a light brown when he came here, but dyed black since; no whiskers. His complexion is very fine. He is stopping with a Dr. Merritt, an escaped secessionist, who came here in December last, and who has always, when speaking of your Government and late Chief Magistrate, expressed himself in terms of unrelenting bitterness and hostility. It is currently reported in our village that, when the news of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln came in, he fairly danced with joy upon the street. From what I have seen of the man, I should be quite prepared to believe him capable of offering his house as a rendezvous for such creatures as the St. Albans raiders (of whose doings he seems to have had some foreknowledge) and the villains who have lately thrown your country into mourning. I send inclosed an advertisement published by Dr. Merritt upon his arrival here, in which you will perceive he professes to have been on somewhat intimate terms with your present Chief Magistrate, President Johnson.

"J. B. MERRITT, M. D., would very respectfully notify the citizens of Ayr and surrounding country, that he has taken the good-will and practice of the late David Caw, M. D., and William Caw, and will be found at the office lately occupied by them in Ayr, on and after the 1st of December.

"With seventeen years' experience in the treatment of diseases, he feels justified in claiming a share of the public patronage.

"AYR, November 17, 1864."

"PERSONAL.—We direct the attention of our readers to the cards of Drs. William Caw, and J. B. Merritt, in another part of this issue, the former being about to retire in favor of the latter. Mr. Merritt comes to Ayr with the best of recommendations both as a medical practitioner and a gentleman. We have copies in our possession of quite a number of very flattering testimonials from some of the leading citizens of Knoxville, Tennessee, where Mr. M. formerly practiced. They include the names of Thomas A. R. Nelson, M. C., John Netherland, ex-Gov., W. G. Brownlow, Editor 'Knoxville Whig,' and one from the Governor of the State of Tennessee, which we give in full:—

[Copy.]

STATE OF TENNESSEE, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, }  
NASHVILLE, August 10, 1864. }

I have been intimately acquainted with Dr. J. B. Merritt for a long time, he having been my family physician for a number of years. It affords me great pleasure to commend him as a first-class physician, and as a gentleman entitled to every degree of public confidence.

(Signed)

ANDREW JOHNSON, Governor.

Before taking the step I have done by writing the above, I consulted a most intelligent and efficient magistrate, a resident of this place, upon the matter, and he unhesitatingly indorsed the propriety of my communicating with you, and, like me, would be only too happy in being in any degree instrumental in bringing any of those villains, whether raiders or assassins, to the bar of justice.

By communicating with Robert Wyllie, Esq., J. P., or with me, if it be thought advisable, any information that you may desire in addition to the above, if possible to give it, will be most cheerfully forwarded to you.

Dr. T. J. Reid, one of your officers, at present on duty in the Findlay Hospital, Washington, can give you all needed information as to our village, its whereabouts, Robert Wyllie, Esq., and your correspondent.

Sincerely regretting that conduct so barbarous as the assassination of your departed President and the attempted assassination of your Secretary of State should have been witnessed in your midst to call for a communication of this character,

I am, Sir, your obt.,

G. W. BINGHAM, M. D.

AYE, COUNTY WATERLOO, CANADA WEST, }  
April 25, 1865. }

YORK, PA., May 9, 1864.

Col. L. C. BAKER:—

SIR—I had the honor to suggest to you, at one time, that I thought Booth was secreted in underground apartments in the city, and that he might attempt to escape in the disguise of a female. Subsequent developments demonstrated that I was right in regard to the underground apartment, but wrong as to Booth. It was another one of the conspirators that was secreted there at the time. As to the disguise, I suppose, that was subsequently attempted—not by Booth, of course, but by another.

There is a point, I think, connected with the plot, which, if the Judge-Advocate could draw out of any of the prisoners or witnesses, would make a stronger case, viz., the plan and canvass of the practicability of escaping from the city in a balloon, which I think they had at one time.

I submit to your consideration the following opinions or points: That quite a number of persons, cognizant of and connected with the conspiracy, are still at large; that they have a headquarters still, where they meet, and plan, and advise; that said headquarters are probably in some back office or rooms in the city, unknown to the authorities; and that their chief conspirator, plotter, adviser, and arch-devil, at present, is a sly, cunning, quiet, long-headed shoemaker or cobbler, who works upon his bench, and plots crime unsuspected.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

E. MATTOCKS.

CITY OF NEW YORK, April 28, 1865.

Hon. E. M. STANTON:—

SIR—The body of the assassin Booth should have no place on American soil. What State, county, or town, would consent to give him a burying-

place? None but his sympathizers, and they should not be allowed to have it.

I would suggest that an inquest in full be had, and a full and complete perpetual history be made of all the circumstances, with the verdict of universal condemnation be pronounced upon him, a copy of which to be put in a bottle, and, with Booth, be sunk in the ocean, in the deepest part thereof, to be food for reptiles, and to inform future posterity of his infamy.

Your obedient servant,

LEANDER FOX.

123 HUDSON STREET.

To Hon. Mr. STANTON:—

I am glad to read this morning that the Booths are being searched and arrested, but oh, be vigilant; let not the cellar nor the housetop escape notice, let not the darkey that washes dishes nor old lady who knits in her easy chair fail to be looked in the face, for with them it is nothing but play to perform what has so long been rehearsed. Perhaps he is in bed, with the cap, and nightgown of a female, feigning sickness. Let all things be done.

Arrest Edwin Booth also; it will do no harm, for I think he and his mother are very near to the murderer. O please, for the sake of the honor and safety of people in general, do pass a law punishable with death for either sex to wear the other's apparel. Without this all villains will run rampant through this fair land, and none will be safe. The utmost severity is needed in this trying hour, and if it is not done, others more inferior will trample all law under foot.

When going to the funeral of our loved President, I was asked by my neighbor if I was going to a circus.

May God grant your search may not be in vain, for we are filled with those that rejoice in our midst, and none more so than those who have grown rich in this bloody war.

In haste,

JUSTICE.

NEW YORK, April 27, 1865.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, April 27, 1865.

The Hon. the Secretary of War, Washington:—

SIR—Allow me to suggest that the skeleton of the assassin Booth be preserved and placed in appropriate receptacle, in order the more fully to perpetuate his infamy and be “a terror to evil doers.”

I am, Sir, yours with the utmost respect,

J. B. GRIBBLE.

PHILADELPHIA, April 27, 1865.

To Secretary STANTON:—

RESPECTED SIR—Has the theater been examined critically by an architect or a practical builder. They could best detect any hiding-place formed by double floors, angular ceilings or roofs, partitions, or the straightening of crooked walls; also private communications with adjoining houses.

The hired horse, spurs, and rider may have been to blind. If newspapers

contained the likeness and description of the murderer, the colored man South as well as the whole North might be detectives. May God give you success. With great respect,

I remain yours,

R. T. K.

N. B.—There is scarcely a house in this city but is so built that five or ten men could not be concealed in it. None but a builder perhaps could detect the place. If it was thought proper to examine, I would suggest that a small dog should be with them.

An Englishman in Montreal, who, previous to the murder of Mr. Lincoln, had sympathized strongly with the South, and associated with their agents in Canada, and has been fully posted in their movements, said that the assassination was too much for him, and stated that he knew that during the 20th of April the Southern agents heard from the party that murdered the President, and they expected him to arrive in Montreal within forty-eight hours—not sure that it was Booth, but one closely connected with assassination, if not the principal—that he is sure he will have him in thirty minutes after arrival—that he will probably arrive *via* Troy and Burlington, or W. R. Junction, but most likely by Ohio Central.

This information was given by said Englishman to Alderman Lyman of this city (Montreal), by Lyman to Mr. Cheney, an American, brother of the Expressman, Cheney & Co.; and Cheney came to St. Alban's and gave it to Governor Smith.

Honorable EDWIN M. STANTON:—

HONORED AND DEAR SIR—In the disposal of the remains of the assassin of President Lincoln, I would suggest the following: Let his body be inclosed in a sack of shoddy, and carried out to sea, beyond soundings, thrown overboard, there to remain to death and hell give up their *dead*.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN McLAUGHLIN.

FRANKLIN ROAD, PHILADELPHIA,  
April 29, 1865.

A few days after the assassination, the subjoined mysterious letter was picked up in Ford's Theatre, which as a relic of the times is put on record, with another anonymous epistle of different tone, which fell into my hands:

PHILADELPHIA, Thursday Night.

DEAR SIR—You are hereby notified that your presence in Philadelphia is obnoxious to the "Knights of the Blue Gauntlet," and that at a general convocation held this night, beneath the folds of the "Starry Banner," it was determined to notify you of the fact, and to give you ten days from date to place yourself without the pale of our jurisdiction. Beware, the Lapwing is on your track—the Moccasin lies hungry in your path—the true "Knights of the Blue Gauntlet" are not triflers.

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To L. CARLAND, Actor, &c., 814 Market street.

Oh! What a joke.

Secesh & Co. have treated your honorable body with one of their latest Lincoln jokes. Wilkes Booth & Co. are under a thousand obligations for the pass you have, in your hour of great gratification, granted an intimate friend of his. Your military as well as detective force is not worth powder and lead to kill them. We thank you, honorable Sirs, with sincerity, for your official stupidity, and shall, through a different channel, enable you to patronize the vendors of crape in a wholesome way. Know then, all the rewards you may hereafter offer is of no avail, and further, that we will have the gratification to publish our friends safely at your expense. Oh! what an immense joke. How are you, base, foul Yankee trash. Signed for over ten thousand sworn and tried friends in the District of Columbia. Think of that, base tyrants, and tremble.

A WASHINGTONIAN.

The papers transmitted here were forwarded to me, with the handkerchief referred to in them, and have at least a single point of special interest. They show how near the son of the female assassin, himself deserving the halter, came to sharing this fate with his mother. The statements also underrate the instinctive vigilance of the quickened thought of the people, making otherwise ordinary events significant, and often detective, when a great crime has been committed.

MONTREAL, April 27, 1865.

Colonel L. C. BAKER:—

DEAR SIR—I have seen Governor Smith of Vermont, and from him obtained all the facts in relation to the information he obtained from this city. Inclosed you will please find a copy. While in Burlington I obtained a white linen handkerchief, which was dropped in the Vermont Central Depot, on Thursday evening, April 20, by one of three strange men who slept in depot all Thursday night. These men came from steamer *Canada*, Captain Flagg. She was very late that evening; did not connect with the train north (Montreal), which leaves at seven o'clock, P. M. They came into the depot between seven and a half and eight o'clock, after the night watchmen came on duty. They

had no baggage; not even a bundle. They were all rather poorly dressed, looked rather hard, worn-out, tired. The night watchman, C. H. B., is a sharp, intelligent fellow. He asked them which way they were going; they said, to Montreal. He told them that they could not go that night. They knew that. He wanted to know if they did not want to go to a hotel. They said no, that they were going to stay in the depot. They did not appear to have much of any thing to do with one another, or any thing to say to one another. They took separate seats around the room, curled themselves up, and went to sleep. They remained quiet all night. About four o'clock A. M., B. woke them up to take the train, which they did. After the train left, B. saw what he supposed some dirty cloth on the floor about the place where one of them slept. He picked this material up, thinking that it would do to wipe his lantern with. While handling the stuff, he found that he had got two very dirty pocket-handkerchiefs. They had tobacco juice all over them. While looking his prize over, he found the name of J. H. Surratt, No. 2, on the corner of one of the handkerchiefs. The other was unmarked. He took them home. His mother, with whom he lives, was away, attending to a sick brother, and did not return until Saturday morning. The brother died on Tuesday evening, the night these men remained in the depot. B. got his mother to wash the handkerchiefs, which she did on Saturday morning. During Saturday, P. M., B. went to the city and told this circumstance of his finding the handkerchiefs. Detective G. C. heard of it, and got the handkerchief from B., and I got the handkerchief from C. Inclosed, you will find that—B. said one of the men was tall, and the others short. He fully identifies the likeness of Surratt as being one of the men. I then found the conductor that ran the train from Burlington to Essex Junction. The baggage man ran the train up that Friday morning, the 21st. He was very sick when I called on him. He had some recollection of three men whom he found in the depot, and he, too, fully identifies Surratt's picture as being that of one of the men who went up with him. I next found the conductor who ran the through train to St. Alban's, Vermont. His name is C. T. Hobart, a very gentlemanly and intelligent man, belongs to the Vermont Central Railroad. His trip ends at St. Alban's, Vermont, on Tuesdays and Fridays. He gives this description of two men who got on his train at Essex Junction, Vermont: One very tall man, over six feet, and a short man, not much over five feet. This was on Friday morning, April 21, 5.05 o'clock, A. M., he being twenty-five minutes late that morning. These two men had no money to pay their fare with, so they said. Their story was, they were Canadians, had been to New York city to work. These two and another man roomed together, they worked together, got paid off together. During the night, after being paid off, the third man got up, rifled their pockets, and made off with all their money. They were penniless; could get money when they got home; would do so, and would then pay him. They had a description of the man who had robbed them, which was a copy of one they gave to some New York detective, whom they named. The conductor had a good deal of talk with the tall one; the other would not say any thing. He went to them three or four times, for he thought they had money, but was on the beat. The tall one

offered his coat as security. Conductor told them that they were able-bodied men, and ought not to be traveling without money to pay their way. They did not want to go any further than St. Alban's, as they would be going away from home to continue on toward St. John's, C. E. Here is his story—one very tall man, six feet one inch, or more (being taller than the conductor, who is five feet eleven and a half inches), broad shoulders, otherwise slim, straight as an arrow; did not look like a laborer, although dressed rather poor; had on a loose sack-coat, colored; cassimere shirt, all one color; collar some turned over; an old spotted scarf, long, which hung down and was held by the vest, which was light color, buttoned half way up, old style; light-colored pants, being loose, had the appearance of having no suspenders on; had on a light-colored, tight-fitting skull-cap. His entire outfit was rather dusty, dirty, and seedy. His hair was black as jet and straight; no beard, nor the appearance of any; was young, not more than twenty-one or twenty-two. He left the train at St. Alban's. The other man was a good deal shorter, not much over five feet, thick set, short neck, full face, sandy complexion, thin sandy chin whiskers or goatee, light in quantity; no other beard. He wore a soft black felt hat, very dusty; dark-colored sack-coat, either black-brown or blue; light-colored pants; reddish-colored flannel shirt. Did not see any vest, as he had his coat buttoned up. He done but little talking—had not much to say for himself, let the tall man do that. The great object of both was to get *home to Canada*. He got off the train at St. Alban's. C. S. H. boards at the Mansion Hotel at St. Alban's, and as he was going into the house he saw these two men coming down the street toward the house. He watched them for a few minutes. They turned the corner going toward the depot again, but they did not take the cars again. He fully identifies Surratt's picture as the tall one; the other is not known. He says he should know Surratt at any place or anywhere. They seemed determined to ride on the platform. H. pulled them both in by the collar, saying if they rode with him they must do so inside, which they did, keeping close to the door all the time. H. said after he got to bed he could not go to sleep for nearly two hours, thinking about those fellows. He felt as if they had *beat* him, and that they were very likely a pair of the assassins. He spoke to some friend about the matter, and gave vent to his suspicions. He thought no more of them until I spoke to him on the subject. I never saw such looseness in the police business as they have up here. All these lines are regular highways for men or women of the true Southern style. They have no more fears of passing through along the northern border of Vermont or New York than though the territory was in Dixie. C., the only one of the six men sent to Richmond to get the raiders' commissions who succeeded in getting through to Canada, came boldly into St. Alban's, registered his name in full from Richmond, Va., carelessly remarking that St. Alban's was a tough place for a man to come to from Richmond, Va. None molested him; he got into Canada safe with his papers. The Provost-Marshal at A. says that he never had any instructions as to what were his duties or his powers, only to arrest deserters and forward them to New Haven, Conn. He says he don't know that he has the power to arrest or search anybody, and if he had ever arrested anybody, he should

have arrested them under the very stringent vagrant law passed by Vermont. I asked him if the commission of captain and provost-marshall made only a town constable of him. He said he did not know any thing of the duties or powers of the Provost-Marshall's office. He has always been a rank "copper-head" Democrat, but is a brother-in-law of Governor Smith; so last fall he went the "Reb." ticket and got appointed Provost-Marshall. He has just gone out to Kansas City on *bis.* or *pleasure.* There is a young major Post Commandant, who has four companies of vets. here, with some ten or twelve officers, but two privates are allowed to examine trains alone. The major says that he supposed such duties belonged to the Provost-Marshall. Then again, the Governor assumes some little powers in small details. Power and authority seem to clash—don't work together. As a consequence, nothing is done by any of them until too late. Noted rebels pass there every week or two to New York and back. A Miss M. came up on Saturday last. She goes back and forth at will, no doubt carrying letters and dispatches. There are several men who do the same. The conductors know them; but there is no Provost-Marshall or other officer who seems to have the power or inclination to arrest and search any of these parties. There is hardly a doubt but that Surratt and one or two others are in this province; who the others are I cannot tell—may be persons who are not known to fame as yet. Inclosed I send you a likeness of one of the Paynes, of whom there are seven brothers, all Kentuckians. Three are said to be in South America, one in jail at St. Alban's, and the others here, as you have a Payne, may be one of these brothers. The picture is marked on the back. If of no use, please send it back to the owner, Mr. Samuel Williams, Secretary of Civil and Military Affairs, St. Alban's, Vt. I have placed those pictures in the hands of the Provost-Marshall, American consul, &c. Shall go down to Richmond, C. E., Three Rivers, Quebec, Point Levi, then through Upper Canada. Any orders or instructions by letter or by telegraph can find me, directed to the care of S. S. Potter, Esq., American Consul-General, Montreal, C. E. Shall drop any information I can get. I am going out into what are called the townships, that portion of Canada East bordering on Maine, New York, and Vermont north. Many rebels are in there. Young Saunders is out there now, together with others. Potterfield, a dangerous rebel, is making preparations to go to Nashville, Tenn.; ought not to be allowed. Towbridge, another, who ran a vessel-load of slaves into Mobile (the Wanderer), was convicted and sentenced to Clinton State Prison, but escaped from the officers, has gone to Detroit under some protection got by E., who says he is a cousin (cozzen, I guess).

I am respectfully, &c.,

G. A. G.

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES BARRACKS, }  
ST. ALBAN'S, VERMONT, April 30, 1865. }

MAJOR—One week ago last Thursday night three men slept in the R. & B. Depot, Burlington, Vermont. They came in late at night by boat, and inquired for the first train for Montreal, and took it, coming as far as St. Alban's, Vermont, when they took stage to Franklin, Vermont, and thence off out into Canada. A detective from Colonel Baker's force was through

this place last Tuesday, and he exhibited a handkerchief with Surratt's name upon it, which was found in the depot during the day, Friday, following the Thursday night these men slept in the building. These men, or two in particular, were noticed by the conductor on their way to St. Alban's, and when the photographs of Surratt were shown him he said at once that they fully answered to one of the men who were on his train the Friday morning spoken of. He also said the photograph of Harrold answered well for another of the men. The detective was very sure, from his tracings, that Harrold and Surratt had passed through here on the day in question. Later developments have proved him mistaken as to Harrold. I had men who passed over every train, and the men saw these men, took notice of them, &c., but they did not answer to the description which they had of men they were ordered to arrest, consequently did not arrest them. I have traced these men, two of them, into Canada; they live in Broom, have been South, are deserters from our army, and, upon the whole, desperate fellows. This circumstance, then, is all that is worth noticing. These men are from the South, and I suppose there is little doubt that one of them dropped the handkerchief in question. Now, in view of the place they have come from, and the handkerchief, what is the circumstance worth? The two men I have followed into Canada are both known in the town where they were found, and neither of them Surratt or Harrold. But still what did they have Surratt's handkerchief for, &c.? I was told this man could be found any time in Swatetbury or Broom. What action shall be taken? Can money expended in searching for these men be recovered?

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. GROUT, Jr.,

Major First Regiment F. C. Commanding Post.

To Major AUSTIN, Military Commander, Brattleboro, Vt.

DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, NEW YORK, May 8, 1865.

Major-General J. A. DIX, Commanding:—

Refers communication from Major J. Grout, Jr., dated at St. Alban's, Canada West, relative to two suspicious characters who appear to be implicated in the Harrold and Surratt conspiracy.

Colonel BURNETT.

HEADQUARTERS, DEPARTMENT OF THE EAST, }  
NEW YORK CITY, May 8, 1865. }

Respectfully referred to the Adjutant-General, United States Army.

JOHN A. DIX,  
Major-General Commanding.

Respectfully forwarded to headquarters Department of the East, New York.

FR. AUSTIN,  
Major U. S. A., Military Commander.

BRATTLEBORO, VERMONT, May 1, 1865.

WAR DEPARTMENT, May 9, 1865.

Respectfully referred to Colonel L. C. Baker, Agent War Department.

H. S. BURNETT,  
Brevet Colonel, Judge-Advocate.

The following letters, written a year earlier, of a more domestic nature, will make a fitting and rather amusing accompaniment to the story of the handkerchief:—

SURREATTSVILLE, MARYLAND, December 16, 1863.

MISS BELL SEAMAN:—

DEAR COUSIN—"To live, is to learn," which has been fully verified by the contents of your *rather surprising* letter. I must confess, my dear Cousin, that your letter was short, sweet, and to the point. *Unkindness* is something, Cousin Bell, I have never yet been willfully guilty of, yet no doubt you construed my letter to that effect. "Judge ye not, and ye shall not be judged," is a wise maxim, and one to which I always well look. "Look before you leap."

"Satisfied in my conclusions," is the sentence in which you find so much fault. Well, *ma chère* Cousin, to explain those four words, it is necessary to retrace our steps to a certain letter you wrote me, which contained something about "having more principle than to hold an office under a Government you pretend to despise." In fact, you concluded that I was a hot-headed *rebel*, one belonging to the horned tribe, for they tell me they have horns, and that I ought not to hold an office under this *E poor busted up Union*, consequently my being superseded, "satisfied you in your conclusion." Is it not so, my dear Cousin? Do tell me, won't you? I sincerely hope now, Cousin, that you are really satisfied in your conclusions about my meaning.

Anna started for Steubenville, Ohio, last Monday week, and has arrived safely, but I believe lost her trunk. I arrived from Washington a few hours ago, and found your letter awaiting me. I have *proved* my *loyalty*, so that it cannot be doubted, and will regain my office as P. M. Joy is mine! Cousin Bell, I expect you think I am a hard case. Without doubt I am the crossest, most ill-contrived being that ever was. Just ask Anna, when you see her, for a description of your Cousin.

Pardon my *conclusion*, but I am getting really sleepy. It is now ten o'clock, an hour after my bed-time, for I go by the old saying, "Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise." Ma sends her love to you and family. Write soon, as nothing gives me greater pleasure than to receive a letter from you.

Your Cousin,

J. HARRISON SURREATT.

SURREATT'S VILLA, MARYLAND, August 1, 1864.

MY DEAR COUSIN BELL—You ask me if we have warm weather in Maryland, My Maryland. If you have it to such a degree as you represent it, up North, what must it be in our hot-headed South? Yes, Coz, if we had you

down here we would soon convert you into "sugar," and then use you to sweeten our dispositions. You know 'tis the extremely hot weather that makes us "Rebs" so savage, cruel, and disagreeable. Yes, Cousin Bell, it is so warm that we can neither eat, sleep, sit down, stand up, walk about, and in fact, to sum the whole in a nutshell, it is too warm to do any thing.

So you think I have a great deal of assurance. I am sorry to say you are the first one that ever told me so. On the contrary, I am a very bashful, and perfectly unsophisticated youth. As every thing pleases you, I am overjoyed to know that you are pleased with me, as very few young ladies take a fancy to me. I am really delighted. You have told me more than ever woman dared to tell. Coz. Bell, you ask me why I do not get married? Simply because I can find no one who will have me. Often have they vowed, yes. But—

"This record will forever stand—  
Woman, thy vows are traced in sand."—BYRON.

If you know of any lovely angel, in human form, desirous of a "matrimonial correspondence," just tell her to indite a few lines to your humble Cousin, and I can assure her she will not be sorry for it.

*August 10th.*—Well, Coz., I have just been on a visit of a week's duration. It always takes me about two weeks to write a letter. Ma and Anna are sitting in the hall enjoying the evening breeze, whilst I am sitting over my desk, almost cracking my brain in order to find something to fill up these pages, for, Cousin Bell, you must have perceived, long before this, that I am a poor letter writer. I had almost forgotten to tell you that I called on your friend, Mr. Wm. Underwood, at the Carver Hospital. He has nearly recovered from his wound, though it has not yet quite healed. He intended going home in a week or two, and perhaps he may be there now, as it has been over a week since I saw him.

Have you heard from your Uncle James lately? There has been some very hard fighting out West recently, and you know, Cousin Bell, that the foe has very little regard where he directs his bullets. May God preserve him, and grant that he may see the end of this unholy war without harm. At what time does your vacation arrive? Doubtless you look forward to that time with a great deal of impatience.

I am very sorry to think that it is your intention to become an old maid. The horrible creatures! curses upon society! a perfect plague! always meddling with affairs that do not concern them! This is my opinion of old maids. I express it to you, because you have not yet arrived at that state of misery and despair. They are looked upon down our way as unnatural beings—something forsaken by God, man, and devil. So beware! Coz., I met a gentleman from Washington County, Pennsylvania, by the name of Stevenson, who is very well acquainted with the name of Surratt—so he says. Do you know any thing of him? He is a very nice man, and a perfect gentleman. Have you heard any thing of the Rebel Captain, I have not heard from him for some time?

Really, I must bring my tiresome letter to a close. Every thing looks like starvation. Very encouraging, is it not? I hope you will answer soon, as

nothing gives me greater pleasure than to receive a letter from you. Cousin Bell, I am not prone to flatter, so you must believe what I say. Ma and Anna send their love to you. I wish you knew Ma, I know you would like her. Neither of us is like her. My brother resembles her very much. He is the best looking of the family. That is saying a good deal for myself. Excuse this miserable scrawl, as I have to dip my pen in the stand at every word. Anna has just commenced playing the "Hindoo Mother." I would advise you to get it. It is really beautiful. Good-by. I hope to see you before many months.

Your Cousin,

J. HARRISON Surratt.

"To whom shall we Grant the Meade of praise?" Ha! ha!

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., February 6, 1865. }

Miss BELL SEAMAN:—

DEAR COUSIN—I received your letter, and not being quite so selfish as you are, I will answer it, in what I call a reasonable time. I am happy to say we are all well, and in fine spirits.

We have been looking for you to come on with a great deal of impatience. Do come, won't you? Just to think, I have never yet seen one of my cousins. But never fear, I will probably see you all sooner than you expect. Next week I leave for Europe. Yes, I am going to leave this detested country, and I think, perhaps, I may give you all a call as I go to New York. Do not be surprised, Cousin Bell, when you see your hopeful Cousin. Truly you may be surprised.

I have an invitation to a party, to come off next Tuesday night. Anna and myself intend going, and expect to enjoy ourselves very much. I have been to a great many this winter, so that they are beginning to get common; but as this is something extra, I looked forward with a great deal of impatience. I wish you were, in order that I might have the pleasure of introducing you to regular country hoe-down. I know you would enjoy it.

There is no news of importance, save the burning of the Smithsonian Institute, which, of course, you have heard of. His Excellency Jefferson Davis and Old Abe Lincoln couldn't agree, as sensible persons knew beforehand; and now I hope people are satisfied, and hope they will make up their minds to fight it out to the bitter end.

"Show no quarter." That's "my motto."

Cousin Bell, try and answer me in a few days at least, as I would like very much to hear from you before I leave home for good. I do not know what to think of our mutual Miss Kate Brady. Byron justly remarks—

"This record will forever stand—  
Woman, thy vows are traced in sand."

I have just taken a peep in the parlor. Would you like to know what I saw there? Well, Ma was sitting on the sofa, nodding first to one chair, then to another, next the piano. Anna sitting in corner, dreaming, I expect, of J. W. Booth. Well, who is J. W. Booth? She can answer the question. Miss

Fitzpatrick playing with her favorite cat—a good sign of an old maid—the detested old creatures. Miss Dean fixing her hair, which is filled with rats and mice.

But hark! the door-bell rings, and Mr. J. W. Booth is announced. And listen to the scamperings of the —. Such brushing and fixing.

Cousin Bell, I am afraid to read this nonsense over, so, consequently, you must excuse all misdemeanors. We all send love to you and family. Tell Cousin Sam. I think he might write me at least a few lines.

Your Cousin,

J. HARRISON SURRETT,  
541 H Street, between 6 and 7 Streets.

During my visits to the prisoners, before their execution, Mrs. Surratt confessed to me her complicity with the conspirators so far as the intended abduction was concerned, but affirmed that she reluctantly yielded to the urging of Booth in aiding the plot of assassination. He insisted that her oath of fidelity bound her to see the fatal end of the conspiracy.

As before stated, the honor and prestige of their capture have been credited to me by an official dispatch to the Associated Press by the Secretary of War, announcing that the assassins had been captured by Colonel Baker's force. This announcement induced all those previously engaged in the search to immediately abandon the whole case. Evidence to convict the assassins had yet to be obtained. On my bureau devolved the task of procuring, compiling, and arranging this testimony. I subpoenaed for the prosecution and defense more than two hundred witnesses. The trial proceeded, and all its details have already been made known to the public. It will be recollected that the Secretary of War had offered large rewards for the capture of the assassins. Immediately after the execution of the criminals, all those engaged in the search began to forward their written statements and affidavits, as a basis on which to demand from the Government a portion of the reward. It was remarked by a member of Congress, one of the Committee on Claims, who subsequently examined all the testimony, that he had practiced law for more than thirty years, and had never seen so much willful misrepresentation and perjury as had been exhibited in these statements and affidavits. Individuals who had simply been engaged in the search, and who had not even

procured a particle of testimony in the case, claimed the largest proportion of the reward. A commission was finally appointed by the Secretary of War, composed of General Holt, Judge-Advocate-General, and General Townsend, the Adjutant-General, to whom were referred all the applications, statements, affidavits, and papers forwarded by those making the claims. After some two or three months spent in examining these papers, the Secretary of War issued an order directing that all persons, making claims for any portion of the rewards offered for the capture of the assassins, should file them on or before the first day of January, as no applications would be received after that date. Another delay of two or three months occurred, when the Commission finally made their report. In this report, the Commission gave the entire credit of the capture of the assassins to me, although they gave me but a small portion of the reward.

Much dissatisfaction was expressed among the applicants at this decision, and the whole matter was finally referred to Congress, who referred it to the Committee on Claims. That committee, whose time was taken up with other important matters, referred the whole matter to the Hon. Geo. W. Hotchkiss, of Binghamton, New York. After another long delay, the Committee on Claims reported as follows:—

The committee further report, that the expedition which resulted in the capture of Booth and Harrold was planned and directed by Colonel (now General) Lafayette C. Baker, then a detective officer of the War Department; the force consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Everton J. Conger, Lieutenant Luther B. Baker, then in the detective service, Lieutenant Edward P. Doherty, and twenty-six privates of the Sixteenth New York Cavalry.

And the committee further report, that Major James R. O'Beirne, then provost-marshal of the District of Columbia, General H. H. Wells, then under General Augur's command, George Cottingham and Alexander Lovett, detectives, and Samuel H. Beckwith, a telegraph operator, rendered important service leading to the arrest of Booth and Harrold, and the committee regard them as coming within the terms of the offer of rewards.

The committee do not regard the capture of Booth and Harrold as purely military service, and do not feel bound to award compensation to mere rank, without regard to the extent and merit of the service performed, but look to the rank and position of the officers engaged in such service as evidence of the opportunity afforded them and the duty imposed upon them to exercise greater care, skill, and diligence, than persons in a subordinate position.

And the committee further report, after a careful consideration of the evi-

dence presented to them of the services of the respective parties engaged in the capture of Booth and Harrold, in their opinion, the sum of seventy-five thousand dollars reward for the capture of said Booth and Harrold should be distributed as follows:—

To Lafayette C. Baker, chief detective.....	\$17,500
To Everton J. Conger.....	17,500
To Luther B. Baker.....	5,000
To James R. O'Beirne.....	2,000
To H. H. Wells .....	1,500
To George Cottingham .....	1,500
To Alexander Lovett .....	1,000
To Samuel H. Beckwith .....	500
To Lieutenant Edward P. Doherty, Sixteenth New York Cavalry ..	2,500
To Sergeant Boston Corbett, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Ser-	
geant Andrew Wendell, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Corporal	
Charles Zimmer, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Corporal Michael	
Uniac, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Corporal John Winter, Six-	
teenth New York Cavalry; Corporal Herman Newgarten, Six-	
teenth New York Cavalry; Corporal John Walz, Sixteenth New	
York Cavalry; Corporal Oliver Lonpay, Sixteenth New York	
Cavalry; Corporal Michael Hornsby, Sixteenth New York Cav-	
alry; Private John Myers, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private	
John Ryan, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private William Byrne,	
Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private Philip Hoyt, Sixteenth New	
York Cavalry; Private Martin Kelley, Sixteenth New York Cav-	
alry; Private Henry Putnam, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Pri-	
vate Frank McDaniel, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private Lewis	
Savage, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private Abraham Genay,	
Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private Emery Parady, Sixteenth	
New York Cavalry; Private David Baker, Sixteenth New York	
Cavalry; Private William McQuade, Sixteenth New York Cavalry;	
Private John Millington, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private	
Frederick Deitz, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private John A.	
Singer, Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private Carl Steinbrugge,	
Sixteenth New York Cavalry; Private Joseph Zisgen, Sixteenth	
New York Cavalry, one thousand dollars each .....	26,000
Total .....	\$75,000

The report of this committee was still very unsatisfactory to a majority of those claiming rewards, and an effort was immediately made, by interested parties, to have the decision reversed. A systematic effort was made by lobbyists at the capitol to have this report set aside. The most willful and malicious misrepresentations were made concerning myself. I had taken but little interest in this matter, never having

filed a claim for reward. I simply, as was my just right, demanded that myself and those acting under my orders should have the entire credit for the capture of Booth and Harrold. On the day that this report was submitted to Congress, the lobbyists, interested parties, and certain disloyal members of Congress, immediately started a story that I had turned Copperhead, and was in the employ of Andy Johnson. I had no opportunity to controvert these statements ; the question went to the House ; the report of the Committee on Claims was disapproved and altered, giving me a much smaller sum than that awarded me by the committee. The Hon. Mr. Hotchkiss, however, who had thoroughly investigated the matter, and become convinced of the influences that had been working against me, and of the misrepresentations that had been made concerning my affiliation with the Copperhead party, defended the report in a speech of nearly an hour, in which he manfully sustained my claim to the reward, and defended, with great ability, the personal attacks made upon me.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

### FINAL REPORT OF RESULTS—THE CASE OF WIRZ.

The Auxiliary Aid of this Bureau in Government Investigations—Its Economy—Statement of Goods Seized—The Attempted Suicide of Andersonville Wirz.

THE report I shall now present will convey, in condensed and authentic form, some idea of the *economical* service of the bureau, while it indicates the first auxiliary aid rendered in the various investigations conducted by the Government. I am sure the reader will be surprised, and greatly enlightened, by the contrast between the passionate denunciation of the National Police by its enemies, with a singular silence respecting its substantial achievements on the part of its friends, and the simple results which appear in the column of figures in the pages of the report. I repeat, that such an institution is not in harmony with the spirit of our Republic in peaceful times; nor is martial law, with many other extraordinary means employed to secure success in the appeal to arms. But to allow a service, because in its nature unpopular, to blind the popular view of its real value and honorable record, is both unjust and unpatriotic. The report might have been extended to many times the number of sheets it now covers.

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL, WAR DEPARTMENT, U.S.  
WASHINGTON, December 1, 1865.

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

SIR—Herewith I have the honor to forward a recapitulation and condensed report of the operations of this office since its creation, in August, 1861, to December 1, 1865. I desire particularly to call your attention to the subjoined report of Government, abandoned, and contraband property. A very minute and careful record of every article seized; when, where, and under what circumstances said property was found; to what department or bureau turned over; as well as the receipts and vouchers for the same, from the various officers receiving said property; and its valuation as fixed by the Quartermaster-General; all of which will be found in my monthly state-

ments, now on file in the War Department. From the voluminous character of these monthly reports, I have been compelled to simply give results in a very condensed form. In compliance with an order from the War Department, under date of May 20, 1864, to turn over this property to the Treasury Department, I directed another inventory to be made, under the supervision of two trusty employees of the Quartermaster's Department, assisted by two employees of the Treasury Department, designated and detailed by Mr. H. A. Risley, special supervising agent of the Treasury Department. This inventory embraced all property except ordnance and medical stores, and was received for by Mr. Risley; which receipt is now on file in the Quartermaster-General's office. Also a statement showing the amount of moneys recovered from defaulting quartermasters, paymasters, contractors, and Government employees; also the disposition made of said funds, to which is added a statement of monthly and yearly disbursements of all moneys paid out by me, and on what account, &c. The nature and amount of services rendered by this bureau, in detecting frauds in connection with the recruiting service, is, I think, too well known to your Department to require any detailed account from me. My report to the Provost-Marshal-General sets forth fully the vast amount of labor and beneficial results arising from these investigations. The Secretaries of the Navy and Treasury have repeatedly solicited my services in conducting investigations. The result of such investigations has been communicated to the respective Secretaries of these Departments. It is impossible, in a brief report of this character, to even refer to the thousands of cases investigated and reported upon at this office during the past four years. These records are on file with the War Department, and necessarily form a part of the great history of the Rebellion.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,  
Brig.-Gen. and Pro.-Mar. War Department. |

### SEVEN MONTHS IN 1862.

#### GOODS CAPTURED FROM JULY, 1862, TO DECEMBER, INCLUSIVE.

*Quartermaster and Commissary Goods*, consisting of groceries, dry goods, clothing, &c., too numerous to mention.

	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
465 boxes .....	\$26,682 00	
8,621 articles .....	21,884 75	
23 cases.....	2,490 00	
127½ barrels .....	1,820 75	
62 bales and bundles.....	2,127 00	
2 lots of boxes .....	1,856 00	
1 lot of "tenting and rags" .....	200 00	
70 sacks and bags .....	470 25	
3 chests.....	122 00	
16 trunks.....	80 00	
3 baskets and packages.....	20 00	
		<hr/> \$57,752 75

## STATEMENT OF SEIZURES.

569

<i>Liquors—</i>	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Total</i>
182 cases.....	\$3,429 00	
440 boxes.....	2,766 00	
1,714 bottles.....	893 00	
33½ barrels.....	847 00	
63½ kegs.....	496 00	
32 demijohns.....	161 50	
6 casks.....	131 00	
7 baskets.....	98 00	
57 jugs.....	59 00	
32 canteens and cans.....	48 00	
1 trunk.....	20 00	
		<u>\$8,948 50</u>
<i>Ordnance—</i>		
2,601 muskets, rifles, guns, &c.....	\$31,004 00	
637 articles.....	958 50	
11 cases.....	5,500 00	
166 boxes.....	4,144 00	
9 kegs.....	332 00	
		<u>41,938 50</u>
<i>Vessels—</i>		
1 each, schooner and vessel .....		1,200 00
<i>Lead—</i>		
35,522 pounds.....	\$2,841 20	
1 keg .....	40 00	
		<u>2,881 20</u>
<i>Brass—</i>		
3 barrels .....		140 00
<i>Horses and Mules—</i>		
251.....		24,720 00
<i>Quinine and Morphine—</i>		
150 ounces .....		650 00
		<u>\$138,230 95</u>

YEAR 1863.

Goods, &amp;c., CAPTURED FROM JANUARY 1, 1863, TO END OF THE YEAR.

*Quartermaster and Commissary Goods*, consisting of groceries, dry goods, clothing, &c., too numerous to mention.

	<i>Value.</i>
525 boxes .....	\$27,501 00
8,068 articles .....	18,104 00
2 cases.....	20 00
177½ barrels and half barrels.....	7,859 00
8 kegs .....	315 00
62 hogsheads.....	8,900 00
1,197½ bushels .....	958 50
12 bags .....	163 75
21 chests .....	280 00
28 trunks .....	6,033 25
10 valises and satchels .....	343 00

	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1 cask .....	\$50 00	
241 sacks.....	1,692 00	
7 bundles and packages.....	793 00	
600 pounds of rope.....	120 00	
24 cords of woods .....	192 00	
		<b>\$73,324 50</b>

*Liquors—*

77 boxes .....	\$1,272 00
6 cases.....	80 00
82 barrels .....	2,463 00
51 kegs .....	393 00
18 cans .....	19 00
76 demijohns .....	168 00
574 bottles .....	263 00
8 canteens.....	2 00
31 gallons .....	31 00
1 trunk.....	50 00
3 valises and satchels.....	20 00
2 baskets .....	8 00
	<b>4,769 00</b>

*Ordnance—*

2,137 muskets, rifles, guns, &c.....	\$21,392 00
3,414 articles.....	1,198 00
92 boxes .....	1,480 00
1 keg .....	9 00
	<b>24,079 00</b>

*Horses and Mules—*

864.....	82,730 00
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*Steers and Cows—*

47.....	1,889 00
---------	----------

*Quinine and Morphine—*

450 ounces .....	2,300 00
------------------	----------

*Opium and Borax—*

125 pounds .....	340 00
------------------	--------

*Lead—*

14,270 pounds.....	1,140 00
--------------------	----------

*Money—*

Southern bank notes .....	\$25,582 00
Confederate notes.....	5,387 00
U. S. Treasury .....	1,172 00
Northern.....	209 00
Gold and silver.....	5,097 00
Cash.....	130 75
	<b>37,577 75</b>
	<b>\$228,149 25</b>

## STATEMENT OF SEIZURES.

571

## YEAR 1864.

GOODS, &amp;c., CAPTURED FROM JANUARY 1, 1864, TO END OF THE YEAR.

*Quartermaster and Commissary Goods*, consisting of dry goods, groceries, clothing, &c., too numerous to mention.

	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
759 articles .....	\$1,832 00	
2 boxes .....	60 00	
4 bundles.....	40 00	
2 trunks.....	100 00	
4 valises and satchels .....	35 00	
		<u>\$2,067 00</u>

*Ordnance*—

110 muskets, rifles, guns, &c.....	\$1,150 00	
87 articles .....	55 00	
		<u>1,205 00</u>

*Horses and Mules*—

83 .....		8,300 00
		<u>\$11,572 00</u>

## 11 MONTHS, 1865.

GOODS, &amp;c., CAPTURED FROM JANUARY 1 TO NOVEMBER 30, 1865, INCLUSIVE.

*Quartermaster and Commissary Goods*, consisting of dry goods, groceries, clothing, &c., too numerous to mention.

	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
116 articles.....	\$415 20	
13 boxes.....	554 00	
1 trunk .....	1,250 00	
		<u>\$2,219 20</u>

*Ordnance*—

15 muskets, rifles, guns, &c.....	\$215 00	
100 articles .....	5 00	
		<u>220 00</u>

*Horses and Mules*—

422.....		42,200 00
		<u>\$44,639 20</u>

## RECAPITULATION.

	<i>Value.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1862. July, to end of year .....	\$138,230 95	
1863. Year.....	228,149 25	
1864. Year.....	11,572 00	
1865. January, to December 1st .....	44,639 20	
		<u>\$422,591 44</u>

OFFICE PROVOST-MARSHAL WAR DEPARTMENT,  
December 1, 1865.

The following is a statement showing the total yearly and monthly expenditures incurred at this office from August 9, 1862, to December 1, 1865, including all moneys disbursed for services of operatives, transportation, and subsistence of prisoners while in custody, postage, telegraphing, &c., compiled from the daily records now on file in this office.

## 1862.

Amount pay-roll from Aug. 9th to Sept. 9th.....	\$1,316 12
" incidental expenses from Aug. 9th to Sept. 9th..	413 22
	<hr/>
" pay-roll from Sept. 9th to Oct. 9th .....	\$2,122 63
" incidental expenses from Sept. 9th to Oct. 9th ..	448 31
	<hr/>
" pay-roll from Oct. 9th to Nov. 1st.....	\$1,996 37
" incidental expenses from Oct. 9th to Nov. 1st...	859 26
	<hr/>
" pay-roll for month of November ....	\$3,384 45
" incidental expenses " " ....	2,327 18
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " December ....	\$2,487 03
" incidental expenses " " ....	1,252 09
	<hr/>
	3,739 12
	<hr/>
	\$16,606 66

## 1863.

Amount pay-roll for month of January.....	\$2,778 91
" incidental expenses " " .....	1,166 25
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " February.....	\$3,389 34
" incidental expenses " " .....	1,477 77
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " March.....	\$3,498 60
" incidental expenses " " .....	2,070 82
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " April.....	\$3,367 16
" incidental expenses " " .....	2,361 00
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " May .....	\$3,527 39
" incidental expenses " " .....	2,276 72
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " June .....	\$3,470 27
" incidental expenses " " .....	1,992 27
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " July .....	\$3,606 25
" incidental expenses " " .....	1,906 98
	<hr/>
" pay-roll " August.....	\$2,850 29
" incidental expenses " " .....	3,267 74
	<hr/>
	6,118 08

## EXPENDITURES IN PROVOST-MARSHAL'S OFFICE. 573

Amount	pay-roll	for month of	September . . . . .	\$3,300 24
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,909 63
				<u>      </u>
				\$5,209 87
"	pay-roll	"	October . . . . .	\$3,019 96
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,410 53
				<u>      </u>
				4,430 49
"	pay-roll	"	November . . . . .	\$681 93
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	709 10
				<u>      </u>
				1,391 03
"	pay-roll	"	December . . . . .	\$939 10
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,068 15
				<u>      </u>
				2,007 25
				<u>      </u>
				\$56,046 40

1864.

Amount	pay-roll	for month of	January . . . . .	\$1,304 00
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	854 45
				<u>      </u>
				\$2,158 45
"	pay-roll	"	February . . . . .	\$1,626 74
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,372 28
				<u>      </u>
				2,999 02
"	pay-roll	"	March . . . . .	\$1,525 06
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,216 92
				<u>      </u>
				2,741 98
"	pay-roll	"	April . . . . .	\$1,526 00
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,037 90
				<u>      </u>
				2,563 90
"	pay-roll	"	May . . . . .	\$1,328 99
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,244 20
				<u>      </u>
				2,573 19
"	pay-roll	"	June . . . . .	\$1,223 83
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,542 82
				<u>      </u>
				2,766 65
"	pay-roll	"	July . . . . .	\$963 06
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,819 94
				<u>      </u>
				2,783 00
"	pay-roll	"	August . . . . .	\$1,210 00
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	850 99
				<u>      </u>
				2,060 99
"	pay-roll	"	September . . . . .	\$1,257 50
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,746 69
				<u>      </u>
				3,004 19
"	pay-roll	"	October . . . . .	\$1,402 50
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	976 26
				<u>      </u>
				2,378 76
"	pay-roll	"	November . . . . .	\$1,257 50
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	1,917 80
				<u>      </u>
				3,175 30
"	pay-roll	"	December . . . . .	\$1,452 50
"	incidental expenses	"	" . . . . .	2,400 30
				<u>      </u>
				3,852 80
				<u>      </u>
				\$33,058 23

1865.

Amount pay-roll		for month of January .....	\$1,674 15
" incidental expenses	" "	.....	1,189 86
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" February.....	\$591 60	\$2,864 01
" incidental expenses	" " .....	709 14	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" March.....	\$580 00	1,300 74
" incidental expenses	" " .....	288 75	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" April.....	\$1,059 22	868 75
" incidental expenses	" " .....	2,216 58	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" May.....	\$2,718 23	3,275 80
" incidental expenses	" " .....	4,264 42	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" June .....	\$3,335 00	6,982 65
" incidental expenses	" " .....	3,231 83	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" July .....	\$3,480 00	6,566 83
" incidental expenses	" " .....	5,573 56	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" August.....	\$3,153 26	9,053 56
" incidental expenses	" " .....	6,444 36	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" September ....	\$2,947 50	9,597 62
" incidental expenses	" " ....	4,690 11	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" October.....	\$3,237 50	7,637 61
" incidental expenses	" " .....	6,120 20	
			<hr/>
" pay-roll	" November ....	\$2,256 32	9,357 70
" incidental expenses	" " ....	5,447 70	
			<hr/>
			7,704 02
			<hr/>
			\$65,209 29

## RECAPITULATION.

From August 9, 1862, to end of year .....	\$16,606 66
" January 1, 1863, to end of year .....	56,046 40
" January 1, 1864, to end of year.....	33,058 23
" January 1, 1865, to end of November .....	65,209 29
	<hr/>
	\$170,920 58

The following statement shows the amount of money received from defaulting quartermasters, paymasters, contractors, Government clerks, and employees; to whom turned over, &c.

A. M. W., forage contractor, overcharge on grain .....	\$32,500 00
T. F. E., amount obtained on false vouchers, on ice contract.....	1,885 50

T. A. W., amount received by him on account of forage, never delivered.....	\$2,750 00
Wm. W., amount received by him, for making false entries on ledger, thereby increasing the weight of forage delivered by certain contractors.....	2,511 0*
Chas. C., amount illegally received by him on horse contract .....	* 1,500 0*
F. W., amount received for entering false amount of grain, delivered by certain contractors.....	1,000 0*
J. W. H., A. Q. M., U. S. A. Fled to Canada with \$16,000, Quartermaster's funds, was pursued, arrested, and made to refund .....	10,684 00
C. B. F., A. Q. M., at Alexandria, Virginia..... (The whole of the above amounts were turned over to Judge-Advocate Turner.)	18,000 00
H. K. S., Paymaster, U. S. A., at New Orleans, refunded..... (Paid into U. S. Treasury.)	10,000 00
O. L., Paymaster, U. S. A., at Elmira, N. Y., refunded on my order .. (Paid over, by direction of the Paymaster-General, to Major Thurston, Paymaster, U. S. A.)	161,289 50
McL and H., on information given, and investigations instituted at this office, showing a large defalcation, and paid over to the Paymaster-General.....	581,450 55
Received from bounty brokers, made by them on fraudulent enlistments, and paid over to the Provost-Marshal-General.....	62,829 50
Received from bounty brokers, and paid over to the wives and friends of enlisted men .....	15,190 00
L. C., defaulting paymaster, received, and turned over to Paymaster-General.....	12,500 00
Amount paid into the U. S. Treasury, as fines imposed by military courts-martial, and commissions in cases investigated at this office.....	117,250 90
	\$1,031,340 95

The following statement will show the number of arrests made since September 1, 1862, to December 1, 1865; also the nature of the charges, where committed, &c.

FROM 1st SEPTEMBER, 1862, TO 31st DECEMBER, INCLUSIVE.

Charges.	Old Capitol Prison.	Central Guard House.	Total
Stealing Government property.....	14	7	21
Robbing soldiers.....	1	..	1
Aiding and abetting the rebellion .....	5	..	5
Falsely representing himself an United States officer .....	1	1	2
Selling Government horses.....	2	1	3
Defrauding Government out of money by false vouchers..	8	1	9
Selling Government property.....	1	4	5
Forging claims on Government .....	2	2	4
Violating parole .....	..	1	1
Procuring and using forged passes.....	1	1	2

<i>Charges.</i>	<i>Old Capitol Prison.</i>	<i>Central Guard House.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Conveying rebel mail.....	1	..	1
Desertion.....	..	78	78
Selling citizens' clothes to soldiers.....	..	5	5
Disloyalty.....	8	7	15
Purchasing Government property, knowing the same to be such .....	..	1	1
Passing the pickets of the Virginia army without passes .....	..	1	1
Willfully running vessel against Long Bridge .....	1	..	1
Soldiers drunk and disorderly .....	9	7	16
Forging discharge-papers .....	8	1	9
Smuggling liquors in violation of orders.....	2	..	2
Altering passes and forging signature of United States officer.....	1	3	4
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>186</b>

## YEAR 1863.

Aiding soldiers to desert.....	..	9	9
Stealing Government property and money.....	5	69	74
Defrauding Government for forged vouchers.....	12	35	47
Forging passes .....	..	5	5
Desertion.....	..	310	310
Disloyalty.....	22	105	127
Soldiers drunk and disorderly .....	1	47	48
Rebel spy.....	14	11	25
Smuggling liquor in violation of military orders.....	5	45	50
Forging transportation and passes.....	..	14	14
Carrying rebel mail .....	2	11	13
Contempt military orders .....	..	1	1
Highway robbery committed by soldiers.....	..	3	3
Falsely representing a Government officer.....	..	6	6
Defrauding Government by delivering short weight.....	8	19	27
Forging of soldiers' papers .....	..	7	7
Bribery of Government officers .....	2	2	4
Unlawfully branding Government horses U. S. ....	..	3	3
Other causes.....	1	2	3
Scalping dead Union soldiers .....	..	2	2
Robbery by soldiers.....	3	3	6
Running blockade with contraband goods .....	4	7	11
Robbery of paymasters' safes.....	..	2	2
Selling liquor to soldiers .....	..	16	16
Kidnapping colored men .....	..	10	10
Soldiers rioting.....	..	3	3
Murder of United States officer .....	..	1	1
Threats to kill the President of the United States .....	1	10	11
Attempt to kill Government officer.....	..	1	1
Arson.....	3	1	4
Forging and selling passes .....	2	4	6

## ARRESTS.

577

Charges.	Old Capitol Prison.	Central Guard House.	Total.
Blistering brand on United States horse.....	..	4	4
Government teamsters for drunkenness.....	..	2	2
Falsely branding Government horse.....	..	2	2
Threats against life .....	1	3	4
Smuggling goods into the army.....	..	1	1
Total.....	86	776	862

## YEAR 1864.

Stealing Government horses and property .....	..	6	6
Defrauding Government by forged passes .....	16	1	17
Defrauding Government by forged vouchers.....	4	1	5
Defrauding Government by false weight .....	1	..	1
Riot by soldiers .....	..	1	1
Disloyalty .....	18	..	18
Robbery.....	1	..	1
Robbery of United States quartermaster .....	1	..	1
Desertion.....	..	2	2
Smuggling whisky to the army .....	2	..	2
Kidnapping colored men.....	2	..	2
Counterfeiting United States Treasury notes.....	24	..	24
Total.....	69	11	80

## 1ST JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1865.

Defrauding Government by forged vouchers .....	33	..	33
Defrauding Government by false measurement.....	33	..	33
Defrauding Government by short weight.....	10	..	10
Stealing horses and Government property.....	6	..	6
Soldiers drunk and disorderly .....	2	..	2
Attempted assassination .....	9	..	9
Disloyalty .....	4	..	4
Desertion.....	17	..	17
Forgery .....	3	..	3
Bribery.....	1	..	1
Forged soldiers' discharge-papers.....	7	..	7
Murder.....	1	..	1
Total.....	126	..	126

## RECAPITULATION.

Total number from September, 1862, to end of year.....	65	121	186
Total number for year 1863 .....	86	776	862
Total number for year 1864 .....	69	11	80
Total number from 1st January to 1st December, 1865 ..	126	..	126
Total.....	346	908	54

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### ATTEMPTED SUICIDE OF WIRZ.

My Connection with the Imprisonment of Wirz and Jeff. Davis—Vigilance in Guarding the Prisoner—Mrs. Wirz visits her Husband—He desires a Call—The Interview—Attempted Suicide.

Poor Wirz, the German prisoner, keeper at Andersonville, has a place and a name in the history of the American conflict, imperishable as that of Jefferson Davis, and no more and no less enviable. He is only the willing servant, in war's crudest work, of the master spirit of the revolt, who richly deserves the disgraceful doom of the wretched victim of the gallows, to whom no mercy was extended. Not alone by the surviving victims of his barbarity will Wirz be held in remembrance, but by all the loyal people of the land, who watched with intense interest the progress of his trial. Soon as it became evident that the testimony against this disciple of Nero was sufficiently strong to convict him, there were rebel emissaries who, fearing a confession from his lips, which would implicate Jefferson Davis and others in the guilt of his crimes, desired and determined, if possible, to bring the trial to a speedy close. Wirz himself had several times intimated that, if convicted, he would make a statement of all the facts connected with his administration of the Andersonville prison, which would show conclusively that he acted under the direct orders of Davis and General Winder.

I had taken no part in Wirz's trial, most of the evidence having been procured by military officers then on duty at the South. During the last days of the trial, Mrs. Wirz appeared in Washington, and desired an interview with her husband. The Secretary of War had directed the officer in command of the prison to exercise the utmost caution in

respect to the prisoner. It was feared that he would commit suicide. Orders were issued not to allow any interview to be had with him under any pretense whatever. He was to be kept entirely secluded from the other prisoners, and only visited by the clergy and his counsel. Mrs. Wirz applied to me for permission to see him. She claimed that she desired only to administer to his comfort, as far as possible, and had no objection to the interview taking place in the presence of an officer of the Government. Wirz sent me a request to visit him, and accordingly I repaired to his apartment in the "Old Capitol." During the conversation, he expressed earnest desire to see his wife, when I reminded him that the orders of the Secretary prohibited such interviews. His anxiety was so great, that I stated the prisoner's request to Mr. Stanton, who consented to a meeting in my presence, with no communications in their own language between them. He then gave me the following order:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE, }  
WASHINGTON, November 9, 1865. }

Major-General AUGUR, commanding Department of Washington:—

GENERAL—Henry Wirz has sent a request to General L. C. Baker to visit him. The Secretary of War desires that the authority be given General Baker.

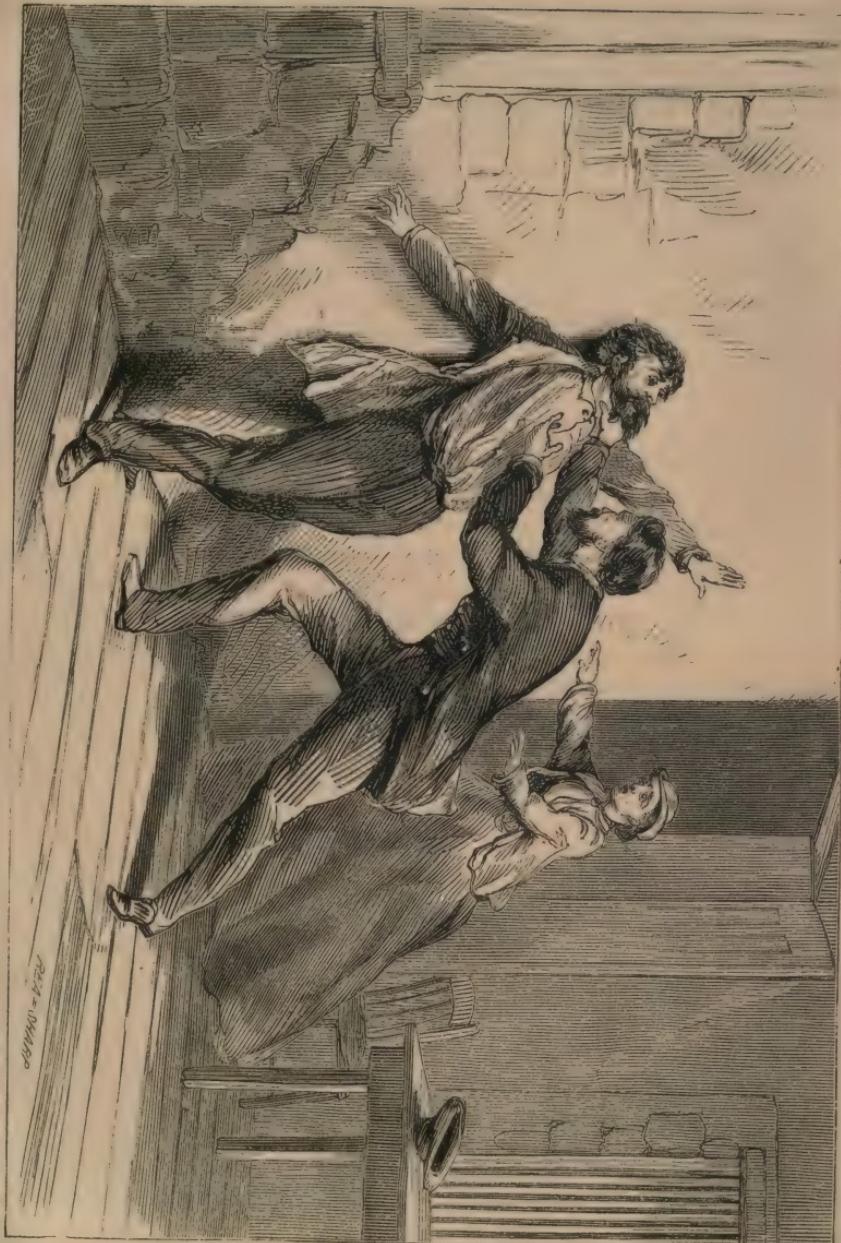
I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
E. D. TOWNSEND,  
Assistant Acting Adjutant-General.

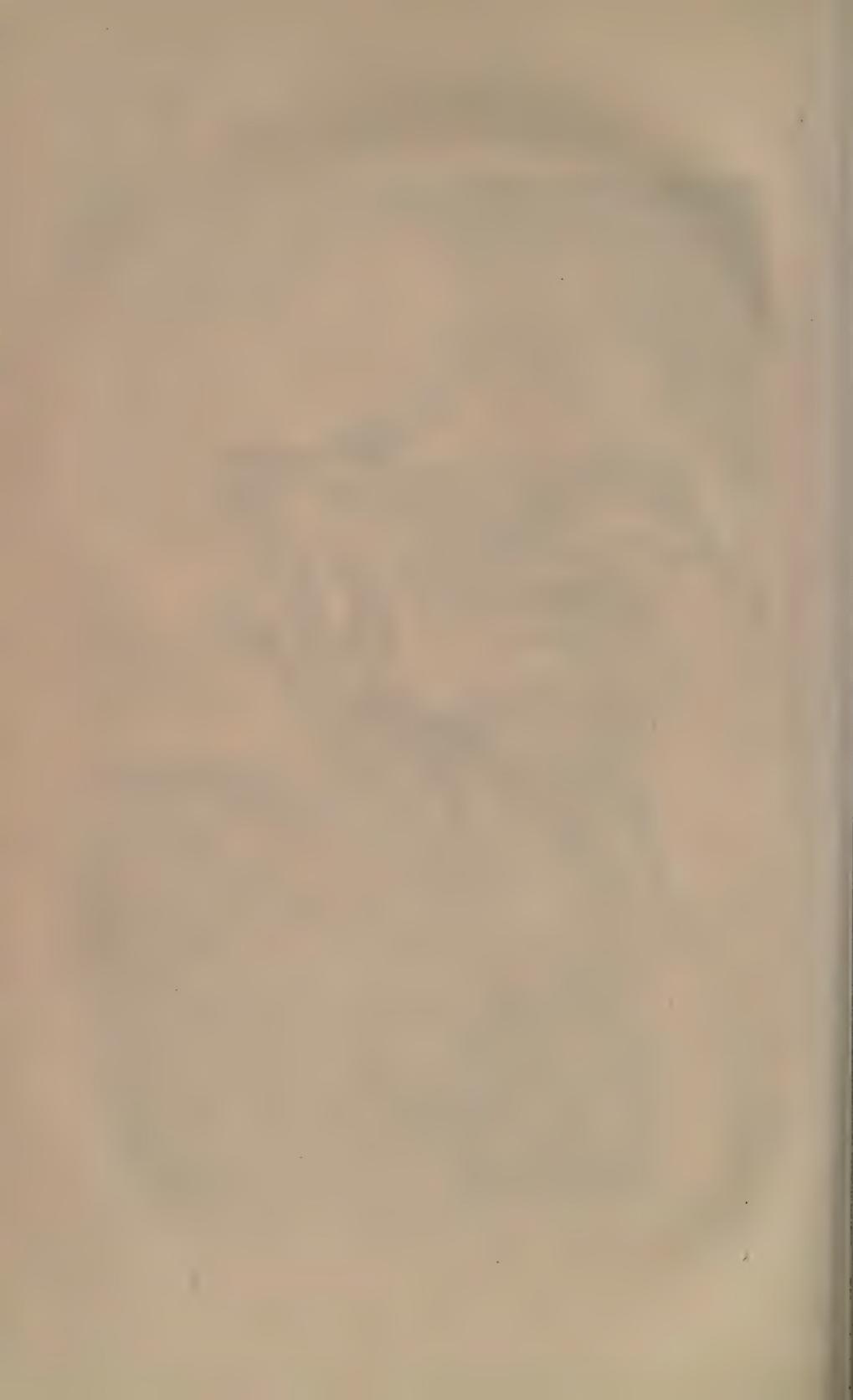
With this document I procured a permit, and requested Mrs. Wirz to be at the prison at four o'clock that day. The interview took place, and I shall never forget the first meeting between Wirz and his wife. She exhibited the most stoical indifference, and simply said, "How are you, Wirz?" Instead of embracing him, as would naturally have been expected under the circumstances, she sat down in a chair in front of him, and looked at the doomed man a moment, and then gave utterance to the most vindictive words against the Government, in which he joined. Instead of talking of their family affairs, the unfortunate position in which Wirz was placed, and the probability of his execution, she took occasion to denounce Colonel Chipman, Judge-Advocate of the commission before whom Wirz was being tried, and the wit-

nesses as perjurors, and in the most threatening manner defied the Government to carry the findings of the commission into execution. This interview finally closed in their making an appointment for another.

The conduct of Wirz and his wife was to my mind very suspicious. I did not conceive that such indifference was natural under the circumstances, and determined to watch their next interview very closely. It came in due time, and was very similar to the first one. Mrs. Wirz sat in front of her husband, and I took a position where I could casually observe the movements of each. Mrs. Wirz took from her hand a glove, inside of which I noticed she had a small package; what it was I could not tell. The interview was short, as both were conscious that I was observing every movement. At the third interview the same thing was repeated. As we all rose to go to the door leading to the hall, Wirz walking first, Mrs. Wirz next, and myself at the rear, she for the first time approached him, when they embraced and put their lips up to kiss each other. I watched the motion, and perceived that she was conveying something from her mouth to his. I sprang forward in an instant, caught him by the throat, and threw him on the floor. He raised a pill from his throat, brought it within his teeth, crushed it and spit out. I picked it up and found it to be a small round piece of strychnine inclosed in a piece of oiled silk. Upon this discovery I informed Mrs. Wirz that she could have no more interviews with her husband. She was compelled, therefore, to leave him to his fate. My next step was to inform the Assistant Secretary of War and Judge Holt of the singular occurrence. I also showed to the former the strychnine pill. On the day of the prisoner's execution, I related the poison scene to a reporter of a New York paper. It was given to the public by him. The copperhead press immediately opened their artillery of abuse, making me the target of bitterest attack. The whole statement was pronounced a fabrication, while it was verified entirely by Louis Skade, the counsel of Wirz, and by Mrs. Wirz. It is a fact, which should make the loyal men of the land reflect deeply, that these reckless detractors of the administration of Mr. Lincoln, and all who aided him in checking the insane revolt, who defended

A TTEMPTED POISONING OF WIRZ.





the vilest actors in the drama of rebellion, are to-day the friends of Mr. Johnson and his "policy." No reflective patriotic mind can exclude the doubt whether the infamous keeper of the Andersonville prison pen would have been executed at all had the merited fate been delayed a few months longer, until the change in the tone of the Presidential feeling toward rebels, whom he had so warmly condemned and warned that their treason must be made "odious" for all coming time. It is more sad and stinging to know this, for those of us who necessarily were familiar with the character and deeds of the brutal servants of Davis and his counselors and commanders. I could narrate horrors which would stir the indignation of the coolest loyal heart, that were openly or silently approved by the Confederate Government; and yet we are asked to be charitable and conciliatory toward men who hated with the venom of a Nero our slain President and our "boys in blue," and have only changed from power to wreak their vengeance to weakness that can do no more than nurse a disarmed disloyalty. If it is true, in the words of the song, that John Brown's soul is marching on! it is equally a reality that the souls of Booth and Wirz are still marching stealthily on through the streets of the cities and over the plantation plains of the "sunny South."

## CHAPTER XL.

### THE NEW PRESIDENT—ORDERED SOUTH—RESULTS.

The President—Mrs. Cobb, and my Official Relations to both. Efforts to prejudice the new President against my Bureau. The Success contrasted with that under the former Administration—Ordered to the South to get important Papers—Mrs. C. C. Clay—The Documents found—A new order for Investigation—Results—Mrs. Cobb appears on the Stage of passing Events at the Capital.

A FEW months after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and immediately following the inauguration of Mr. Johnson, reports reached me that an earnest, persistent effort was made by my enemies of rebel character, and others whom I had troubled in the prosecution of my official service, to convince the new President that I had committed great wrongs under the former administration. It was asserted that, through my confidential relations toward the Government, I had come into possession of facts, the revelation of which would not only reflect seriously upon the character of the President, and those associated with him in the administration of the Government, but would acquaint the public with many acts not sanctioned by law, and that both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton had been repeatedly cautioned against the irregular and arbitrary proceedings of the Detective Bureau. Scarcely a week elapsed during Mr. Lincoln's administration, that some complaint was not made to him respecting my service. Both Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton for a long time listened patiently to these complaints; but whenever a request was made by either of them that these charges should be put in writing, the usual excuse was that they "dare not do it! That General Baker had the machinery of his bureau so thoroughly organized, that his espionage over the acts of public men was so complete, that he could ruin almost any one whom he chose to sacrifice." Frequently the charges came from men high in authority. The

frequency of the complaints at length induced Mr. Stanton to enter upon an examination that would silence these accusations, or secure from the complainants their written affidavits. Early in 1863, a number of prominent secessionists, in from Maryland, who had been under arrest, visited Washington, to repeat the tale of grievances inflicted upon unoffending citizens. Mr. Lincoln referred them to the Secretary of War. He listened to their story, and then said, "Your statement, gentlemen, seems to be very plausible and reliable; you have it written out here, and as you claim to be responsible men, you certainly can have no objection to attaching your signatures, and swearing to it." This they declined to do, when Mr. Stanton remarked, "I have listened to complaints against Colonel Baker for more than two years. I have never yet found an individual who was willing to attach his signature to a statement of any kind against him. Until you do this, and prove your statements, I shall listen to no more of them. He is a commissioned officer in the military service of the Government, and is clearly triable by a court-martial at any moment." In Mr. Johnson those false accusers found a willing listener, appealing to all his previous prejudices against Black Republicans and Abolitionists. This system of detraction and misrepresentation was carried on for months. I was advised by my friends to see the President, and disabuse his mind of the unjust impressions. I replied that I supposed the President of the United States was a reasonable, consistent man, and would never condemn an officer on *ex parte* statements. That when he wanted me he would probably send for me, and I should be prepared to make any explanation he might require. Some months elapsed, and this state of things continued. The first personal interview that I ever had with President Johnson was with reference to securing the letters and official correspondence of Jacob Thompson, C. C. Clay, John C. Breckinridge, and other prominent rebel leaders then in Canada. It was considered of the utmost importance to the Government that, as the President had offered a large reward for the capture of Jeff. Davis, these papers and this correspondence should be secured. Mr. Johnson sent for me, and, in a general conversation, desired that I should secure the

papers. On the 7th of August I received the following order:

WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,  
WASHINGTON, August 7, 1865.

Brigadier-General L. C. BAKER, Special Provost-Marshal, Washington, D. C.:

GENERAL—An order, of which the following is a copy, has been made this day by the President:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.  
August 7, 1865.

Brigadier-General L. C. BAKER, Special Provost-Marshal:

Is directed to proceed with the utmost dispatch to Huntsville, Ala., and seize, take possession of, and bring to Washington, all correspondence, papers, and documents belonging to Clement C. Clay, that may be found at that place or elsewhere in the Southern States. On arriving at Nashville, General Baker will report to Major-General Thomas, commanding the Military Division of Tennessee, and submit to him, confidentially, this order. General Thomas is directed to furnish General Baker all aid and assistance that he may require in the discharge of this duty, and also to give instructions to the commanders of the Departments of Alabama and Georgia to aid General Baker, and to render him such assistance as may be needed, in the execution of this order. This order will be regarded as strictly confidential, and the utmost diligence will be employed to obtain the correspondence, papers, and documents of said Clay.

(Signed)

ANDREW JOHNSON,  
President.

You will proceed immediately to execute the foregoing order, and report to this Department.

By command of the President.

E. D. TOWNSEND,  
Assistant Acting Adjutant-General.

In compliance with this order, I proceeded to Huntsville. Previous information obtained from the War Department indicated that C. C. Clay's papers were at his father's at Huntsville; that Mrs. Clay was to arrive at Huntsville about the time I should arrive there, and that she would have the papers in her possession. I reported to General Thomas at Nashville, and from him obtained an order on the director of military railroads to furnish a special train. On arriving at Huntsville, I proceeded to the house of Mr. Clay's father, and found there a very aged and infirm man, who informed me that he was the father of C. C. Clay. In the discharge of all my official duties during the rebellion, I have never so reluctantly obeyed an order as the one to search this house. The old gentleman (since dead), then in his second childhood,

did not fully comprehend the object of my visit, but at once began to make incoherent inquiries concerning his poor son Clement. The aged mother of Clay also manifested great anxiety about her son. I endeavored to pacify them, detailed to them the object of my visit, and asked them if Mrs. Clement Clay had arrived. On learning that she had not, I had to comply with my order. I immediately directed the officer with me to make a partial examination of the papers in the house. Nothing of importance was found, however; and I proceeded the following morning to Macon, Ga. I had a letter of introduction from the Secretary of War to General Wilson, the bold and dashing cavalry commander who was stationed at that post. At the time of C. C. Clay's arrest by General Wilson's scouts, it was supposed that important letters were in his possession. On inquiry, however, I found that General Wilson had not discovered any such papers. Making known to General Wilson the object of my visit to Macon, he informed me that he had already made a thorough search of all the effects belonging to the Clay family; but to carry out my instructions, I informed him that I must proceed with the search. Ascertaining that Mrs. Clay was stopping at the house of a noted rebel judge in Macon, in company with General Wilson I went to it, and was introduced to the magistrate's wife. General Wilson then left me, when I made known to the lady the object of my visit, and inquired for the judge. She informed me that the judge was at his office in the city, and if I desired to see him I must go there. I told her I had come to search the house, and it was immaterial to me whether the judge was present or not; if she wished to have him present, however, I would cheerfully give her time to send for him. She then sent a colored servant for her husband. When he arrived, he was of course informed of the object of my visit, when he positively declined to allow the search. He said the "Constitution of the United States forbade the search of any house except on proper affidavit." I told him "I thought he was the last man to refer to the Constitution; that he had been engaged for five years in violating it, but now claimed its protection; that I should make the search, but did not wish to disturb his property. I asked him where I could find Mrs. Clay's

baggage. He informed me that it was in a room up stairs, and that Mrs. Clay had the key to it, with the key to her trunks. I requested him to send for a locksmith and have them opened, adding that I would pay the expense incurred. After an argument of considerable length, in which he referred in almost every sentence to the Constitution, he consented to have the room and trunks opened. A thorough examination revealed the whereabouts of the documents desired. I secured them and returned to Washington. I may here state that these papers are the identical ones afterward sent before the Boutwell Committee. I had so successfully performed the service assigned to me by the President, that on the 22d of September following he again sent for me, and placed in my hands a letter written by a Mr. D. N. Coleman, of Tennessee, in 1861. It will be remembered that Andy Johnson was at that time stumping the State as a Union man. The letter referred to, written by Mr. Coleman, denounced Andy Johnson in the most bitter and scornful terms. D. N. Coleman now appeared in Washington as an applicant to Mr. Johnson for a pardon. The President had not forgotten his former communication, and refused, of course, to grant the rebel's request. He desired me to place Coleman under the strictest possible surveillance; to watch his every movement, to see where he went, when he went, and with whom he conversed. He further directed I should make out each day and bring to him a record of Coleman's movements. Accordingly, on the 24th of September, I wrote the following communication:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, }  
September 24, 1865. }

To His Excellency the President:—

SIR—D. N. Coleman breakfasted at Willard's, Wednesday morning, September 20th, at eight o'clock and forty-five minutes. Went to the President's grounds (in the immediate vicinity of the White House) at ten o'clock and ten minutes. Remained around the White House until twenty-five minutes after. Returned to hotel, went to Attorney-General's office at eleven o'clock. Remained there until one o'clock. Went from Attorney-General's office to Dorsey's livery stable, No. 122 Twelfth Street. Hired a small roan saddle-horse. Rode to Georgetown Heights; did not dismount or speak to any one. Returned to hotel at three o'clock and twenty-four minutes; did not leave hotel again that day. Retired at nine o'clock and thirty-five minutes. Thursday, September 21.—Breakfasted at eight o'clock and fifty-four minutes;

went to President's grounds at nine o'clock and twenty-two minutes; remained until ten forty-five. Went to Attorney-General's office at eleven o'clock; remained until one. Returned to hotel at one-ten. Met a stranger near hotel. Stranger invited Coleman to call on him that evening at nine o'clock, at No. 9 Indiana Avenue (this is the residence of E. B. Edwards, an old resident of this city, but decidedly disloyal). Entered hotel; went to his room; remained until eight-twenty. Kept his appointment at No. 9 Indiana Avenue; remained until eleven-forty. Returned to hotel, and entered about twelve o'clock. Friday, September 22.—Arose at eight-twenty; breakfasted. Went to Attorney-General's office as usual at eleven o'clock; was there up to the time of the closing of this report.

REMARKS.—Coleman seems to have but few friends among the numerous pardon-seekers now in this city. He has often met and conversed with one J. B. Fry, who is comparatively a stranger here, but is said to be engaged in the business of procuring pardons (shall report further concerning this individual); also converses with John S. Hollingshead, Commissioner of Deeds, corner of Eighth and E Streets.

The above is an extract from a police diary in the case of D. N. Coleman from Wednesday, September 20, four o'clock, to Friday, September 22, at twelve o'clock and forty minutes.

I am, Sir, with much respect, your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,

Brigadier-General and Provost-Marshal of the War Department.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, }  
September 26, 1865. }

To His Excellency the President:—

SIR—Friday night retired at nine o'clock and thirty minutes. Saturday morning, went to White House at nine o'clock and thirty minutes. While in the reception-room, had a long and earnest conversation with Senator Patterson, from Tennessee, Senator H. Clay, of Kentucky, and a Mr. Gettes, of Virginia. Don't know the purport of the conversation. Returned to hotel at two o'clock and thirty minutes. Had long conversations with a number of pardon-seekers. Retired at nine o'clock.

Sunday. Remained in hotel until two o'clock and thirty minutes, then went to the residence of a Mr. Martin, on B Street, two doors from Fourteenth (Island), remained until nearly dark, returned to hotel, retired at nine o'clock.

Monday. Went to White House at nine o'clock and thirty minutes, was in reception-room until two o'clock, returned to hotel, remained about an hour, left and went down avenue to Thirteenth street, down Thirteenth to D, up D to Twelfth, down Twelfth to C, then to hotel.

Tuesday. At nine o'clock was in conversation with three men at Willard's, White, Gettes, and Juda.

Diary from Police Record, in the case of D. N. Coleman.

I am, Sir, respectfully, your most obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,

Brigadier-General and Provost-Marshal of the War Department.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON CITY, {  
September 30, 1865.

To His Excellency the President:—

SIR—D. N. Coleman left Washington in 4.30 train last evening. Before leaving, he spent three hours in conversation with Brigadier-General McCullom, Superintendent Military Railroad. In parting from his friends at Willard's, he remarked, "I hope to have better luck when I come again."

I am, Sir, respectfully your obedient servant,

L. C. BAKER,

Brigadier-General and Provost-Marshal of the War Department.

These reports prevented a pardon, and Coleman left the capital in disgust, and with the smothered fire of treason in his breast.

## CHAPTER XLI.

### MAJOR AND MRS. COBB—PARDONS—INDICTMENTS.

The Career of Mrs. Cobb and the Course of her Friend the President—An Application to Mrs. Cobb for a Pardon—The Contract—The Pardon obtained—The Arrest—Report to the President—How he received it—Subsequent Interviews—He defends Mrs. Cobb—Gets Angry—Denounces the Detectives—The Farewell to the White House.

I now turn to a matter of grave importance, more or less known to the public, but correctly understood by comparatively few persons. Nothing during my connection with the Government was so willfully and maliciously misrepresented, no facts have been so much perverted, as the management of the Cobb pardon case. I never hesitated to attack criminal transactions, wherever they were found, no fear of unpleasant consequences to me personally being allowed to interfere with this plain duty. Perhaps no endeavor in the course of my service, to expose a great fraud and bring the guilty to justice, demands a more faithful record than the story of my connection with the arrest and trial of Mrs. Cobb. In the winter of 1863, I was called upon in my headquarters at a late hour of the night by a poor woman named Mrs. Bell, who resided in Eleventh Street, Washington. She represented to me that a certain Major Cobb and his wife had taken lodgings at her house several weeks before; that they had rented her parlor, agreeing to pay the rent weekly; that she was a poor widow, with a sick and aged mother dependent upon her for support; and that Mr. and Mrs. Cobb had not only refused to pay their rent, but had taken her fuel, and for a long time had entertained at her house persons, both male and female, of the most suspicious character. She requested me to see them with regard to vacating her house. I repaired to the premises, and there

for the first time met the notorious Mr. and Mrs. Cobb. I asked Cobb why he had refused to pay for his lodgings, and said to him, that as a commissioned officer of the Navy Department, he certainly had no right to disgrace his uniform by conduct unworthy any honorable man. I expressed my doubts whether he was a paymaster in the Navy, and asked him to show his commission. He then produced an application for an appointment to the Secretary of the Navy, and also the usual letter granted upon the filing of his securities. These papers bearing date some time previous, induced me to ask for his commission. This he could not show. I charged him with being an impostor, and told him he must leave the premises. He left that night, and on the following day I went to the Navy Department, and ascertained from the records that my suspicions were correct. Mr. Cobb had failed to file his bonds, and consequently was not a paymaster. Some three weeks subsequently I was applied to by a one-legged soldier, who represented that Major Cobb, of the Navy, had rented apartments at his house, but refused to pay the rent; that he was a very poor man, and could not let his rooms without being paid for them. I at once recognized the Mr. and Mrs. Cobb before referred to. I repaired to the house, and found them to be the same persons. I then charged Cobb again with being an impostor, informed him that he was not an officer of the Navy, that he had failed to file his bonds, and that he should not assume the uniform of a Navy officer for the purpose of imposing upon poor and credulous people. I tore the shoulder-straps from his coat and ordered him out of the house. He left the premises at once. Some months afterward I discovered that Mrs. Cobb was keeping a cigar store in the vicinity of the Kirkwood House, on the Avenue. She subsequently secured a place in the Armory Square Hospital as a nurse, where she remained a short time, being discharged by the surgeon of the hospital. So much has been said through the copperhead press with reference to my action in detailing detectives for duty at the White House, that I desire here to make a plain unvarnished statement of all the facts connected with the case. For more than two years I had entirely lost sight of Mr. and Mrs. Cobb. On the 19th of

October, 1865, I was sent for by the Secretary of War, who placed in my hands the following dispatch:—

[Received 8 P. M. In cipher.]

HEADQUARTERS DIVISION OF THE GULF, }  
NEW ORLEANS, October 18, 1865. }

Hon. E. M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

General Steele communicates the following intelligence.

Isaac Surratt, another son of Mrs. Surratt, left Monterey, Mexico, some three or four weeks ago to assassinate the President. This resolution was taken after he heard of the execution of his mother, and the rebels at that place made up a purse for him. The young man was very frantic when he left Monterey some four weeks ago, traveling toward the Rio Grande on horseback.

Isaac Surratt is about thirty-two years of age, olive complexion, five feet nine or ten inches in height, full beard, dark eyes, black curly hair, and good looking. Was a member of Duff's regiment of cavalry.

(Signed)

P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General.

That great importance was attached to the reported movements of Surratt by General Sheridan would seem to be indicated by the following:—

OFFICE UNITED STATES MILITARY TELEGRAPH, WAR DEPARTMENT.

The following telegram received at Washington, 11 A. M., October 30, 1865.—From New Orleans, Louisiana, 9.30 A. M., October 28, 1865.

Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON, Secretary of War:—

Mr. J. K. S., the man from whom the information was obtained of the intention of Isaac Surratt, slipped off from me on the United States steamship *Mariposa*, which sailed for New York on the evening of the 26th from this place. He is unconscious of the Government being in possession of the information that was obtained from him through Mr. A. I hesitated to arrest him, fearing it might interfere with the arrest of Surratt, but he has registered his name on the ship's register, and can be apprehended at New York on the arrival of the boat. I think he is on his way to Canada.

P. H. SHERIDAN, Major-General.

The Isaac Surratt referred to in this dispatch was little known in Washington, having left at the breaking out of the rebellion, with a regiment of rebel troops organized in Lower Maryland. I received no instructions from the Secretary of War as to what course I should pursue, he leaving that, as usual, entirely discretionary with me. On the afternoon of the day this telegram was received, my carpet-bag was packed for a trip to Canada, on important business, which would detain me there for a few weeks. I left the matter in the hands of my assistant, Colonel Assmussen, for such

action as he deemed proper, and that night was on the way to the British Provinces.

At Baltimore, while going toward the Harrisburg depot, I met one of my detective officers, who informed me that Isaac Surratt was then in that city. I repaired immediately to the telegraph office, and sent a telegram to Mr. Stanton, in cipher, that Isaac Surratt was in Baltimore; at the same time telegraphing to my assistant, Colonel Assmussen, and directing him to look out for Surratt. I proceeded to Canada, and was absent two weeks. When I returned, ignorant of what had transpired, and anxious to know, I questioned my assistant as to what had occurred; he told me that he had detailed two detective officers to go to the White House, with instructions to remain outside, and not to make their business known to any individual. This he had done solely as a matter of precaution, to prevent any suspicious characters from entering the Executive mansion. Nothing unusual, however, had occurred. I then sent for S. S. Jones, one of the detectives detailed for this service, and interrogated him with reference to seeing any persons of doubtful business or character about the Executive Mansion. He also assured me that nothing alarming had transpired, but remarked, "there's some strange proceedings there;" that the second day after he entered on duty his business became known to some of the attaches of the White House, who invited him inside, and he became familiar soon with many of the frequent visitors at the National Homestead. He informed me that a regular system of pardon brokerage was in successful operation, both by the conspicuous rebels in the capital and by a certain class of disreputable women, well known to the local police of this city; among whom he mentioned the name of Mrs. Cobb, who he said was a constant visitor, was there at all hours of the day and night, boasting openly to him that she had procured, and could procure, pardons from the President, at any time, in six hours; and she exhibited to him, on one occasion, two pardons which she had obtained for rebels at Richmond, declaring on that day she had made a thousand dollars. When questioned as to her mode of proceeding, she simply remarked she had an understanding with the President, and

he dare not refuse to grant her requests. She further claimed, that in the prosecution of her business she found it necessary to divide a portion of the money received for pardons with certain Government officials.

I decided to bring such a record of facts before the President, with respect to her case, as would satisfy him of her unworthy conduct, and the nefarious business in which she was engaged. To accomplish this, I determined to manufacture a fictitious application for pardon. To represent an applicant, I selected Captain H. H. Hine, formerly Assistant Provost-Marshal-General at St. Louis, who was then in Washington endeavoring to procure the revocation of a sentence passed upon him by a military commission under General Rosecrans. It seems Captain Hine had been tried, convicted (as he claimed unjustly), and sentenced to the Alton Penitentiary. Before the sentence was carried into execution, however, he escaped and fled to Canada. While there he was known as a rebel officer, and consequently became very familiar with all the rebel officers then engaged in organizing raids and committing depredations upon the border. He wrote me a number of letters giving information as to the movements of the rebel emissaries in Canada. After the assassination of the President, he communicated many important facts to the Government, in consideration of which the Assistant Secretary of War gave him permission to visit Washington, with the view of obtaining a revocation of his previous sentence. While he was there, waiting to have a hearing at the War Department, the case of Mrs. Cobb came up, and I selected him to represent an applicant for a pardon. A regular application was made, in the name of Clarence J. Howell. In this fictitious application were set forth fully the offenses committed by the applicant. The detective officer before mentioned, who was placed on duty at the White House, and who had become acquainted with Mrs. Cobb and her business, being in the secret, introduced Howell to Mrs. Cobb as an applicant for a pardon. However censurable, unjustifiable, or illegal my course may have been, my only desire was to serve the President and the Government. The fact is familiar to jurists, that in such case of emergency, when prompt action for the public good

is demanded, the courts have decided that a *margin* of authority transcending the letter of the law is allowable. The charge and verdict pronounced by the judge, in the disposal of this case, clearly indicate his unwillingness to regard the letter at the sacrifice of the spirit of legislation.

Captain Howell stated his case to Mrs. Cobb, and she agreed to procure a "full, complete, and unconditional pardon for all his past offenses," as the contract reads, for the sum of three hundred dollars. It is proper here to remark, that the usual routine at the Executive mansion and the Attorney-General's office, in procuring pardons, requires from two to five weeks, a record of the names of the applicants being placed on the books of the Attorney-General's office, which names are taken up in their order and disposed of. For an extraordinary consideration, however, Mrs. Cobb agreed to procure the pardon in question in twelve hours, as appears from the following contract:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 5, 1865.

For and in consideration of the sum of three hundred dollars, paid to me by Captain Clarence J. Howell, I hereby agree as follows, to wit: To take from Captain Howell his statement in regard to his case, and procure for him the full and complete pardon for his past offenses. The money to be paid as follows: one hundred dollars in hand, and the remaining two hundred on the delivery of his pardon on Monday evening at six o'clock p. m. I further agree that in case I do not succeed in getting the pardon as agreed, I will return to him the one hundred dollars received of him.

(Signed)

Mrs. L. L. COBB.

The above contained the following receipt on the back:—

WASHINGTON, D. C., November 5, 1865.

Received on the within, one hundred dollars.

(Signed)

Mrs. L. L. COBB.

This occurred on the 7th of November. To secure positive and indisputable evidence against Mrs. Cobb, I took six fifty-dollar treasury notes and marked them in the presence of five persons, that they might be identified as the bills paid for the pardon. On the evening of the 7th, when Howell was to have it, accompanied by a detective officer, I went with him to the Avenue House, where he was to receive the document, determined, as soon as the money was

paid by him to Mrs. Cobb, and he had the pardon in his hands, to demand of her the money. As shown by Mrs. Cobb's testimony, the pardon was not procured on the 7th, she alleging that the President was sick, that Mr. Seward was not in the city, and that a friend of hers in the Treasury Department, who assisted her, was also absent from the city, in New York, but on the following evening she would certainly have the pardon ready. Accordingly, on the evening of the 8th, I again visited the Avenue House with a detective, and the moment Howell paid the money to Mrs. Cobb and received his papers, I entered the room and demanded from Mrs. Cobb the two hundred dollars. She at once recognized me, and remarked she "had met me before." I informed her I had been watching her for several days, I believed I was posted as to her doings at the White House, and said, "You shall not impose upon the President by your presence. He, doubtless, regards you as an honest woman, and when he is made aware of your real character, and the business in which you are engaged, I think you will not be permitted again to visit the White House." She refused to return the money, when I asked her to go with me to my office; she consented, and asked me if I had any objection to her husband accompanying us; I replied, "Certainly not," and, entering the carriage with Mr. and Mrs. Cobb, went to my headquarters. I took Mrs. Cobb into my private office, and requested her to return to me the money paid her by Howell, stating to her distinctly that it was my money; I had marked it for the purpose of entrapping her; the person for whom she had obtained the pardon was not Captain Howell but Captain Hine; I had devised this plan to ascertain how and through what means she obtained pardons; she should not impose upon the President any longer, and I should lay all the facts before him at once, awaiting his decision in the matter. She became very much excited and extremely abusive, declaring that she had obtained a great many pardons from the President, and she should continue to obtain them as long as she could find customers; she and the President had a perfect understanding, and he dare not refuse to sign any paper she presented to him. I asked her how many pardons she had procured. She said she could

not tell, but a great many ; she had got three in a single day, and very indignantly claimed that she had as much right to do so as other brokers. I asked her who among her acquaintances were engaged in the business. She mentioned the name of Mrs. Ella B. Washington, she, and one of the rebel colonels and others ; she said that Mrs. Washington had obtained ten pardons where she (Mrs. Cobb) had obtained one ; she did not see why she should be selected for arrest while Mrs. Washington and others were allowed to be unmolested, adding the remark : "Your action in arresting me will cost you your commission ; I shall see the President to-morrow, and have you mustered out of service." I replied to her : "The President will probably require some other reason for my dismissal from service than the statement of a vile creature like you."

To satisfy me of her intimacy with the President and with the attaches at the White House, she entered into a long and minute statement of conversations she had had with him, assuring me that he had informed her that I was to be mustered out of service on the 15th of November ; that Mr. Stanton would not be retained in the cabinet beyond the 1st of January ; that many of the Black Republican and Abolitionist officeholders were to be removed, and she knew who they were ; that the President had informed her, on one occasion, that the Detective Bureau was to be broken up, and that Stanton's friend Baker would retire to private life. After listening for more than an hour to conversation of this character, I decided immediately to see the President. I took the pardon, as delivered by Mrs. Cobb to Captain Hine, Mrs. Cobb's written contract with Captain Hine for procuring the same, the marked fifty-dollar notes paid by Hine to Mrs. Cobb and by her returned to me, and, leaving Mrs. Cobb in charge of one of my officers, I went to the Executive mansion about eight o'clock. I found the President alone in his room, and, after the usual salutation, I said, "Mr. President, I have some papers here that I desire to show you." He said, "Take a seat, sir." I immediately unfolded the pardon and laid it on the table before him. He put on his spectacles, looked at it, and said, "Sir, where did you get this ?" "I got it from Mrs. Cobb." I then handed

to him Mrs. Cobb's written contract for procuring said pardon. He read it, when I exhibited to him the marked money, and began a detailed statement of all the facts connected with the case. He interrupted me in a moment, and said, "Where did you get this pardon?" I replied, "From Mrs. Cobb;" and was proceeding to narrate the circumstances, when he again interrupted me, and added, "Well, what is this all about?" I began a third time to relate the circumstances, when he interrupted me with rising passion, "This is a detective job, isn't it?" I answered, "Yes, sir; and if you will listen to me a moment I will explain it." He raised the pardon from the table and said, "But what business have you with this pardon?" When I again attempted to make an explanation, he broke in by saying, "Well, this is a very strange affair. This pardon has not been recorded. You have no business with it, sir. There is no oath of amnesty attached to it." I then politely requested the President to listen to me, stating that I would explain the whole matter. I had not proceeded, far, however, when he became very much excited, rose from his chair, and said, "Sir, what business have you to interfere here? What business has this woman to use my name in connection with this matter? How did this pardon get out of the Attorney-General's office without being recorded?" Looking at the pardon, he remarked, "This is my signature. I did not sign this pardon until very late this afternoon, and here I find it returned, as you say, through a pardon broker." He called his son Robert, and inquired, "Robert, do you know any thing about this pardon?" Robert answered, "Yes, father; that is the pardon you signed for Mrs. Cobb this afternoon." He took the pardon from his drawer, unfolded it, and remarked, "This is a pretty business. Where is Mrs. Cobb?" I replied, "At my headquarters." "Did you arrest her, sir?" I replied, "No, sir; I simply asked her to go to my headquarters to make an explanation." Again he became very much excited, walked the room to and fro, and suddenly turned ferociously upon me and exclaimed, "Who employs you to interfere with the duties of the President or the Attorney-General?" My answer was, I certainly intended no wrong; I did not conceive it to be possible that he could know the real character

of this woman; my only desire was to exhibit to him the character of the persons engaged in procuring pardons, and the means employed; and if I had done wrong I was very sorry. He became more composed, and wanted to know who this Mrs. Cobb was. I stated to him, as far as possible, who she was. He then asked me if I would request Mrs. Cobb to come and see him the following evening at six o'clock. I replied, "Certainly."\* He also requested me to come and see him the next evening, which I promised to do, and, leaving the pardon and Mrs. Cobb's contract with Captain Howell in his possession, I returned to my headquarters.

During my conversation with Mrs. Cobb, previous to visiting the President, as before recorded, I learned that Mrs. Ella B. Washington, residing in Georgetown, was also engaged in the pardon business, and knowing that the exposure that must necessarily follow in Mrs. Cobb's case would intimidate and prevent Mrs. Washington from procuring further pardons from the President, I immediately, on the same evening, drew up an application for another pardon, in the name of John Kelly. I placed this application in the hands of Captain Hine, gave him one hundred dollars in treasury notes, and directed him to go to Mrs. Washington's boarding-house in Georgetown and make an agreement to procure from the President another pardon. S. S. Jones, who had introduced Captain Hine to Mrs. Cobb, accompanied him to Georgetown, and introduced him to Mrs. Washington as a rebel, and an applicant for a pardon. Mrs. Washington informed Captain Hine that she would procure his pardon that night. He paid the one hundred dollars to Mrs. Washington, and took the following receipt:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 5, 1865.

Received from John Kelly one hundred dollars as retaining fee for obtaining his (Kelly's) pardon from the President.

(Signed)

ELLA B. WASHINGTON.

This pardon, however, was not procured, because, on the following morning, Mrs. Cobb's case had become noised

\* In Mrs. Cobb's testimony on the trial, it will be noticed that she speaks of having received a note at the hotel. This note I sent her, in compliance with the President's request.

about among the pardon brokers, and Mrs. Washington declined to comply with her contract.

But to return to Mrs. Cobb. On arriving at my headquarters, I informed her that she was at liberty to go home, and immediately furnished herself and husband with a conveyance. Before leaving, she reiterated her determination to lay the whole matter before the President, and have me summarily dismissed the service. She told me that she had very influential friends in Washington, and she would go before the Grand Jury and have me indicted for false imprisonment, &c.

In compliance with the President's request, I went to his mansion the next evening, and found him in a state of great excitement. He denounced "my interference with matters at the White House; Mrs. Cobb was a respectable, virtuous lady, and I had no right to interfere with her occupation." I had sincerely believed I could render the President a great service by exposing the character and business of this woman. When, however, I found that he was determined to put a wrong construction upon my motives, and to sustain Mrs. Cobb, I felt mortified and indignant. Never was there a greater contrast between anticipations and the result. It was coming down from the summit of human glory, when the unworthy ruler of a great people was conquered and led captive apparently by the vile protege of his fancy. The Grand Jury of the District of Columbia then being in session, on the following day, very much to my surprise, I learned that four indictments had been found against me: one for false imprisonment of Mrs. Cobb; one for false imprisonment of Mr. Cobb; one for robbery in taking from her the two hundred dollars I had marked and given to Captain Howell; and one for extortion. It would be difficult to imagine how a Grand Jury could ever find evidence in this case on which to base these indictments, but when it is recollectcd that nearly every member of this Grand Jury was a secessionist; that many of them, if not all, had at some time during the previous four years fallen under my official notice, these facts will perhaps furnish an explanation. When it became known that these indictments had been found against me, the disloyal press throughout the country hailed the event

as one likely to terminate my official connection with the Government, and declared that President Johnson would never permit himself to be compromised by permitting the continuance of the Detective Bureau. Especially were pains taken by the associated press to send the news broadcast everywhere, that Colonel Baker had been indicted for robbery, without giving any of the circumstances in connection with the case. To those reports I made no reply, determined to wait patiently, satisfied that, if an impartial investigation could be had, I should stand not only honorably acquitted before the community, but that my action in the case would be commended rather than censured.

On the evening of November 10, 1865, in a conversation with the President, he affirmed that it was not possible that he could know the character of the females visiting his house; he desired to give all an interview; Mrs. Cobb and Mrs. Washington had been there frequently—he knew their faces well; believed he had on one or two occasions recommended Mrs. Cobb to the Secretary of the Treasury for a situation, but, beyond that, he knew nothing of her or of Mrs. Washington; and, if he could be convinced that the character of these women was bad, he certainly would not tolerate their presence at the Executive mansion a moment. He then asked me to make out a written report, as briefly as possible, on which he could base some order directing his subordinates to exclude bad characters from the White House. Accordingly, on the evening of the 11th of November, I placed in the President's hands a communication, of which the following is a copy:

WASHINGTON CITY, November 11, 1865.

To His Excellency the President:

SIR—I desire to call your attention to a certain class of persons in this city (male and female), who are daily visiting the White House, known as pardon brokers.

My attention was, some time since, called to the individuals referred to; the means employed in the prosecution of their business; and also a number of persons holding positions under the Government, &c. I declined, however, to take any official cognizance of the matter, until quite recently, when I discovered that certain females, of very questionable character and reputation, to say the least, were almost daily procuring pardons. These females have advertised or proclaimed themselves in the public hotels and saloons of this

city as "Pardon Brokers," asserting that they could procure the pardon of any one applying, in twelve hours.

Some days since an officer of the U. S. Army, who had been convicted at St. Louis, by military court-martial, sentenced to the Penitentiary at Alton, Ill., for two years, but escaped to Canada in 1864, came to Washington to procure his pardon. He was advised to apply to a Mrs. L. L. Cobb, who assured the officer that she could obtain his pardon in twelve hours, for the sum of three hundred dollars, remarking at the same time that she, Mrs. C., would have to pay a portion of said three hundred dollars to certain clerks and others. The officer paid Mrs. Cobb one hundred dollars as retaining fee, taking a receipt for the same, the original of which is in your hands.\* Mrs. Cobb informed the officer at their first interview, that she had procured or obtained a great number of pardons, but was always compelled to divide the amount received therefor with certain persons holding positions in different departments and bureaus. Mrs. Cobb having failed to procure the pardon within the time mentioned in the above receipt, the officer became dissatisfied, and complained to me that he feared he should lose the one hundred dollars advanced. After hearing his statement, I feared that Mrs. C. might be engaged with others in *forging* pardons, as I did not think it possible that a woman of her character could procure a pardon under any circumstances, much less procure it in the time specified in her agreement with the officer. Being desirous, and deeming that the ends of justice would best be subserved, I asked the officer, in case she should succeed in procuring the pardon, to pay the remaining two hundred dollars in such funds as could be identified; accordingly I gave the officer four fifty-dollar treasury notes, and marked them. The same evening the officer went to Mrs. Cobb's room, No. 20 Avenue House, paid the two hundred dollars, taking Mrs. Cobb's receipt therefor. I then went to Mrs. Cobb's room, and required her to give me the two hundred dollars, which she did. I then asked her and her husband to accompany me to my office immediately. The same evening I took the receipt and contract of Mrs. Cobb to you. The pardon was found in Mrs. C.'s room, and, on inquiry, I found it had been delivered to her before the oath of amnesty had been made, as required by law. Mrs. C. remained at my office until nearly eleven o'clock, when I discharged her and her husband, and they returned to the Avenue House the same evening. During my conversation with her, she made a long statement, claiming that she was not the only female engaged in procuring pardons for pay, &c. The pardon referred to and procured by Mrs. Cobb was in the name of Clarence J. Howell, a name assumed for the occasion. When we take into consideration the notorious bad character and reputation of this woman (Mrs. Cobb)—her conduct while at the Executive mansion, which is well known to nearly every employee at the White House—her public boastings that she could procure pardons at all times quicker than any other person in Washington—that she has (if her own statement can be relied upon) procured a larger number of pardons, through the assistance of certain attaches of the different departments—I trust I shall be pardoned

\* Given on a page preceding.

for calling your attention to the matter, in official statement of the facts in regard to Mrs. Ella B. Washington, another female pardon broker, and the person of whom I spoke at our interview not long since. I beg leave to say that she contracted to procure the pardon of one John Kelly, as appears from the receipt, the original being in my possession. The pardon was not forwarded, however. I know but little of Mrs. W.'s previous character. She is the wife or widow of Lewis B. Washington, heretofore known as one of the most bitter and uncompromising haters of our Government. There are many other important facts partially brought to light by this investigation, which go to show conclusively that a system of manipulation and corruption is being practised, by persons holding official positions under the Government, in connection with the procuring of pardons.

I am, Sir, most respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

**Brigadier-General and Provost-Marshal War Department.**

Before doing so, however, being desirous of obtaining such facts from the President's employees as to the character of Mrs. Cobb as would satisfy him that my statements were correct, I procured the following affidavit from one of the President's private policemen, Mr. W. H. Crook. It will be understood that Mr. Crook was not a member of my force, and when I sent for him to ask him to make this statement, I had never seen him in my life:

*Statement of William H. Crook.*

I am a resident of Washington; am a member of the Metropolitan Police of this city; was detailed by Sergeant Richards for duty at the White House, on the 9th of January last, where I have since been; I know Mrs. L. L. Cobb; she has been a frequenter at the Executive mansion almost daily since, I think, about the middle of June; I never knew any thing of her business, except, I heard she was procuring pardons; about two months since Mrs. Cobb came to the White House, and was sitting in the East Room; I remarked to her, you have a pretty foot. She replied, "You have never seen my legs." She then raised her clothes and showed me her *fine legs*, some distance above her *knees*; on another occasion she told me she could have any employee of the White House dismissed that she desired; her general conduct while at the White House has been extremely unladylike, so much so that she became a subject of general remark among the employees.

W. H. CROOK.

As an indication of the intelligence and education of Mrs. Cobb, I will here introduce a lithographed original letter from her, addressed to S. S. Jones, the detective police

officer before referred to as being on duty at the White House :—

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 25, 1865.

Mrs Cobb begs leaf to informe Mr S S Jones that she has returned and now redy to do or transact eny buseness you may wish her to  
I am stoping at the avenue house on 7 St

Mrs J R COBB

To Mr S S JONES

At the time of the indictment, the popular feeling in the District being against me, for reasons before mentioned, my chances with the President to obtain justice were poor indeed. After what I had said to the President respecting Mrs. Cobb and her operations at the White House, and after furnishing him with an official report, at his own request, I certainly thought he would give orders to have her kept out of the Executive mansion. On the contrary, I heard that she was a more frequent visitor there than ever, and was boasting among her friends that in spite of General Baker's interference she was still a welcome guest of the President. I could not think this possible. So, in order to bring the controversy between the President and myself to an issue, I directed an officer to ascertain whether this was true, and learned that she *was* a constant visitor. Still thinking the President could not be aware of her visits, on the 15th of November, I stationed a detective police officer at the front entrance, with instructions to prevent Mrs. Cobb's entering. About eleven o'clock, as usual, she presented herself, and was told that she could not go in. She asked the officer by whose order he was acting, and he replied, "By order of General Baker." Mrs. Cobb replied: "Well, I will see the President in ten minutes." She went round to the rear part of the house, entered the kitchen, went up to the President's private room, and told him that General Baker had stationed a detective at the door to prevent her seeing him. The President sent for the detective, and said: "Sir, by whose order do you presume to guard my door?" The detective replied: "I am not guarding the door. I was sent here by General Baker to prevent Mis. Cobb from entering the house." The President said: "Tell General Baker I want to see him immediately." Accordingly, he

started for my office, but in the mean time the President had sent his private messenger, who arrived first, and in a very excited manner informed me the President wished to see me *immediately*; I must drop all business and come at once. I went, and entered the President's private room. I found him alone, pacing the room very excitedly. Furiously he said to me: "How dare you place detectives at my door?" I told him that I supposed he desired Mrs. Cobb and other females of like character to be kept from the house. He answered: "When I want your services I will send for you. Mrs. Cobb has just as much right to come here as you or any other person. This is not the first time, sir, that you have interfered at the White House. Now I want it stopped."

Still pacing the room, he repeated several times what he had before said concerning Mrs. Cobb—that she had as much right to visit the White House as any other respectable person. Walking up to me like a pugilist, he shook his fist in my face, and said again: "How dare you presume to exercise any control over the management of the White House?" I then said: "Mr. President, when such vile characters as Mrs. Cobb can visit the White House at all times of night and day; when she can procure pardons as she has done in the case of Captain Howell, and deliver them in person incomplete, or without being recorded; when she boasts publicly in the streets, hotels, and saloons of this city that she is a pardon broker, and the President dare not refuse any of her applications, but she has the President of the United States in her power, I think it is high time that somebody interfered." The President replied: "How dare you talk to me in that way, sir? Now, sir, I tell you once for all, you must not interfere with my business; neither must you interfere with any person who has business at the Executive mansion." I started to leave the room, when he followed me to the door, and, with his fist clenched, said: "Now, recollect what I have told you. You can go and tell your friend Stanton all I have said. I say, you can go now and tell your friend Stanton all I have said." With this I left the Presidential mansion, and have never entered it since.

## CHAPTER XLII.

### RESIGNATION OF COMMISSION.

The Request to be Relieved from Special Service—The Case of Mrs. Washington—Popular Prejudices, and the Periodical Press—The Trial of Mrs. Cobb—Her Testimony.

FOR more than two years previous to the inauguration of President Johnson, I had repeatedly asked the Secretary of War to relieve me from duty as provost-marshal of the Department. In two official communications I asked to be sent to my regiment. On the 17th of June, 1865, I tendered my resignation to the Secretary of War. Receiving no response to this communication, I again wrote to the Secretary of War in these words:—

On the 17th of June I tendered my resignation, since which time I have heard nothing from the Department. I have respectfully to ask that my resignation be accepted. The war has closed, and I see no use for the existence of a detective bureau.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Brig.-Gen., and Provost-Marshal of the War Dept.

In addition to this I had frequently asked the Secretary of War to accept my resignation, after my last interview with the President, and desired him at this time to include my name in the list of volunteer officers, then being made up, who were to be honorably mustered out of service. Accordingly my name was inserted in the same list with General Rosecrans and one hundred and twenty-two others, which honorably discharged me from the service. In one of my conversations with the President, he repeatedly accused me of being a tool of the radicals. He said he had been informed that I was in the employ of the radicals, and had heard that I had detailed detectives to watch the Presi-

dential mansion, with a view to ascertain and furnish a list of the prominent copperheads and rebels who were visiting the White House.

The case of Mrs. Ella B. Washington, referred to in my official communication to the President, requires some further explanation. It appears that Mrs. Washington, who was the wife of a rebel colonel, had become a great favorite at the Presidential mansion and at the Treasury Department. In 1862 her husband resided on the Lewis Washington estate, in the immediate vicinity of Harper's Ferry. A treasury agent (Major B. H. Morse) had seized all the personal property belonging to the Washington estate. After the close of the rebellion, Mrs. Washington appeared at the capital as a claimant for this property, and it was reported that she obtained from the Secretary of the Treasury a portion of the property and pay for the balance. Being a woman of more than ordinary attractions, her influence at the Departments had become very great, and, after transacting her own business, she became a *pardon broker*. She gave soirées at her boarding-house in Georgetown, sending her invitations to the heads of the different departments and bureaus. On the very evening that she made the contract with Captain Hine, who in the application for his pardon represented John Kelly, she gave a party at her rooms, at which were present Secretary McCulloch, Colonel Browning, private Secretary of the President, and a large number of other distinguished guests.

It will not, perhaps, be inappropriate, in connection with this subject, to relate an amusing incident, in connection with this female *pardon broker*.

It will be recollected that two detectives were detailed for duty at the White House. One of them, while so employed, formed the acquaintance of Mrs. Cobb and Mrs. Washington. Mrs. Washington, supposing the detective to be a regular attachée of the Presidential mansion, gave him a very polite and fashionable invitation to attend her soirée, with the other distinguished guests before referred to. The desire to participate in this little social entertainment of course could not be resisted. Accordingly he was in attendance; but during the evening the Honorable Secretary de-

tected the gentleman as one of *Baker's detectives*, and communicated the fact to his *lady hostess*, when the detective was unceremoniously enjoined to leave.

For a more detailed account of this distinguished party, I will refer to the "Evening Star" of November 8th. Just previous to the holidays there appeared in the Associated Press dispatches a notice that the Honorable Secretary of the Treasury would visit New York City, to consult with leading Wall Street bankers concerning the *finances* of the country; but, as appears from a telegram in the "Philadelphia Enquirer," the Honorable Secretary spent his holidays at the country residence of Mrs. Washington, near Harper's Ferry; but it is yet unknown what schemes of finance were decided upon at this long consultation.

The exultation manifested by the enemies of the Government, at what they falsely represented to be my dismissal from the service cannot, perhaps, be better shown than by the following extracts from the "New York Daily News" of February 1, 1866, and the "New York Herald" of February 8th. Said the Herald:—

We notice it is rumored that the notorious detective Baker has been reinstated to office by the War Department. This man's conduct toward the President, his assumption, and his subserviency to the bitterest enemies of the President, ought to have ostracized him forever. So far from being reinstated, he ought never to have another office, or his face be ever seen again in Washington. We should not give credit to the rumor, did we not know that such an act would be just in accordance with Secretary Stanton's general official conduct toward Mr. Johnson. If it be so, the act of the Secretary of War must be regarded as insulting to the President.

The News copied the next article:—

Washington Correspondence "Richmond Times."

The notorious Government detective, General L. C. Baker, ceases to be a brigadier-general with this day. By the terms of an order from the War Department, his commission was canceled on the 15th instant, and he is mustered out of "service." It should be borne in mind, however, that the military officers here disclaim Baker's right to recognition as of the military service proper, since he did not receive his title as brigadier-general by reason of meritorious conduct in the field, nor on account of service in the army of the United States. His "promotion" to a brigadiership was the work of Mr. Stanton, upon importunities of Baker, who asked the distinction as a sort of healthy covering to hide his disreputable conduct while acting in the capacity

of chief thief-catcher, &c., for the Government. This detective has had his day—now his trouble will commence, for he can no longer, at his own bidding, bring to his aid the strong arm of the Government to protect him from the vengeance of outraged citizens who have been sufferers in person and property from the unconstitutional and utterly illegal acts of this man.

Baker had become so impudent, and felt so entirely secure from the reach of all men, save the Secretary of War, that he actually attempted to play the detective upon the President and his household some weeks ago. There is scarcely a doubt, however, that this last specimen of indecency and wonderful imprudence was encouraged, if not suggested, by some of the President's "radical friends." The "great detective" made an utter failure of his espionage upon the Executive mansion, for it was somehow discovered by Mr. Johnson, who sent a messenger to bring Baker immediately into his presence. The detective dropped every other consideration, and repaired with all haste to the White House, totally at fault as to the purpose of this summons from the President. His name being announced, the President directed that he be at once admitted, notwithstanding the presence of several gentlemen\* then engaged with Mr. Johnson. The latter most unceremoniously charged Baker with his villainous espionage, and informed him that if he again heard of his presence in, or prowling about, the White House, or if he permitted any of his creatures to sneak around the premises, the "great detective" should himself lodge in some one of the dingy cells in the Old Capitol,† where so many had been incarcerated upon the simple order of Baker himself, without warrant, or the semblance of law or justice.

The "great detective" was amazed at what he heard, and remained speechless while the President scored him. Upon the President's command, "Go, sir," Baker hastily moved toward the door; but before he quite arrived there, Mr. Johnson added: "Hold one moment, sir. I desire that you now go to the Secretary of War, and tell him every word I have said to you, and (shaking his finger at him) don't let me ever see you here again."

The "great detective" left instanter, and has obeyed the last injunction of the President most religiously.

The counsel for Mrs. Cobb—Mr. Hughes, whose loyalty was, to say the least, very questionable, Mr. Bradley and his son, both open and avowed sympathizers with the rebellion, and the District Attorney—all undertook the case *voluntarily*. In ordinary cases, the District Attorney prosecutes. This was a case—The United States *vs.* L. C. Baker—and it was clearly the duty of the District Attorney to prosecute it; but Hughes and the Bradleys volunteered in order to

\* No person was present at this interview.

† The Old Capitol prison had been closed up and turned into private dwellings six months previous to the interview above referred to.

insure a conviction. A feeling of intense bitterness and hostility was manifested toward me throughout the whole trial by the entire community of Washington, thoroughly disloyal, and among whom there was hardly an old resident of any prominence who had not been arrested by me. The moment a word was said by the counsel reflecting upon me, traducing me, there was a shout in the court-room.

I shall introduce somewhat at length extracts from the testimony presented on the trial, together with the eloquent plea of Mr. Riddle. And I begin with the story of the principal actor in the legal drama, which cannot fail to interest all readers who have either any curiosity in regard to the career of the Cobbs or the details of the cause, a peculiar arraignment from an unprincipled woman's lips:—

Mrs. L. L. COBB sworn.

By Mr. Bradly:

My husband's name is John R. Cobb. We reside at the St. Charles's Hotel at present. On the 8th of November last, we resided at the Avenue House in this city. I recognize Baker. I saw him at the Avenue House on the 8th of November. Last Wednesday, about six o'clock on Wednesday, some one came to my door and rapped. I opened the door, and found two gentlemen, as I supposed, standing there. The first one to walk into my room was Baker. I did not know or recognize him, at least at that time. He said "Mrs. Cobb, Mrs. Cobb, Mrs. Cobb," three or four times; "I have been looking for you for some time." I asked him who he was. He said he would show me who he was, and said he thought he knew my husband. My husband repeated the question, and he said he was General Baker of the War Department, and that he arrested us both. My husband asked by whose authority. He said he needed no authority. My husband demanded a warrant for the arrest. He said he had none and needed none. My husband then demanded his authority. He said he acted upon his own authority, and upon his own responsibility. He said he wanted two hundred dollars which I had in my possession. I told him he could not have it. He said he would have it, and have it before he left the room. I again told him that he could not have it. He said that he would take me to his headquarters. *That we could go quietly*, or he would take us, and make us all the notoriety we wanted, and told me to pack up my "duds," and go along with him. That he would put us where he would not have any more trouble from us, that he would break up this pardon broker's institution. He again asked us if we were going along with him, or whether he should take us. I put on my bonnet and furs, and my husband his coat and hat, and went down stairs. He put us into a carriage, and from there we drove to his headquarters. Then he took us into a front room down stairs, and separated us; put me up stairs in the back room, and kept my husband

down stairs. He came up stairs in the room where I was, and said he had some questions to ask me.

*Q.* Was any one else in the room at that time?

*A.* No, sir. He told me I was compelled to answer these questions. I told him it would depend on circumstances whether I answered them or not. The first question that he asked me was whether I owned any property in Pennsylvania, below Harrisburg. The answer was, "None of his business;" that if he was trying me, or held me for any criminal offense, to proceed with his questions. He then showed me a receipt written by one Clarence J. Howell, and signed by me for one hundred dollars. He asked me if that was my receipt. I told him it was. He then told me that I should give him that two hundred dollars. I replied that I would not. He asked me if he understood me to refuse to give it to him? I told him he did. He then said he would order me handcuffed, and search me for it; upon which I handed him the money, remarking that it did not end there. He then rang his bell, and sent for Mr. Spear. He told him to take Mrs. Cobb to the Avenue Hotel, and get that pardon.

The District Attorney: I would state to the counsel on the other side that I would like to have that pardon produced, and read in evidence, together with the receipt.

Mr. Riddle: The papers to which you refer were returned by General Baker to the President, who issued them by order of the Executive, and are now in his (the President's) possession. It was taken the same night to the President by General Baker, who made known the whole matter to him. It was retained by him, upon the ground that it had been improperly procured.

Mr. Bradly:

I would like to inquire of the counsel, as the explanation is made in the presence of his client, whether that information was furnished to him by General Baker.

*A.* Certainly it was. I would state that we have a certified copy of the receipt, the original of which is also in the hands of the President. This paper, called a receipt, will be found to be not only a receipt, but a contract between Mrs. Cobb and a gentleman therein named, under which she undertakes to procure for him a pardon for the sum of three hundred dollars—a receipt for one hundred dollars which was paid being on the back.

*Q.* What next happened?

*A.* He sat there without asking any questions, or saying any thing, until the messenger reported that Mr. Cobb had returned. I did not see him. He then put a man on guard to watch me, and told him to sit there until he came back. He went out, and was gone some three or four hours. When he came back, he said he had been with the President, and that I should not go to the White House or the Treasury any more; and, furthermore, that I should not live in the District of Columbia, nor in the United States. If I did, he would make trouble for me. I told him that when the President did not wish me to visit the White House, he would not make a villain like him his messenger. He then asked me if I had ever heard any thing bad about

him. I told him there was not a book large enough, nor could one be printed in the United States large enough, to write his crimes in. He then told me again that I should not put my dirty nose inside of the White House. If I did, he would arrest me, for he had his orders in his pocket from the President to do so. He then abused me in other language, such as I would not like to repeat here in the court-room; and, after keeping me until about twenty minutes of 12 o'clock, sent me home.

*Q.* At night?

*A.* Yes, sir. I went to the White House the next morning, but not seeing the President, I returned to the hotel. That evening, about six o'clock, a note came to the hotel addressed to me, brought there by a strange messenger, a colored man. The envelope, and the paper on which the note was written were from Willard's Hotel. The note read: "Mrs. Cobb, the President will see you this evening. L. C. BAKER."

Mr. Stanton: We would like to have that paper produced.

By Mr. Bradly:

*Q.* Have you that paper?

*A.* No, sir; the *President* has it.

*Q.* State what occurred.

*A.* I told the messenger to tell Baker that the *President knew where I was*. About five minutes after the note was left with me, a card was sent up. I did not know the gentleman's name that was on the card. My husband took the card, and went down stairs. I presume I will not be allowed to state what passed between the man and my husband.

Counsel: You may state any thing that happened to him afterward in connection with the arrest of the previous day.

*I went and saw the President that night.*

*Q.* Did you see him subsequently?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Frequently?

*A.* Yes, sir.

Mr. Stanton: We must object to all this testimony, unless there is something to connect it with this case.

Mr. Stanton also objected to the contents of the note spoken of by witness being received in evidence, unless the original paper was produced.

The Court: Of course it cannot be considered by the Jury unless brought home in some way to the defendant.

Mr. Bradly stated he proposed to show by the witness the action of the President in the matter, and put the falsehood where it ought to be, upon the defendant. We propose to show that she not only saw him once, but many times after this alleged authority had been given to Baker to restrain her from ever visiting him again.

The Court: If such were an indictable offense, the evidence might be relevant; but I cannot see that it is relevant on an indictment for an arrest which had previously taken place.

*Q.* Mrs. Cobb before you were sent home from General Baker's *head*.

quarters at the conclusion of your interview, did any other conversation pass between you than that which you have narrated?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* State it fully.

*A.* He was sitting in front of his desk or table, and I standing at the end of it. He told me he had better give me a commission, and not to say anything at all about that affair.

*Q.* Did you make any response?

*A.* I told him I would not accept any commission from him in any way shape, or form. There was not any thing further said in regard to it of any importance that I know of. Yet I would here make one statement that was made then. I told him that I once heard it reported that I was one of his detectives, and he said the man that said so had been stealing or he never would have said it. I told him that I had not, nor would I ever, under any circumstances, act in any shape or form as a detective for him, unless it was to ruin him.

*Cross-Examination.*

By Mr. Stanton.

*Q.* How long have you lived in Washington?

*A.* I came here in November, 1861. I have been here off and on ever since.

*Q.* Were you married when you came here in 1861?

Objected to by Mr. Bradly. Objection overruled. Witness directed to answer the question.

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* What was your maiden name?

*A.* Lucy Livingston.

*Q.* When were you married?

*A.* Any one can find out by going to the court in Baltimore, or asking the Rev. Dr. Roberts, who married me two years ago this last first of January.

*Q.* In what business had you been engaged in from 1861 until the present time?

Objected to by Mr. Bradly. Objection sustained; but it was ruled by the Court that that question might be asked of the witness if it was limited to within two years of the time at which this transaction occurred. Exception reserved by the defendant.

*Q.* State whether at Armory Hospital, in this city, you did not pass under the name of Mary Livingston, some time in 1862 or 1863?

Objected to by the District Attorney. Objection sustained. Exception reserved previous to the ruling of the Court. Mr. Stanton stated his purpose was to attack the credibility and character of the witness in every form in which it would be allowable under the law to do so. This he should do fairly, and by testimony which was not to be questioned.

*Q.* I will now ask you whether you have passed by the name of Mary Livingston within the last two years?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Have you passed by the name of Mrs. Mason within that time?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* I understand you to say, then, that within the last two years you have not passed by any other name whatever than your own?

*A.* No, sir, I have not.

*Q.* You say that you were living at the Avenue House at the time of this transaction?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Did you know General Baker prior to that time?

*A.* I believe I had seen the man twice only.

*Q.* Did he ever arrest you or your husband before?

Objected to by Mr. Bradly. Mr. Riddle stated the object was, to show that this lady was familiar with General Baker; knew him perfectly well; that these parties had been arrested by him before, her husband professing to be a naval officer when he was not, and having the straps taken off his shoulders by General Baker. Mr. Stanton said he proposed to prove, further, that the witness and her pretended husband were arrested cohabiting together in the same bed, in the year 1863, some time before the period of her alleged marriage. The Court ruled that the counsel might ask the witness whether any thing had ever transpired before between her and the defendant of an ill-nature, and what it was, but that they could not go into any circumstances of an arrest. They might go into it for the purpose of showing the animus of the witness. Mr. Stanton: That is what we propose to show, the animus of the witness. The Court suggested a question in the following form: "Whether she ever met the defendant before this arrest, and under what circumstances; whether she ever had any difficulty with him before, and if so out of what circumstances did that difficulty arise." Mr. Stanton, resuming the examination, said:—

*Q.* I wish to ask you whether, at the time General Baker entered your room at the Avenue House, any violence was offered to you?

*A.* No, sir, any further than by threats. He said he would have the money before he went out of the room, and as he uttered that remark made a very significant movement of his shoulder, and winked to Mr. Spear, as much as to say, "I have accomplished it this time."

*Q.* What was the money General Baker demanded of you?

*A.* He demanded of me four fifty-dollar Treasury notes. I cannot describe the notes any more closely than that.

*Q.* How did he know you had any such notes?

*A.* That it is impossible for me to know any thing about. He did not get the information from me.

*Q.* Were there any marks on these notes?

*A.* I did not examine to see.

*Q.* From whom did you receive these notes?

*A.* From Clarence J. Howell.

*Q.* Upon what considerations

*A.* Upon the consideration of obtaining his pardon.

*Q.* Then you were in the pardon broker business?

*A.* I was in the business of earning an honest living; that I think any woman has the privilege of doing.

*Q.* How long had you been in that business?

*A.* I do not know as I had been in that business for any definite period. I had procured some two or three pardons; three I believe was all.

Mr. Stanton: If your Honor please, this paper (a certified copy of what is termed a contract, with receipt indorsed on the back) for by the District Attorney, and exhibited. I now propose to read the contract here, and to question the witness about it.

Mr. Bradly: I object. Produce the original.

Mr. Stanton: We do not propose to read this paper in evidence, but simply for the purpose of asking the witness a few questions regarding it. Whether it was upon this contract that the two hundred dollars, of which she has spoken, was received.

The Court: The prosecuting witness spoke in her examination in chief of a receipt; you may read that receipt to her to know whether that is the receipt to which she refers, and then cross-examine her.

Objection withdrawn.

*Q.* Is this the contract you made with Captain Howell?

*A.* I do not think the top part of that was on it.

*Q.* Is the rest correct?

*A.* I think it is.

*Q.* There is an indorsement: "Received on the within, one hundred dollars. Signed Mrs. L. L. Cobb." Was that receipt on the back of the paper?

*A.* No, sir.

Mr. Bradly: In obedience to our summons, the marshal has placed in my hands a paper which purports to be the original contract between these parties, and which was in the possession of the Executive.

*Q.* Now you say that that receipt was not on the back of that paper?

*A.* I do not think it was.

*Q.* Are you certain of that?

*A.* It was not on the back. I think it was written at the bottom of the paper, right along with the contract.

Mr. Bradly stated he objected to counsel interrogating the witness as to the contents of a written instrument. He had withdrawn his objection to their framing a question upon the contract, but he would not consent to have the contents referred to by the witness.

The Court: You can read the receipt, and ask the witness whether that is the receipt to which she alludes; and you can then read the other paper, which was spoken of in the testimony in chief, and ask if that is the paper to which she alluded.

*Q.* Now I will ask you if this is the original contract (handing witness the paper given to Mr. Bradly by the marshal), and if the receipt on the back of it is the one to which you referred in your testimony in chief?

*A.* It seems to be the receipt; but as my memory served me at the time I answered your question it was, as I supposed, written at the bottom of the contract.

*Q.* Are those signatures your signatures?

*A.* Yes, sir.

Mr. Stanton: I will state that these papers are precise copies of the other.

*Q.* I will ask if this one hundred dollars was paid on the 5th of November?

*A.* It was.

*Q.* At the time this paper was written?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* What day was that?

*A.* Sunday.

*Q.* It was the next day the pardon was obtained?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Did you get that pardon the next day?

*A.* I did not.

*Q.* State whether the two hundred dollars was paid in pursuance of the supposed agreement in this contract?

*A.* It was paid to me when I gained the pardon for him.

*Q.* Did you gain the pardon for him?

*A.* I did.

*Q.* And was this money paid to you upon that?

*A.* It was.

*Q.* At what time?

*A.* Wednesday, 8th of November, 1865.

*Q.* Was that the day when you were arrested?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* How long before you were arrested by General Baker, according to your statement, had this money been paid?

*A.* About five minutes, I should judge.

*Q.* By whom was the money handed to you?

*A.* By Captain Clarence J. Howell.

*Q.* Did you deliver to him the pardon at that time?

*A.* I did not.

*Q.* Why didn't you?

*A.* Because I was obliged to file an amnesty oath with his petition.

*Q.* Did he trust you with the money?

*A.* He said he was satisfied, and would come at nine o'clock and go with my husband and take the amnesty oath.

*Q.* Did you show him the pardon?

*A.* I did.

*Q.* These identical notes that you took from General Baker were the ones that you received?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Did you voluntarily surrender those notes to General Baker?

*A.* I did not, until he threatened to handcuff me and have me searched for them.

*Q.* Did he tell you any thing about where those notes were from?

*A.* He did not.

*Q.* Did he not tell you that he had sent those notes by Captain Howell himself?

*A.* He did not tell me any such thing.

*Q.* Did General Baker state to you that he had given this money to Captain Howell, and it was his money?

*A.* He did not.

*Q.* Did he give you any reason at all for taking the money from you?

*A.* Not a particle further than he said he would break up the pardon brokerage business.

*Q.* When General Baker first entered your room, did he not say to you something like this: "I want the two hundred dollars just given you by Captain Howell for obtaining his pardon"?

*A.* No, sir, he did not. I will repeat to you as near as I can the exact words that he used. Says he, "I will have that two hundred dollars before you leave this room." He did not say he wanted it—did not ask me for it—but said he would have it.

*Q.* Who was present with General Baker?

*A.* My husband.

*Q.* Who came in with General Baker?

*A.* A man by the name of Spear.

*Q.* Did he hear the conversation between you and Baker?

*A.* He was present when the conversation took place. I cannot answer for his hearing.

*Q.* And you say that General Baker did not say any thing to you about this money having been paid you by Captain Howell?

*A.* No, sir; not at that time.

*Q.* Did he at any time before you gave up the money?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Did not General Baker tell you that he had been watching these pardon brokers for a long time, and he knew that you were engaged in that business?

*A.* He did not before he took the money away from me.

*Q.* Did you not say to him in that conversation that you would willingly give up the two hundred dollars, if the transaction would not be made known so as to make a noise.

*A.* I did not—nothing on the subject. He asked me not to say any thing about it.

*Q.* Was it publicly known that you were engaged in this pardon business?

*A.* It was publicly known that I was engaged in the pardon or any other business that would procure or help to procure for myself and husband an honest living.

*Q.* When you went to General Baker's office up stairs, who was present beside General Baker?

*A.* No one present at all when we had our conversation until after he came back from the President's. A gentleman came in, and said something to General Baker, then passed out again.

*Q.* Who was that gentleman?

*A.* I know him not.

*Q.* Was the office door opened or closed?

*A.* Closed.

*Q.* All the time?

*A.* Yes, sir. When he wished any one, he would ring the bell, and the boy would come up and answer it.

*Q.* Was the door locked?

*A.* I do not know.

*Q.* Did you state during that conversation any thing like this: That you did not know why you should be selected to be arrested, while there were so many other persons engaged in the same business of pardon brokers, who were making ten dollars where you were making one?

*A.* I told General Baker that I did not know why he should persecute and torment me in that manner—a woman who was trying to earn an honest living. I did not say any thing in regard to anybody else.

*Q.* Did you say any thing about Mrs. Washington getting pardons?

*A.* I did not. He took a receipt, or what purported to be a receipt, and showed me the name of Mrs. Washington. I cannot say whether it was Emma or Ella. I have forgotten.

*Q.* Did you say that lady was getting ten where you was getting one?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Did you state to General Baker that you procured pardons in six hours, while it took others six weeks to get them?

*A.* No, sir; nothing of the kind.

*Q.* Did you say any thing about your facilities for doing business?

*A.* I did not any thing further than this. I told him that he had intimated that I got my pardons through foul means. I told him he could think what he chose; but it was one thing to think, and another thing to prove it a fact.

*Q.* Did you have any influence at the White House to get pardons?

*A.* My labor showed my influence.

*Q.* Did you not give General Baker a list of the names of the persons for whom you had procured pardons?

*A.* I did.

*Q.* Who were they?

Objected to. Question withdrawn.

*Q.* Did you explain to Captain Howell the reason why you did not get this pardon on Monday, instead of Wednesday?

Objected to. Mr. Riddle said he proposed to show exactly what did transpire, from the beginning to the end, with regard to the procuring of this pardon. It was made directly a legitimate matter in the case, and every thing in connection with it went directly to the question of intention on the part of General Baker. The Court ruled the testimony to be irrelevant. At this stage of the proceedings the Court adjourned.

On the opening of the court, Mr. Bradly, Jr., said: I desire to state to the Court, in behalf of the prosecution, that although yesterday, having had no conference no opportunity to confer with the witness upon the stand, Mrs.

Cobb, we felt constrained to insist upon the rigid rules of law as to the cross-examination into her private history and character while she has been a resident in this city of Washington. We now desire to advise the other side that we extend to them the largest latitude which your Honor, in your discretion, will see fit to indulge them in. We court the investigation, with no fear of the result; and if the gentlemen refuse to go into the inquiry now that the opportunity is offered them, we hope there will be no more slurs and insinuations cast upon this lady's integrity and purity. We have been advised by counsel on the other side that they intend to attack the character of this witness for credibility, purity, and in every other respect that the law will allow. We throw open the doors to them, letting them have the widest latitude.

The Court: I was going to state, in regard to a question which I decided yesterday in the excitement of the debate and the confused condition in which the case then stood, that I restricted the counsel with reference to the history of this lady in the matter of time. I am inclined to think that I erred in that particular. After more mature reflection, I have come to the conclusion that any question may be put to a witness upon cross-examination, without limitation of time, in relation to any fact or circumstance connected with matters that were stated by her on her examination in chief, even if an answer to such would tend to degrade the witness. If, however, these matters are not relevant, but collateral, the fact must be concluded by the answer of the witness. If relevant, then the answer of the witness may be contradicted by other witnesses.

Mrs. L. L. COBB.

*Examination Resumed.*

Q. When did you first become acquainted with Captain Howell?

A. On Saturday, the 4th of November, 1865.

Q. Had you any knowledge of him prior to that time?

A. No, sir.

Q. How did you become acquainted with Captain Howell?

A. I was introduced to him by Samuel S. Jones, an attorney-at-law ~~from~~ New York.

Q. Where?

A. At Willard's Hotel.

Q. Were you living at Willard's Hotel?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you make an engagement to meet the gentleman at that place?

A. No, sir.

Q. Was the meeting accidental?

A. It was.

Q. What was the subject of conversation had between you at that time?

A. The subject of the conversation was this—

Objected to. Question withdrawn.

Q. Did you make any engagements to meet him subsequently?

*A.* I did not. He agreed to come to my house that evening, at the Hotel where I was boarding.

*Q.* Was it then you made the contract?

*A.* Instead of his coming, he wrote me a note, stating that it would be impossible for him to come, as he would be detained on business longer than he expected, and he would come the following day, Sunday afternoon.

*Q.* Was it at your house the contract was made.

*A.* It was at the Avenue Hotel, where I was boarding, in my room.

*Q.* Was your husband present?

*A.* He was.

*Q.* In that conversation, do you remember that you denounced General Baker very bitterly?

Objected to by Mr. Bradly.

The Court said that he did not see that such evidence related to any fact or circumstance in the examination in chief.

Mr. Riddle stated he desired to have it to show the witness's state of feeling toward the defendant.

The Court stated they might ask her what her state of feeling was to General Baker, but he did not think it proper to go into an examination of all the conversation held by her with other people in regard to General Baker. He must therefore exclude evidence of that conversation.

Defendant reserves exception.

*Q.* Did you tell Captain Howell at that time what means or facilities you had, or what persons aided you in obtaining pardons from the President.

Objected to. Objection overruled, and witness directed to answer the question.

*A.* I told Captain Clarence J. Howell that he need not ask me by what influence, how, or through whom I received the pardons, for I would not tell him or any other living soul.

*Q.* You did not then speak of any gentleman who was at that time absent in the city of New York, and prevented from getting a pardon on Monday?

*A.* I did not.

*Q.* What did you say to Captain Howell in reference to this matter of pardon, as to what you could do if you had money to accomplish your object?

*A.* Our conversation was with Captain Clarence J. Howell. I simply told him that I could not live without being paid for my labor. I was not going to work, not knowing whether I could get his pardon or not, without receiving some compensation for my labor. I told him, furthermore, that money would accomplish almost any thing.

*Q.* Didn't you tell him that you were under the necessity of dividing what you received with other persons, but you would not tell who they were?

*A.* I never told him or anybody else such a thing in my life.

*Q.* Do you see Captain Howell present in court?

*A.* I do not see him now. He may be here.

*Q.* Is this the gentleman (Captain Howell rising from his seat)?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Did you receive this pardon from the President himself?

*A.* I received that pardon from Major Long. I received the order for the pardon from the President.

*Q.* You stated that it was given to you upon condition that it should not be delivered to Captain Howell until he had taken the oath and filed it in the Secretary's office?

*A.* I did not say any such thing.

*Q.* State what you did say?

*A.* I said that I was pledged to the President not to deliver to Clarence J. Howell the pardon until he had first taken the amnesty oath and given it to me, so that I could file it with the petition then on file at the Attorney-General's office.

*Q.* Were you not required to carry that pardon and deposit it in the office of the Attorney-General?

*A.* I was requested to give my receipt at the Attorney-General's office for that pardon. When I gave my receipt for the pardon at the Attorney-General's office, I did.

*Q.* To whom did you give that receipt?

*A.* To W. F. Pleasants, the pardon clerk.

*Q.* Did you have an order to that effect from Mr. Pleasants?

Witness: To what effect?

Counsel: From the President to Mr. Pleasants to give you the pardon!

Witness: I did not.

*Q.* Did you give an order of any kind to Mr. Pleasants?

*A.* I did not.

*Q.* What time in the day was it you went to the Attorney-General's office, at the time you carried the pardon there?

*A.* It was from fifteen to twenty minutes to three o'clock.

*Q.* Was not the Department closed when you went there?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Did anybody go your security for the proper disposition of that pardon and the appearance of Captain Howell to take the oath?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Did Mr. Pleasants give it to you upon your simple assurance that you would have it properly attended to?

*A.* Mr. Pleasants said nothing in regard to the amnesty, nor any thing of the kind. The agreement was between the President and myself.

*Q.* Mr. Pleasants gave you the pardon without knowing any thing about it?

*A.* Mr. Pleasants gave me the pardon as he gives others pardons, as he has the power to do. In order to answer your questions properly, so that the court and jury will understand it distinctly, I will have to explain the whole proceeding from the beginning until the time the pardon landed in the Attorney-General's office. I was to have got this pardon on Monday, if a possible thing. He came to me on Sunday. I was to get it for him on Monday night, if possible. I told him I would let all my other business go and try and do it. I took the petition on Monday morning, went to the Attorney-General's office with it, and presented it at first to Mr. Pleasants, the pardon

clerk. He says, "I can do nothing with this. It is a military offense for which he is tried and convicted. It will have to go before Judge Holt." I asked, "Cannot Attorney-General Speed issue a warrant for it, or recommend, or order it to be done?" His reply was, "He can if he chooses to." I inquired, "Is he in?" He says, "He is not." "Is his assistant in?" I further inquired. "He is," he responded. I will state that I knew Mr. Ashton, the Assistant Attorney-General, very well indeed. I went in to see him, and said to him, "Can you do any thing about this?" He says, "I cannot; your best plan is to take it to Judge Holt." Instead of taking it to Judge Holt, I took it to the President, and showed it to his private secretary, his son, Colonel Robert Johnson. Says he, "Mrs. Cobb, you had better go over to Judge Holt's, and see what the report is in Judge Holt's office against this man." His petition set forth that he had been arrested by General Rosecrans, and thrown into prison, convicted, and from there escaped, and went into Canada. That he had an order in his pocket, from Secretary Stanton, driving him from the District of Columbia, and giving him only twelve hours in which to leave town, and that Baker's hounds were dogging him in such a manner that he had to live here under a fictitious name to prevent being arrested. He said he had saved General John P. Slough's life, and that he was trying to get his pardon for him, that he had paid him fifty dollars, which he could not recall I took the petition to Colonel Johnson, and he told me I had better go to Judge Holt with it. I went to Judge Holt. Says he, "I can find the record of no such man as that on my books, but I think if you go to the President, and state the facts to him, *i. e.*, that he has saved one of our general's lives, and that for that reason, because the war is over, and because he is desirous of starting in business in New York, as he represented to me he did, the President will pardon him." I went to the President and stated the facts to him. The President told me to come back on Wednesday or Thursday and I will give you an answer. I went back on Wednesday, about twenty minutes to three o'clock. Says he, "I cannot pardon Clarence J. Howell." Says I, "Why not?" He replied, "He is in Canada." "No," I responded, "he was at my hotel last evening; I expect him to be there again this evening. As long as the war is over, and there is no more spying to be done, and he has saved the General's life, cannot you pardon him?" Says he, "I think I can on that ground." He sat down and wrote on the back of that petition, "The Attorney-General will issue a warrant for the within named person, as I am informed he is in town," and signed Andrew Johnson. He was about to seal it up and send it over to the Attorney-General by one of his mounted orderlies, when I said to him, "Are you going to send that over by the orderly?" "Yes," he says. "Let me take it," I said. Says he, "Well, take it yourself to the Attorney-General, and see what he will do for you." It was twenty minutes to three o'clock, or thereabouts, when I reached the latter place. I went to Mr. Pleasants, the pardon clerk, and handing him the paper said, "Can you put that through for me?" "Yes," says he, "in about TEN MINUTES." "Very well," says I, "do so." He wrote an order for the warrant, and then called a young clerk from his desk, and told him to take that right in to the Attorney-General and get it signed, and then go over to the State Department and have

*it attended to, and then bring me back the pardon.* He did so. Mr. Pleasants then put on it, "W. F. Pleasants, ordered by the President." He then sent it over to the President, by the messenger of the Attorney-General's office, to have him (the President) sign it. *I went over with the messenger. When I got there I says to Major Long, "Can you take this in to the President, and get it signed?" He says "I can."* He took it in, the President signed it, and he then brought it out to me. I took it over to the State Department and got it sealed and signed by the Secretary, and sealed by Mr. Bartlett. The messenger at the State Department took it over to Mr. Pleasants. *I gave my receipt to Mr. Pleasants, and he gave me the pardon.* That is the whole of it.

Q. Did you tell General Baker, at the time you were at his office, that two members of Congress had gone security for you for the proper return of that amnesty oath?

A. No, sir, I never told him such a word.

Q. I understood you to say, yesterday, you were married the 1st of January, 1864?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you live at Mrs. Smith's or Mrs. Bell's, on Twelfth Street, in 1863?

A. No, sir.

Q. At what time did you live there?

A. I moved there the 2d, 3d, or 4th of January, 1864. It was after I was married.

Q. You have stated that you made this contract on Sunday afternoon, and that you received one hundred dollars at that time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you not, the first thing the next morning, go to see a very prominent officer in one of the departments, in reference to this matter?

A. I did not. I took it directly to the Attorney-General's office.

Q. You did not stop at the private house of one of the officers of the Government?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you pay out to anybody part of that one hundred dollars that you first received?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. After you were discharged by General Baker at his office, did he send you home in a carriage?

A. He did.

Q. Did you pay for the carriage?

A. I did not. That would have been a pretty dear bargain, to have my money taken from me, and then pay for the carriage beside to ride under arrest in.

Q. How did you part with General Baker that evening?

A. I parted with him with cool contempt, with a simple "good-night."

Q. You did not speak to him, and bid him good-night very kindly?

A. I said: "Good-night, General," in as insulting manner as I could.

*Q.* Didn't your husband get exceedingly angry, because of your treating him in such a kind manner?

*A.* Yes, sir, as he had a right to do, and as any gentleman would when he sees his wife insulted as I was. I bid the General good-night, not because I had any respect for him, but because I was determined to prove myself a lady, in spite of all his mean insults.

*Q.* That made your husband very angry, did it?

*A.* Not that alone, sir.

*Q.* He refused to ride with you?

*A.* Yes, sir; at first.

*Q.* But he did finally get into the carriage?

*A.* Yes, sir; he is not ashamed to go anywhere with his wife.

*Q.* Did you persuade him to go?

*A.* I did not.

*Re-Examination.*

By Mr. Bradly:

*Q.* I desire to ask you a few questions. What was the reason assigned to you by General Holt why this man's name could not be found on record?

*A.* It could not be found on the record because there was no charge preferred against him by that name, Clarence J. Howell.

*Q.* What was his real name?

*A.* Lt. Henry H. Hine.

*Q.* State whether, in any of the conversations to which you have already testified, it was stated to you by any one of the parties for what he had been convicted and under what circumstances?

*A.* I may perhaps answer that question in this manner. When he told me he had put his petition in the hands of General John P. Slough, for General Slough to get his pardon with, I, after being arrested on Thursday, went to see General Slough. I asked him about this man. He told me he was charged with being a spy for the rebels, while holding a commission in the Federal army, and had been convicted by General Rosecrans. Furthermore, Captain Clarence J. Howell acknowledged the same to me himself.

*Q.* You have been asked something with reference to your husband. What is his present condition, and his occupation?

*A.* He is at present lying very sick with erysipelas. His occupation is that of a clerk in the Treasury Department, under Mr. Randall.

Mr. Bradly: Now, if your Honor pleases, I make an offer to the gentleman on the other side. It was yesterday said publicly by one of the counsel, that this Mr. Cobb was sought after by General Baker because he was claiming to be a naval officer, when in point of fact he was not, and that the papers shown him, if he had any such papers, were forged papers.

Mr. Riddle: We said nothing about forged papers, or about his having any papers.

Mr. Bradly: I may be wrong about that, sir. I make the offer here to present to the gentlemen on the other side, if they see proper to have it read to the jury, the commission of this gentleman, signed by the Hon. Gideon

Welles, as acting paymaster in the navy. I am prepared to show that he was an officer in the service, wounded in action, and is now suffering from the effects of that wound; whether that these papers were taken from him at that time by General Baker, and retained by him until he was satisfied of their genuineness, and that Mr. Cobb himself was placed under arrest.

Mr. Stanton: Do you claim this is a commission?

Mr. Bradly: It is complete as far as it goes. He never qualified, because his surgeon told him that, owing to the character of the wound which he had received, an internal hemorrhage continually existing, it would be greatly prejudicial to his health, if it did not endanger his life, for him to undertake to go to sea and live upon salt food.

Mr. Stanton: May it please your Honor, it does not seem by this paper that this gentleman was offered an appointment, and required to give bonds; and that upon the strength of this, before giving bonds, and before being actually appointed in the navy, he held himself out as a paymaster in the navy. For this General Baker arrested him, and took his straps from his shoulders, and took these papers from him and carried them to the Secretary of the Navy, who assured him there was no such officer on the lists of the Department. That is the whole state of the transaction.

Mr. Bradly: He never had any straps on his shoulders, or any uniform, other than that of an officer of the army. I would state further that Mrs. Cobb has the bond executed by her husband, and is prepared to show that the reason why he did not qualify was because of this wound. She has also here her marriage certificate, showing the date of that marriage, and where and by whom it was celebrated.

Mr. Stanton: If the point is considered material, we propose to prove the fact that was stated upon the authority of General Baker, that he had the straps of a naval officer on his shoulders, and that he (Baker) took them off.

The Court: Was any thing testified to by this witness on the cross-examination in reference to these shoulder-straps?

Counsel: No, your Honor; but the offer was made publicly, and the charges preferred.

The Court: Whatever counsel may say on their opening, or in the way of parenthesis during the conduct of a case, the jury will of course understand is mere bosh, and has nothing to do with the case unless proof is introduced.

Mr. Riddle: The matter was referred to while I was asking the witness whether she was previously acquainted with General Baker, and this reference was made in order to try and refresh her recollection, as she answered in the negative. Now, after some hours of deliberation, the gentlemen come in, with their case all fixed up, and beg that the matter shall go forward. The subject was disposed of at the time, and we shall leave it precisely where it was.

Q. Do you know where it was you first saw General Baker, to know him?

A. The first time I saw General Baker was about the time that Surgeon Bliss, of Armory Square Hospital, was under arrest, lying in the Old Capitol prison.

*Q.* When did you next see him?

*A.* Some three or four days after the 20th of February, 1864, at the time he arrested my husband on those papers, alleging them to be false.

*Q.* What opportunity had you at that time to see him, and to know that it was the same man?

*A.* I was lying in bed. He was in my bedroom.

*Q.* How did he get in there?

*A.* He threatened to burst open the door, unless my husband let him in. My husband was partially dressed, and opened the door for him, being disposed to do this, rather than have some one else's house broken down beside his own.

*Q.* Was that before or after your marriage?

*A.* That was after. He carried away with those papers my marriage certificate, and took them to his own house, and showed them there before Mr. Spear, who will come here to-day and testify to it.

Mr. Bradly read marriage certificate, dated January 1, 1864, and offered the paper in evidence.

*Q.* You have been asked by what name you went to Armory Square Hospital.

*A.* You will find my name on record as a nurse in Armory Square Hospital as Mrs. Lucy Livingston, and no other.

*Q.* Why was it so?

*A.* Because they objected to having a single girl as nurse in the hospital, and I took the name simply for the sake of being there near where my only brother was. I came here voluntarily to take charge of the sick and wounded soldiers of our army, and received an appointment from Surgeon Bliss in his hospital as nurse. Surgeon Bliss well understood the reason why "Mrs." was attached to my name.

*Q.* Who gave you a letter of introduction to that physician?

*A.* Surgeon Wood, of Philadelphia.

*Q.* By what name?

*A.* Mrs. Lucy Livingston.

*Q.* Where was your brother?

*A.* In the Eleventh New York Regiment. He was at that time in Western Virginia.

*Q.* Have you at any other time, in Washington, had any other name than that of Lucy Livingston?

*A.* Yes, sir. After the death of my brother, who was killed at the battle of Gettysburg, I opened a cigar store on Pennsylvania Avenue, for the sake of earning, or trying to earn, an honest living; and, on account of my people living in New York State, I took the name of Lucy Randolph.

*Q.* Why did you select the name of Lucy Randolph?

*A.* Because at that time I was engaged to be married to Mr. Cobb, and I took his middle name by his own sanction.

*Q.* How long did you keep that store?

*A.* About two or three months.

*Q.* What year was that?

A. That was in 1863.

Q. What period of the year?

A. I opened a store there the 16th of July, I think, but I am not certain. I kept it open until September, I think.

Q. You have been asked whether, on the morning after receiving the one hundred dollars on account of that work you were to do for this Howell, you paid any portion of that money to any officer of the Government. I will ask you if you had any understanding, agreement, contract, or arrangement of any sort whatever, by which you gave compensation to any one, and facilitated your work at the Department?

A. No, sir, none at all. I can tell you where every dollar of that one hundred dollars went. In the first place, I gave the one hundred dollars into my husband's hands. I then went with my husband to Mr. Lockwood's, Pennsylvania Avenue, where I had given an order for him to have half a dozen fine shirts made, and took one of these fifty-dollar bills, and went to Mr. Lockwood, the cashier, and paid for his shirts, and had them sent home to the Avenue House. The other fifty-dollar bill he took and went to the store under the Metropolitan Hotel, where he had been measured for a pair of fine boots, and paid fifteen dollars out of that for the boots. So you see one of the fifty-dollar bills was in the shoe-store, the other in Mr. Lockwood's, the rest of the money went to Mr. King, the proprietor of the hotel, for our board.

Q. Where was the petition filed?

A. At the Attorney-General's office. The President sent to the Attorney-General's office and got the petition the next night after I was arrested.

By Mr. Stanton:

Q. How long were you at the Armory Square Hospital?

A. I do not know the exact time that I was there.

Q. Did you resign your position there, or were you discharged?

A. I was discharged from there on account of sickness

Q. Was there any other reason besides sickness given?

A. No, sir. .

Q. No charge made against you?

A. No, sir. I have Surgeon Bliss's letter of recommendation of the highest kind, and his family and I are on an equal footing with each other, and visit each other when we see proper—*his wife and daughters*.

The counsel for the prosecution state that they here rest the case of the Government.

Mr. Riddle opens for defense.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### THE PROGRESS OF THE TRIAL

**Testimony of Alfred A. Spear, an Officer in the Bureau of the National Detective Police—Interesting Details of his Interviews with Mrs. Cobb, and Matters connected with her.**

THE next witness brought on the stand was Mr. Alfred A. Spear, an efficient officer in the National police, whose intimate connection with the disclosures of Mrs. Cobb's character and business will shed additional light upon both.

**ALFRED A. SPEAR, SWORN.**

By Mr. Riddle:

*Question.* State whether you were in Washington about the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, or 9th of November last.

*Answer.* I was.

*Q.* Will you state the transaction that occurred at the Avenue House on the evening of your calling with General Baker?

A. Well, sir, on the evening of the 8th of November, General Baker and myself proceeded from his office to the Avenue House with Captain Howell. Captain Howell walked on one side of the street and we on the other. General Baker and myself proceeded to Mrs. Cobb's room; I forget the number. I knocked at the door, when somebody within said "Come." I think it was General Baker who then opened the door, but I won't be positive, and we walked in. I saw a gentleman and lady standing in the middle of the floor, she was evidently a little confused about something. General Baker inquired for Mrs. Cobb. The lady present introduced herself as the one inquired for. He then introduced himself as General Baker; I do not know whether he said from the War Department or not, but I recollect distinctly his saying General Baker. Mr. Cobb was standing in the middle of the floor with a bunch of keys in his hands; I am not positive whether they were on a steel ring or not; at any rate they were tied together; he broke whatever confined them, and the keys became scattered all over the floor. In the mean time I sat down in a chair; the rest remained standing. There was some little time spent in looking up the keys, during which nothing at all was said. Finally Mr. Cobb, I think it was he, inquired General Baker's business; he informed him that he came there after two hundred dollars of ~~his~~ money, which had

been paid by Captain Howell for a pardon. She did not deny having the money, but wanted to know by what authority General Baker demanded it. He said the money belonged to him, that he had furnished it for that purpose, and that it was marked—four fifty-dollar bills, Treasury notes. I know they were marked, because I marked them myself. General Baker was walking the floor, pacing up and down, and when he got near where I was sitting he remarked to me, "I think I have seen this woman before."

*Q.* Did she hear that?

*A.* She did. She replied to him, "General Baker, I am a lady, sir." The General said he knew nothing to the contrary, and thought he had treated her as such. He then said to Mrs. Cobb, "I want you to go to my office or my headquarters. I want to talk over this pardon business." Mr. Cobb says to General Baker, "Are we to consider ourselves under arrest?" Says General Baker, "No, sir. I merely want you to go to my office to talk over this business. It has been going on long enough, and this obtaining of pardons under false representations has got to be stopped; and I am going to stop it." He then said, "Mrs. Cobb, are you going?" Says she, "I suppose I will have to," and then added, "would there be any objection to my husband accompanying me?" The General said, "No." They then put on their things and left the room. Mr. Cobb turned down the gas, locked the door, put the key in his pocket, went down stairs, and got into the carriage.

*Q.* State whether the carriage was called there, or you took it there with you.

*A.* It was called there. We all got into the carriage, and drove to General Baker's office. We went into the lower room, first floor. General Baker said to me, "You show Mrs. Cobb up to my private office," which I did, Mr. Cobb remaining down stairs. I believe General Baker went in there immediately after I came away. I did not go into the room, but merely opened the door. When I got down stairs, Mr. Cobb was sitting on the lounge. I asked him if he had the pardon; told him I had a curiosity to see a document of that kind, as I had never seen one. He said he hadn't it, and had never seen it; that Mrs. Cobb had it. In the mean time General Baker's bell rang for the boy. The boy having gone to the post-office, I went up stairs to see what he wanted. He told me to do something, not connected with this case at all. I forgot now what it was. Says I, "General, you have got the pardon?" I thought probably Mrs. Cobb had brought the pardon with her.

*Q.* Was this in her presence?

*A.* Yes, sir. He turns round and says, "Mrs. Cobb, where is that pardon?" Says she, "It is down in my room, in a bureau drawer," specifying the drawer. "My husband knows where it is, and he can go down and get it." Says the General, "Very well; Mr. Spear, go down with him." Her husband had the key of the room, and had locked it when he went out, and put the key in his pocket. We got into a carriage, went down, and Mr. Cobb got the pardon just where she said it was, in a bureau drawer. He handed it to me, and then looked around for a letter which was addressed to Secretary Seward, which he found in an old valise. He placed them both in my hands. We then walked out of the room. He locked the door again, when we got

into the carriage, and drove up to General Baker's office. I laid the documents down on General Baker's desk, and I have never seen them from that day to this.

*Q.* His desk in his private office, or the one in the room below?

*A.* Below.

*Q.* What next transpired?

*A.* Mr. Cobb, getting chilly from his ride down in the carriage, says to me, "Let's go and get a drink." Says I, "I will go." We both went out, took a drink, got a cigar, and then came back. I then left him in the office, and was gone for I suppose three-quarters of an hour. In the mean time, by pacing up and down the floor he made Collins, a watchman, who is now somewhere in Pennsylvania, and who was writing at the time, very nervous. Collins says to him, "Mr. Cobb, I wish you would either sit down or go out." Mr. Cobb said he would not go out until he got ready, but would pace the floor just as much as he chose, which he did.

*Q.* State whether he was put under any restraint.

*A.* He was not. I did not have, and I don't believe any other man about the establishment had, any orders to keep an eye on Mr. Cobb. He went into the office with his wife when we first arrived there, and remained there, off and on, until his wife came down stairs. When she came down stairs I was in the office. I heard her bid General Baker a very pleasant good-evening indeed, as she possibly could. Her pleasant manner of parting with General Baker made her husband very angry, and I could hear him talking very angrily to her all the way from the hall to the carriage. He at first declared he would not ride with her, or any one who would act in that way. She, however, finally prevailed on him to get into the carriage, and they went away.

*Q.* Do you know, whether, during the time they were there, General Baker was himself absent from the office at any time?

*A.* No, sir, I do not. I heard that he was.

*Q.* Were there any guards placed there?

*A.* No, sir; no guard about the office at all.

*Q.* Was there anybody there, to your knowledge, under arrest?

*Q.* No, sir.

*Q.* About what time was it you went to the Avenue House that evening?

*A.* I think it was in the neighborhood of six o'clock.

*Q.* How long did you remain, after reaching the Avenue House, before you went in?

*A.* We went into the Avenue House, and sat down in an office at the left of the hall as you go in, which is used as a kind of a barber-shop and a sitting-room. We took position there so that we could see anybody that came out. There was a signal agreed on by Captain Howell and General Baker, by which General Baker might learn whether the pardon was or not obtained. We had been down there twice before.

*Q.* State what the signal was.

*A.* Raising the hat.

*Q.* State whether you got the signal from him.

A. We did.

Q. You then went immediately to the room?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the room on the first floor, or up stairs?

A. Up stairs.

Q. There you found Mr. and Mrs. Cobb?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What part did you take in the transaction? What did you say?

A. I did not say any thing. I merely knocked at the door, but I am not certain whether I opened it or not, and then went in and sat down.

Q. State whether there was any thing said to you except what General Baker remarked.

A. No, sir; not a word.

Q. You state in that conversation that General Baker said to her, that that money belonged to him, that it was marked?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you remember that the money was marked, because you marked it before it went there, in General Baker's private office?

A. Yes, sir; I marked it on Wednesday evening.

Q. Whose money was that?

A. General Baker's. That is, he took it out of his pocket. I suppose it was his.

A. Do you know for what purpose it was given to Captain Howell?

Mr. Bradly, Jr., objected, on the ground that it is not material to this inquiry for what purpose General Baker caused some money to be given to Hines, even this identical money.

The Court: Money is claimed to have been extorted from this witness--two hundred dollars—and the evidence is therefore applicable to that part of the examination.

Mr. Stanton: May it please your Honor, it is the very gist of our defense that General Baker, for the purpose of exposing this business of pardon-brokerage, adopted this plan of employing this gentleman, Captain Howell, to take the \$300, and go to this woman, who was engaged in this business, and engaged her to procure this pardon, paid her the first one hundred dollars of Baker's money, in the manner stated, and paid her the second amount furnished by Baker, which was marked by him, and subsequently obtained from her, the money having upon it the same marks it had when Hines took and paid it to her. Now, if that constitutes a defense, and we think it does, we are entitled to show it.

Mr. Bradly, Sr.

The Court: I rule counsel are entitled to trace this money, from the time it is said to have come out of General Baker's pocket, until found in the possession of Mrs. Cobb. I cannot see, however, what the object can be of having that of itself left alone unsupported and unsustained by other testimony before the jury. But if it should be followed up by testimony showing that there was an amicable understanding on the part of Mrs. Cobb that this money was to be returned, or any thing of that kind, that would certainly tend to justify

a defense. Or suppose it to be followed up, not by that, but by testimony going to show that this pardon was obtained by indirection, by dividing the money with certain public officers—for that is foreshadowed by the defense—then it would also be important and material. I do not know, Mr. Carrington, how it may comport with your views, but if I were the prosecuting attorney, I should have no hesitation in resorting to such means for the purpose of detecting frauds which were constantly being practiced on the Government. It would be rather singular, to hold that where the mail, for instance, was robbed, it would not do for a public officer to put a snare to catch a thief with.

Q. You may relate what transpired at the time that this money was marked and given by General Baker to Captain Howell—what was said as to what was to be done with it.

A. Well, sir, I marked the money, and handed it back to General Baker. He then handed the money to Captain Howell, for the purpose of having Captain Howell pay it over to Mrs. Cobb for a pardon, which she was to procure for him by Monday night.

Q. Now, for what purpose did General Baker go there in connection with that transaction after the payment of the money?

A. To get the money back.

Q. What, if any thing, was said at the time this money was delivered?

A. There was nothing said in my presence about that.

Q. But you stated before, that, when you went, you went with Captain Howell at the same time.

A. Captain Howell left the office about the same time, and proceeded to the Avenue Hotel; General Baker and myself got there probably two or three minutes after he did.

Q. You state you went there two or three times.

A. Yes, sir; on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday evenings.

Q. The actual transaction took place on the Wednesday?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see that money again at any time afterward?

A. No, sir.

Q. Were there any sentinels or guards about the headquarters of General Baker on that Wednesday evening?

A. No, sir.

Q. Had there been any there within three or four months preceding that time?

A. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Q. Will you state, Mr. Spear, what menace, or force, if any, was used to induce Mrs. Cobb to leave the Avenue House to go to General Baker's office?

A. There was none.

Q. What menace, threat, or force, was employed towards her, as far as you know, while at the headquarters?

A. Not any.

Q. What did you see or hear of any thing that indicated the use of violence or threats toward her?

*A.* Nothing

*Q.* How many persons were about headquarters that evening belonging to the office?

*A.* I should think there were four or five. I do not know positively how many.

*Q.* Do you remember the names of any of them?

*A.* Yes, sir. There was Mr. Smith, General Baker's confidential clerk; Mr. Collins, the watchman; and myself. I believe those are all.

*Q.* About what time in the evening did Mr. and Mrs. Cobb leave headquarters to go home?

*A.* I think it was about eleven o'clock. I know I left for home immediately afterward, and I got home about a quarter or twenty minutes after eleven.

*Q.* About how long were you in their room in the Avenue House, on the interview you have related?

*A.* Not to exceed ten minutes, I think; probably eight minutes would cover the time.

*Cross-Examination.*

By Mr. Bradly, Sr.:

*Q.* You say you reside in New York.

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* In what position there?

*A.* Well, sir, my family reside in New York. I am here, there, and everywhere. I have traveled a great deal.

*Q.* As what?

*A.* As agent of the War Department, under General Baker.

*Q.* Have you an appointment or commission?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* How does that run?

*A.* It reads that I am an employee of that Department, and that I am authorized to inspect corrals, Government workshops, or any thing else that I may be told to do. I do not know that it runs exactly in that way, "any thing else."

*Q.* By whom were you to be instructed as to what to do?

*A.* By General Baker.

*Q.* You still hold that commission under him?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Did you receive it from him or the War Department?

*A.* From him.

*Q.* Who signed it?

*A.* General Baker.

*Q.* How long have you been employed in the business of which you have spoken?

*A.* Over a year.

*Q.* How long had you been in the city before the 8th or 9th of November last, when these incidents occurred?

*A.* I think I got here the day before, but I am not positive.

*Q.* Were you acquainted with Captain Howell?

*A.* No, sir. I might have seen him before, but I do not think I was ever introduced to him before.

*Q.* Was he also in the employ of General Baker?

*A.* I do not know.

*Q.* Have you seen him receiving any directions or instructions from General Baker, or reporting to him?

*A.* General Baker did not give instructions in the presence of any of his men.

*Q.* Nor receive reports?

*A.* No, sir. I will state, however, I am inclined to think he is employed by Baker.

*Q.* What makes you think so?

*A.* His being around headquarters so much.

*Q.* Does he seem to do like the Roman soldiers, go when Baker tells him to go, and come when Baker tells him to come?

*A.* I see him come and go, I do not know whether Baker tells him or not.

*Q.* You never saw him in Baker's office?

*A.* Yes, sir; I have.

*Q.* When did you first learn this arrangement, about Mr. Howell?

*A.* On the evening of the 6th of November.

*Q.* Then you knew it before the one hundred dollars was paid?

*A.* No, sir; I did not know when the one hundred dollars was paid, or that it ever was paid. I have heard of it here in court. The thing never was explained to me at all. General Baker called me up into his private office, and said, "I want you to mark these bills," which I did. He then handed those bills to Captain Howell, and invited me to go down to the Avenue Hotel, and I went.

*Q.* You did not hear him say any thing as to what he was going to do with these bills?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Do you remember what mark you put on these bills?

*A.* I do.

*Q.* Can you describe it?

*A.* I can.

*Q.* Do so.

*A.* I decline doing so, because there may be a dozen marked just like them. Mr. Bradly insisted upon witness describing the marks.

Mr. Stanton said he supposed the witness declined to describe the marks, as they were Government marks. He himself had no objection.

The Court stated that it would be better if the notes could be produced and shown the witness, in order that he might identify the marks as being the ones he placed on the notes; but, as they could not be had, he did not see the impropriety of the witness describing them, and directed the witness so to do.

Witness: On top of the bill there is "U. S.," and through both the "U" and the "S" I made two pin holes. The different numbers of the notes were taken down by Captain Howell in my presence.

*Q.* Did you examine to see what numbers he put down?

*A.* I saw him look at the bills, and then write a number on the paper. What it was, I do not know.

*Q.* You did not compare the number he wrote with that on the notes?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* What was said by any one of you three at that time, further than you have stated?

*A.* Well, I understood the money was to be paid to Mrs. Cobb for the pardon. I think that was said.

*Q.* By whom?

*A.* I think by General Baker; but I cannot be positive about that.

*Q.* Did he say so to you or to Captain Howell?

*A.* He did not address his conversation to me at all.

*Q.* Did he say to Captain Howell, "You will give that money to Mrs. Cobb"?

*A.* I do not know how he worded it, but it amounted to that.

*Q.* Did he tell him when he was to do that?

*A.* Not in my hearing.

*Q.* What became of Howell after this?

*A.* Howell left, and went down to the Avenue House, I suppose.

*Q.* What time in the evening was that?

*A.* It must have been between five and six o'clock.

*Q.* How long after that did General Baker go down there?

*A.* Almost immediately.

*Q.* He did not tell you what he wanted you to go down there for?

*A.* No, sir. He just asked me to go out and walk down to the Avenue House with him.

*Q.* You did not know that you were going down to see Mr. and Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* I did not know what part of the duty I was to perform.

*Q.* Did you know you were going down to see Mr. and Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* I supposed I was.

*Q.* Did you understand that Howell had gone down to see Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* From what did you infer that Mr. and Mrs. Cobb were at the Avenue House, and that you were to find Howell down there?

*A.* I knew Howell had gone there.

*Q.* How did you know that he had gone down there?

*A.* I understood that from the conversation between himself and General Baker?

*Q.* I understood you at first to say that General Baker told him that money was to be given to Mrs. Cobb, but you did not know when or where?

*A.* I knew "where," but not "when."

*Q.* But you understood he was to go right down to the Avenue House then?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* And you understood Mrs. Cobb was at the Avenue House?

*A.* I supposed she was, or he would not go down there to see her. I understood that he was going to the Avenue House, and that his business was with Mrs. Cobb.

*Q.* You did not know that you were going down there to have any thing to do with this matter of Mrs. Cobb and Mr. Howell?

*A.* I did not know it officially, I merely supposed so.

*Q.* Was nothing said about it by General Baker, on your way down?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* After you got to the Avenue House, was any thing said there, between you and General Baker, about seeing Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* No, sir, nothing said about *my* seeing Mrs. Cobb.

*Q.* Any thing said about his seeing her?

*A.* That would depend upon circumstances—if he got the signal from Captain Howell.

*Q.* I ask you if any thing was said about his seeing her?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* When were you first enlightened as to the object of your visit to the Avenue House?

*A.* My instructions were, to sit in the door and see when Captain Howell came down, and if he raised his hat to tell General Baker.

*Q.* When did you receive these instructions?

*A.* After we had been sitting in the house probably three minutes.

*Q.* Then you did not know what had happened?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* What room did you go to?

*A.* None at that time.

*Q.* When did you go down there again?

*A.* The next evening.

*Q.* Did any thing pass between you and General Baker between that time and the next evening in regard to the matter?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Did General Baker tell you the second evening what you were going down there for?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* On the third evening what passed?

*A.* On the third evening, after he got the sign from Captain Howell, he says, "We will go up stairs. You go on ahead," he said, "for you have the number of the room," which I had, having obtained it from Captain Howell. I went up and knocked at the door, and then had the interview of which I have spoken. General Baker did not say any thing to me, other than what I have stated, from the time I went up stairs until the time I knocked.

*Q.* Then Captain Howell came down and spoke to General Baker in your presence, before you went up?

*A.* I saw the signal made by Howell, and told General Baker of it.

*Q.* When did Captain Howell give you the number of the room?

*A.* I do not recollect.

*Q.* How did General Baker know that you knew the number?

*A.* I suppose that Captain Howell must have told him that he had given it to me.

*Q.* As I understood it, you went up to the room and knocked at the door, without knowing who was in there?

*A.* No, sir, I supposed Mr. and Mrs. Cobb were in there?

*Q.* Why suppose so?

*A.* Because that was given to me as the number of their room.

*Q.* When Howell gave you that number, what did he say?

*A.* Nothing more than to give me the number of the room. I think I asked him the number of the room that Mr. and Mrs. Cobb had.

*Q.* How came you to ask him that, when you did not know that you were going down to see Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* No, sir, that is true, I asked to know. I might have asked him, or he might have told me, I do not recollect which.

*Q.* Didn't General Baker know the number of the room?

*A.* I do not think he did.

*Q.* What did he tell you?

*A.* He simply told me to go on up to Mrs. Cobb's room, that was all.

*Q.* Can you tell me why General Baker could not have had as private an interview in that room, with Mrs. Cobb, as he could up at his quarters?

*A.* I cannot.

*Q.* In this conversation, between Mrs. Cobb and General Baker, did her husband interpose at that time?

*A.* I do not think he did. He wished to know General Baker's business there. That was after he had been looking over the floor for the keys.

*Q.* You do not know whether there was any conversation going on while Cobb was looking up the keys?

*A.* General Baker remarked to me, that he thought he knew that woman. That remark was made about that time. General Baker was walking up and down the floor with his hands behind him. It was after Mr. Cobb got through looking for his keys that he inquired General Baker's business. The General said that he had come down to get two hundred dollars of his money, which was marked, and which had been paid by Captain Howell for a pardon.

*Q.* Did he say that to Mr. or Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* I do not know whether he directed himself to Mr. or Mrs. Cobb.

*Q.* Who answered?

*A.* I think Mrs. Cobb, but I am not positive.

*Q.* Do you remember what she said?

*A.* She wanted to know by what authority he demanded them. He said the money was his.

*Q.* Previous to that time had he, or not, told her that he was General Baker, of the War Department?

*A.* He told her he was General Baker when he first came in. I do not know whether he said of the War Department or not.

*Q.* Have you told us all that General Baker said just at that time—that it was his money, and he wanted it?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Didn't you hear him distinctly say that he would have it before he left the room?

*A.* I did not.

*Q.* When General Baker said it was his money, and demanded it, what next followed?

*A.* Well, sir, there was not any thing said for a little while. The General then said he wanted Mrs. Cobb to go to his headquarters.

*Q.* What was her reply?

*A.* Mr. Cobb replied, saying, "Are we to consider ourselves under arrest?" says General Baker, "No."

*Q.* Then what followed?

*A.* Then he said this pardon business had been going on long enough, and that he was going to stop it. Then followed what I have already stated.

*Q.* Do you remember his saying that he would give her all the notoriety she wanted, or something to that effect?

*A.* No, sir; I recollect a conversation that occurred between Mr. Cobb and myself in regard to notoriety.

*Q.* In that room?

*A.* No, sir, that was in the carriage, going down after the pardon.

*Q.* Did General Baker then propose to enter into any explanations with her, or make any inquiries of her, in regard to that money, in her chamber, while her husband was present?

*A.* Not that I recollect.

*Q.* Did he not require her to go to his headquarters?

*A.* He said he wanted her to go to his headquarters, and explained to her the reason why?

*Q.* When General Baker says to you, Mr. Spear, I want you to do so and so, is that an order or not?

*A.* It is an order from General Baker, because I am in his employ.

*Q.* When General Baker says he wants such and such a man, is that an order for his arrest?

*A.* No, sir, he gives me better authority than that.

*Q.* Authority in writing?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Always?

*A.* I think almost always; I do not think I ever arrested a man unless I had authority.

*Q.* Written authority?

*A.* Authority more than verbal

*Q.* I say any written authority?

*A.* I do not recollect ever having arrested a civilian without written authority. In fact, I have arrested but very few people, for I am not in that line of business.

*Q.* When you went up stairs with Mrs. Cobb, at General Baker's headquarters, who did you leave with him in the room with Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* General Baker.

*Q.* When you came down, where was General Baker?

*A.* I think in the hall, or else I met him on the stairs going up.

*Q.* Did you see Captain Howell that night, after he left the Avenue House?

*A.* I did.

*Q.* Where?

*A.* Going down to Willard's Hotel.

*Q.* Did you see him at Baker's headquarters?

*A.* I do not recollect seeing him there. There is a little office occupied by General Baker's men, he may have been in there; I did not go in there that evening.

*Q.* The door was not open so that you could see from the main hall?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* How long were you in the room down stairs with Cobb before the bell rang?

*A.* I should think, probably, half an hour.

*Q.* I understand you did not go into the room with Mrs. Cobb at all?

*A.* No, sir, I just merely went to the door.

*Q.* Do you recollect whether you closed the door or not?

*A.* I think I did.

*Q.* What is your recollection as to whether you locked it or not?

*A.* I am positive I did not. General Baker went up immediately; I think I met him at the bottom of the stairs.

*Q.* When that bell rang, and you went up stairs, did you see anybody in the hall while General Baker was in that room?

*A.* I did not.

*Q.* When you came out, did you see anybody in the hall?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* When you came down stairs to see Mr. Cobb, about going down to the Avenue House, who did you find there then?

*A.* I think the only man I found there was Mr. Collins.

*Q.* Where were these other two men you have spoken of—Smith, and the other man?

*A.* There was only one other man I spoke of—Smith. I think Smith came in from his supper just as Cobb and myself were going out.

*Q.* When you returned with Mr. Cobb, where was General Baker?

*A.* I could not say.

*Q.* Where did you see him?

*A.* I saw him down in his office, probably an hour or an hour and a half from that time.

*Q.* After you got back?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Have you any idea what time it was you went down to the Avenue House with Mr. Cobb?

*A.* No, sir; but somewhere between seven and eight o'clock, I should take it.

*Q.* And you were gone how long?

*A.* I cannot say.

*Q.* Can you swear whether there was not, all the time you had gone from that house, and while at that office, a man in the hall above, near the door of the room where Mrs. Cobb was?

*A.* I cannot swear positively there was no man there, but I do not believe there was; at least, I did not see any.

*Q.* What time was it that you and Mr. Cobb went out to take a drink?

*A.* That was after we came back from the hotel.

*Q.* With the exception of the instances you have mentioned, did you remain all the time in that office until Mrs. Cobb went away?

*A.* No, sir, I went out on the sidewalk and down a little way.

*Q.* And left Mr. Cobb in there?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Was not Mr. Collins in there with him when you went out?

*A.* I do not think he was.

*Q.* When you went out on to the pavement, and so on, did you see Collins anywhere?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Did Mr. Cobb go out of the room with Mr. Collins or anybody else, or go out at all, except when he went with you?

*A.* I do not know whether he did or not; I do not know of his having done so.

*Q.* When you went down with Mr. Cobb to get that paper, did you come at his request?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* When you went back with him, was it at his request?

*A.* There was no request about it; we went down together and came back together. I told Mr. Cobb what Mrs. Cobb said to General Baker with regard to the pardon.

*Q.* I suppose he would have gone down in that carriage as well without you as with you?

*A.* Yes, sir, I suppose so.

*Q.* And you went along merely for company?

*A.* That is all.

*Q.* Nothing was said to you by General Baker about going down with him?

*A.* Yes, sir; he told me to go down with him.

*Q.* Then it was by General Baker's direction, and not by Mr. Cobb's invitation, you went down with him to the Avenue House?

*A.* Not at all; I went down because General Baker told me to go, and also for company's sake.

*Q.* Do you recollect whether any thing was said about Mr. Wilson, the Third Auditor, during your drive with Mr. and Mrs. Cobb from the Avenue House?

*A.* I do not.

*Q.* If it had been said while you were all in the carriage together, I presume you would have heard it?

*A.* Yes, sir, I should think I would have.

*Q.* You say Mrs. Cobb parted with General Baker in a very pleasant manner. Did they shake hands?

*A.* I did not see them shake hands.

*Q.* You say Mr. Cobb was very angry. What did he say to indicate that he was angry?

*A.* I did not hear distinctly what he said, but I could tell by the tone of his voice that he was very angry. I did hear him say that if she was his wife he would not go down with her, because she had treated General Baker so well under the circumstances.

*Q.* How far off from him were you?

*A.* Probably four or five yards.

*Q.* Were you not all four standing in a group together?

*A.* No, sir; they were walking out at the time.

*Q.* Did you hear Cobb say any thing about being arrested, and about being kept there for such a length of time?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Is there an indictment pending against you about this same transaction?

*A.* I heard there was an indictment up here.

*Q.* You have never been arrested?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Have never given bail?

*A.* No, sir; I came up here the day General Baker did.

*Q.* Did you join in the bail given by Mr. Baker?

*A.* No, sir; I had nothing to do with it. I was in the court-room, and somebody called out Mr. Spear, and I came forward right there to that desk; they then said there were two indictments against me, that was the first I knew of it.

The clerk was directed to read the official entry in the case, which showed bail had been given by the witness.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### PROGRESS OF THE TRIAL.

Mr. Jacob Smith Testifies—A Clerk in the Detective Bureau—His Account of the Interview at Headquarters with the Cobbs.

MR. JACOB SMITH, who was a clerk in my office at the time of the arrest or examination of Mrs. Cobb, was called upon to give his knowledge of the transaction, which he did very explicitly and clearly, from his own personal recollections.

JACOB SMITH sworn.

By Mr. Riddle:

*Question.* In what business were you during the month of November last?

*Answer.* Clerk for General Baker.

*Q.* Do you remember the transactions of the evening of the 8th or 9th of November, in which Mr. and Mrs. Cobb were at the office?

*A.* I recollect a portion of those transactions.

*Q.* Do you recollect the evening?

*A.* I do.

*Q.* Will you relate to the jury your recollection of what transpired that evening in reference to Mr. and Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* They were there but one evening, to my knowledge. On the evening in question, after coming from supper, which I presume was in the neighborhood of half-past six o'clock, I found Mr. Cobb in the room down stairs. I remained there some time, when, finally, the bell rang up stairs. The boy whose business it is to attend to that being at the post-office at that time, I ran up stairs to see what was wanted. General Baker and Mrs. Cobb were in a private room up stairs. The General requested me to take a seat. I did so, and he left the room. I remained there, I presume, some two or three hours, when the General returned. I think I was in there some little time after his return, and heard a portion of the conversation between them. I then went down stairs for some purpose or other, and did not go up, to my knowledge, until they went away.

*Q.* When you came there that evening, you found Cobb below?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Who else, if anybody, did you find there?

A. One of our men, by the name of Collins, who was detailed as a watch man that night.

Q. Were there any soldiers on duty there—guards, or sentinels?

A. We have none such.

Q. There were none that evening for any purpose?

A. None at all.

Q. What was Cobb doing there that evening?

A. When I was there he was part of the time sitting on the lounge; at other times walking about.

Q. Do you know whether he went out during the evening?

A. I do not, because I was up stairs during a good part of the evening.

Q. State whether he was under a guard, or in any other way restrained of his liberty.

A. He was not.

Q. And about what time was it you went to answer the bell in the private room?

A. I presume about seven o'clock.

Q. General Baker requested you to take a seat there?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What else did he say about that?

A. Nothing.

Q. Did he state why he was leaving, or where he was going?

A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know where he did go?

A. Well, I found out afterward.

Q. When he returned, did he go into the room where you were?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he state where he had been, on his return?

A. He did, in her presence and mine.

Q. What did he say?

A. He said he had been to the Executive mansion. I cannot detail to you the conversation.

Q. Did he state for what purpose he had been there?

A. I cannot say as to that. The conversation turned upon the pardons, and I presume she was aware what his business was there that evening.

Q. Did you hear any conversation between Mrs. Cobb and General Baker in reference to what the business was that he had been to see the President in regard to?

A. I cannot recollect as to the exact conversation. I presume the conversation was upon that point, that he had been to the President's house, and had been in conversation with the President on that point.

Q. Was there any thing said in your presence there that showed that he had been to the President then upon business that brought Mrs. Cobb there?

A. I think there was. I cannot relate the conversation just as it occurred, but the tenor of the conversation was such. The substance of the conversation was, that the General had been to the President, and laid the case before him. The President was much surprised at the way in which pardons were

procured, also that the General concluded that the thing should be broken up. The time had come to break that thing up, and he told Mrs. Cobb to that effect. She, from the tenor of her conversation, I should judge, was very intimate with parties connected with the Executive mansion. She was very independent indeed in her manner, and seemed to intimate that she could do as she pleased.

*Q.* Have you related all that you remember of that conversation?

*A.* I cannot think of any thing just now other than I have stated.

*Q.* Where did you go to from there?

*A.* I went down stairs in the office.

*Q.* Where did Mrs. Cobb go?

*A.* When she came down stairs, I came out of the office in the hall to pay the hackman.

*Q.* How long did she remain up stairs after you went down, before she came down?

*A.* I presume she was up stairs from half an hour to an hour; then she came down.

*Q.* You went out and paid the hackman as she was about to retire?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* What occurred at the time of her leaving, between herself and General Baker, or between herself and husband?

*A.* Well, she bid the General a very pleasant good-night, and when she got out on the sidewalk, and was about to enter the carriage, her husband refused to enter, upon the ground that as she had been so polite, I presume, to General Baker, although her husband, he would have nothing to do with her, and would not enter the carriage. She, however, finally prevailed upon him to enter the carriage, and they drove off together.

*Q.* Do you remember what she said to him?

*A.* Oh, well, she told him there was no use in going on in that way, &c. I cannot remember the exact words.

*Q.* What means, if any, or force, or coercion, did you see exercised toward Mrs. Cobb, while there?

*A.* None whatever.

*Q.* What complaint did she make to you, while you were in the room, of ill-treatment?

*A.* She made no complaint. She and I entered into very pleasant conversation upon general topics.

*Q.* Did she that night, at the time of leaving, or at any other time, in your presence, complain of any ill-treatment on the part of General Baker toward her?

*A.* Not at all.

*Q.* Did Mr. Cobb complain of any ill-treatment?

*A.* I do not know as I heard Mr. Cobb say any thing. If he did, it was very trifling.

*Q.* Did you see any person, or know if there was any person, on the same floor, or in the hall near this private room, while Mrs. Cobb was there?

*A.* No, sir. I know there was not, and I can relate a little incident which

Mrs. Cobb herself will recollect. She was very dry, and wished a drink of water, and I was very anxious to find some one to go and get a drink of water for her, as it was some little distance off from the place. I had to look some time before I found any one. Finally I found one of our men, and requested him to do so.

*Q.* In what capacity were you acting, then; as a guard to keep her there in that room?

*A.* I cannot say as to the purpose exactly. It being a private room, and there being a great many private documents lying around, I presume I was called to take a seat there to see that nothing was removed or touched.

*Q.* Did she say any thing about wanting to go down?

*A.* She did not mention the subject at all. I presumed at the time she was waiting for the General to come back.

*Cross-Examination.*

By Mr. Bradly, Sr.:

*Q.* She could have gone out any time she pleased and you would not have stopped her?

*A.* I do not suppose I would.

*Q.* Why didn't you go and get the water?

*A.* I felt as if I had something else to do.

*Q.* What else?

*A.* To remain in the office.

*Q.* And if you went out she might get these valuable papers?

*A.* I had no business to think otherwise.

*Q.* And you say she might have gone out without your preventing her?

*A.* If she had felt inclined to go, I do not think I should have prevented her. I had no authority to do so, at any rate.

*Q.* You have no authority, then, when General Baker goes out, and leaves you with a person sitting in his room, to keep that person there?

*A.* I do not suppose I have, unless I have orders to that effect.

By Mr. Stanton:

*Q.* Did you have any orders?

*A.* None at all.

*Q.* What were your instructions?

*A.* To take a seat.

*Q.* Have you ever been required to act in the capacity of a guard?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* You never told any person in that office, "You cannot go yet"?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* "You cannot go until General Baker comes?"

*A.* I do not know. I might have done so. I do not know to whom you have reference.

Mr. Bradly: Never mind to whom I have reference; I understood you to say you never told any body so.

Mr. Riddle: I will inquiry whether, when there was occasion to have guards, General Baker was not supplied with them?

A. There were men that he used to detail for that purpose.

By Mr. Bradly: Were not the officers and detectives employed by him, not such guards, military guards over the prisoners when they came there?

A. Sometimes I have known them to be called upon to take charge of a man. We have no prisoners kept at the office. Some one may be directed to take charge of a prisoner for a while, but for a while only.

## CHAPTER XLV.

### PROGRESS OF THE TRIAL.

Mr. Stanton examines Lieutenant Henry H. Hines—By order of the Secretary of War, is connected with the Secret Service—His Story of what he saw of Mrs. Cobb.

THE facts already narrated in various forms will have a decided confirmation in the plain statement of Lieutenant H. H. Hines, who was for some time connected with army service.

HENRY H. HINES, sworn.

By Mr. Stanton:

*Question.* What is your position?

*Answer.* First lieutenant of cavalry in the volunteer service, United States Army.

*Q.* You still hold that commission?

*A.* I believe I do.

*Q.* Are you at present on duty in that capacity?

*A.* Well, sir, in order to answer that question, an explanation is necessary.

Counsel: Very well. Give it.

Witness: Last July, I was directed by the Assistant Secretary of War to place myself at the disposal of General Baker, to act under his directions. I have done so ever since.

*Q.* Now state, if you please, what you know of this transaction with Mrs. Cobb, relative to obtaining this pretended pardon, the payment of any money to her, and so on.

*A.* On the 4th of November, in company with Mr. Jones, I called at the Avenue Hotel to see Mrs. Cobb. She was not in. Her husband came down in answer to the card of Mr. Jones, and I was introduced to him. He made known the business which I came on. I was introduced to him as a Confederate officer seeking to obtain a pardon. He said that he had placed his wife in a carriage, and she had gone to one of the Departments, and would be back at three o'clock. We concluded not to wait, but requested him to send her to Willard's Hotel, where I was stopping. We went to Willard's Hotel. He went up stairs, and came down, and said Mrs. Cobb was in the parlor. If I would walk up, he would introduce me. I walked up, and he introduced me as Captain Howell, the only name under which he knew me at all.

*Q.* Was that on Saturday or Sunday?

*A.* On Saturday. After stating to me why he had introduced me, he said as he had no further business he would leave, we could make our own arrangements.

*Q.* Who introduced you, Mr. Jones or Mr. Cobb?

*A.* Mr. Jones. He retired from the parlor, and Mrs. Cobb, I think, was sitting in the middle parlor, but of that I am not positive. She took a seat at the further window toward the Treasury building, and invited me to take a seat there near her, as there were other people in the parlor, and she did not wish the conversation heard. The first thing that she said to me, putting her finger very significantly to her mouth, was, "Mum is the word. If I undertake to obtain a pardon for you, it is necessary that the utmost secrecy and caution should be observed." She then went on to state to me the facilities with which she was enabled to obtain these things.

The District Attorney: If your Honor pleases, I do not think this is proper testimony. I think it is my duty to object, unless the able counsel who are assisting in the prosecution see proper to let it go on without objection.

Mr. Stanton: We insist upon this testimony, because it is the very transaction itself.

The Court: This is a part of the *res gestae*. The testimony is admissible.

Witness, resuming: In saying to me that she possessed these facilities for obtaining pardons, she said she had obtained as many as seventy-five in one day, which was a great stretch for my credulity to believe. I, however, did not make any objection to her statement. She says: "You need not ask me how I do it, through what influence I do it, for I will not tell you or anybody else." I says, "It does not matter to me what influence you bring to bear so that you do it." After a great deal of talk, perhaps lasting an hour, perhaps longer, I agreed to meet her that evening; and my recollection is that in consequence of my not being able to see General Baker, as I desired to do, I wrote her a note, stating that other business would prevent my meeting her that evening, but the following day I would see her. I stated to General Baker the conversation, and stated to him my belief was that the Executive was being imposed upon, by outside influences being used to obtain this pardon, and it was a disgrace to the country and the nation that such things existed. I had then deposited no papers, paid no money, and General Baker had taken no action. He said to me, "I do not believe that this woman can do these things." "Well," says I, "I do not know." I had only just arrived in Washington—got here the last day of October—and did not know her, or anybody else scarcely. He said to me, "I do not believe that this woman can do these things." I says, "You have her statement to me just as she made it. The only way you can tell whether she can do these things or not, is to test it." He then says, "Can you get up a petition in a proper shape to test it?" I replied, "I will endeavor to do so." I sat down at the desk in General Baker's office, and drew up a statement, not true. I do not deny that it is not true, but I drew up a statement, and in that statement I affixed the certificate of a magistrate. I then turned to General Baker's clerk, and said, "Will you, under any name you please, sign that *jurat*?" He signed it, but I do not

recollect by what name. With that paper, I called upon Mrs. Cobb at the Avenue Hotel, gave it to her, and made a memorandum of a contract which has been exhibited here. She signed it.

*Q.* State what conversation about compensation occurred before that time?

*A.* She says to me at the Hotel, "Any thing can be done with money." She said she didn't care what crime I had committed, or what position I had held in the Confederacy; whether I had been guilty of incendiaryism, been a rebel spy, or any thing else—with a sufficient amount of money she would guaranty to me an unconditional pardon. Well, the idea struck me very forcibly that if that state of things existed here, there must be outside influences at work to obtain these things, and I asked her what she would charge to get my pardon. She said six hundred dollars. I replied that I did not think my matter was worth six hundred dollars. That I was in the States, and nobody had meddled with me, and did not feel like paying that, but would give her three hundred dollars, which she agreed to take—one hundred dollars when she took the papers, and the balance when the pardon was obtained.

*Q.* Did she state what it was necessary to do with any part of that money?

*A.* Yes, sir; she said that if she got all the money, she could work cheaper; but she had to divide it; money had to be used outside to do these things.

*Q.* Did she say with whom?

*A.* She did not.

*Q.* Did she say what character of persons?

*A.* Yes, sir; with men connected with the Departments. She informed me in the first place that she would not tell me who she did these things through, or anybody else. On Sunday afternoon, I called at the Avenue House, with this contract, and this statement which I had drawn up. She signed the contract. I wrote the receipt on the back of it for one hundred dollars, which she also signed, and gave her the papers, when some conversation took place. I do not recollect what it was, but I do not think it was any thing very important. Her husband remarked to her, before I went away, that it was necessary for her to call upon Mr. Wilson early in the morning the first thing.

*Q.* What Wilson?

*A.* I do not know. I did not know Mr. Wilson, what his position was, or any thing about him. That pardon was to have been handed to me at six o'clock on Monday evening. These facts I reported to General Baker as they occurred. On Monday evening, General Baker, Mr. Spear, and myself went to the Avenue House. Mrs. Cobb stated to me, that owing to the fact that I was a rebel spy, had been convicted, and been sentenced to be hung or shot—I forget which—it would require a great deal more time to get that pardon through, and she would have to have another day. I could say nothing against that, and so retired.

*Q.* At that time did she say any thing about any gentleman being absent from town?

*A.* No, sir. She said she would certainly have it by five o'clock the following day. I told her I wished to leave the city as soon as possible, and go to New York. The following day, I called to see Mrs. Cobb, in the parlor.

That was on Tuesday. She said the pardon was all ready, with the exception of attaching the seal of State to it, and, it being cabinet day, she was unable to obtain it. I left again. On Wednesday evening I called, and she showed me the pardon. I took it, and read it over. She named three gentlemen, and I gave their names to General Baker—I did not take their names down, but I have good reason to believe they were prominent gentlemen—who she told me had gone her security; that the pardon should not leave her hands until I had taken the amnesty oath, which I told her I would come the following morning and take, and receive the pardon. I gave her four fifty-dollar compound-interest Treasury notes, the numbers of which I have forgotten, and passed down stairs, she retaining the pardon. I also wrote a letter of acceptance of the pardon, on the conditions named in it, to the Secretary of State. Leaving the letter with her to deliver, I passed down stairs, and upon giving the signal agreed upon between General Baker and myself, I left the house, and walked immediately to General Baker's office. I found him there when I arrived.

*Q.* Will you state where the money that you speak of came from, and what transaction took place in connection with that?

*A.* Well, the four fifty-dollar bills were new bills. General Baker took them from his pocket, and gave them to Mr. Spear, with directions to mark them. On this being done, he handed them to me, and asked me to take the numbers of them. He gave them to me for the specific purpose of having me hand them to Mrs. Cobb, according to what I had agreed to do on obtaining this pardon.

*Q.* Was it his intention—

Objected to.

Mr. Stanton: I want to show, may it please your Honor, that this money was not intended to be absolutely given to Mrs. Cobb, but that it was a part of this plan, and that the money was to be returned.

Mr. Hughes: Put your question to the witness, and then we will state our objection.

Mr. Stanton (to the witness): I want to know what instructions or understanding there was in reference to that money.

Mr. Hughes: We object to that, unless Mrs. Cobb was a party to it. We object to any private arrangement between Mr. Baker and this man.

Mr. Stanton: It is a part of the *res gestæ*.

Mr. Hughes: It is part of the *res gestæ* of what the defendant did in laying this trap for the woman. It is no part of the *res gestæ* of the imprisonment, and the illegal acts, for which he is being prosecuted. Counsel on the other side have a very happy faculty of getting off their case, when trying Mrs. Cobb, but it must be recollected Mrs. Cobb is not on trial. The Court has extended the rule quite as far as necessary to do justice; but the Court has not yet said that the secret consultations, the dark, designing plans and cabals of this clique of midnight assassins, in which they plotted the destruction of this woman, can be given in evidence.

Mr. Stanton: May it please your Honor, the object of this scheme, trap, or whatever you choose to call it, was to trace out the infamy of the parties who

are engaged in this infamous business; and it is our purpose to show, as we have a right to, precisely the means adopted for that purpose, and precisely the intention with which these means were adopted, in so far as we can. We have a right to show that General Baker did not intend to halt with the ownership of this money. He is charged with extortion. Our purpose is to show that this money was not intended to be passed to Mrs. Cobb. It is true he was not the party to that arrangement. That fact will of course appear; and if the gentlemen can make it out that that gives her a good title to the money, well and good. That is a question which we will argue with them when the proper time comes; but we want to show the true nature of this transaction. So far as I am concerned, I am not responsible for it in any way, shape, or form. I am not under the necessity of saying that it was a proper affair, a legitimate transaction, such a one as I would have engaged in; but I do say that no man can properly declare that this was a fraudulent transaction, that these things were forgeries in the technical sense of the term, because there was no intention to do wrong. The intention was, whether properly made out, or disguised, or not, to expose a public wrong. Our object is to bring out the whole character of the transaction, all the negotiations, all the statements made by General Baker at the time he gave this testimony to this witness for the purpose already stated.

Mr. Hughes: We understand very well what they want to show; but the question is, can they show it by the conversation of the defendant himself with his confederates.

Mr. Stanton: Undoubtedly, when in the very act himself.

Mr. Hughes: Then the defendant can manufacture all the testimony necessary for this case. Why, the gentleman a few minutes ago offered a written paper here, made by the defendant, which he wanted to get in as a report to the President, but he did not even seriously urge the admissibility. Now, how much more admissible are the oral conversations of the defendant with these tools and co-conspirators?

Witness: I beg your pardon, I am not a tool.

Mr. Hughes: You keep still; we will show what you are.

Witness: I appeal to the Court for protection.

The Court: Mr. Hughes, witnesses coming here and testifying, are entitled to the protection of the Court.

Mr. Hughes: Your Honor, I simply called these men co-conspirators with the defendant. He is proposing to prove here by his counsel a conspiracy, and has proved it, and I say he cannot make out his defense by the conversations between him and his co-conspirators. Now, what does it all amount to, if true, that in order to break up something which these self-constituted guardians of the community desired to break up, as they would have us believe, they were going to induce the commission of the very offense which they propose to prevent. The gentleman is too good a lawyer not to know, that even if a thief is entrapped into the commission of larceny, by having money put in his way, and induced to steal it, he cannot be convicted for that offense. It is not an offense, procured in that way; but the offense rests at the door of those who designed and executed the plot. Then the very propo-

sition of the gentleman is to prove that, if the obtaining of pardons was a statutory offense, and this woman had been induced to obtain it in that way, he would be guiltless, while his client would be guilty. That is, the proposition and the mode of proof is to be out of the mouth of General Baker himself and his co-conspirators; but no man who comes into a court of justice, and states upon his oath that he drew out a paper, and had the magistrate's certificate forged to it, and the facts stated in it were false, need talk to me when I am commenting upon his testimony in direct connection with the question before the Court. The days of bullying men have passed away. The courts of justice are open, and these oppressors and robbers must come *under* the law, and lower their crest a little when their deeds are being properly spoken of. (Applause among the spectators.)

The Court: Mr. Marshal, clear the court of all who are not connected with this case.

Mr. Riddle: This case is being tried by a mob, your Honor. (This order the Judge afterward withdrew, but ordered the marshal to take into custody all persons who might exhibit either approbation or disapprobation concerning the case before the Court, and commit them to jail for contempt of Court.)

Mr. Stanton: May it please your Honor—

Mr. Hughes: I do not wish to deprive Mr. Stanton of the privilege of anything he desires to say, but I believe in the present instance we are the objecting party, and unless he has something—

Mr. Stanton: I merely want to read an authority.

The Court: You need not read me any authority on the subject—I am satisfied. If we go back to the polar star of this investigation, we will observe that there is a clause in that indictment charging the defendant with being guilty of extortion, and these two hundred dollars have been spoken of as the subject-matter of that extortion. I have held before, and still continue to hold, that any thing in reference to that two hundred dollars, as to its history, from the time it left Colonel Baker's pocket until it came into the pocket of Mrs. Cobb, is evidence.

Mr. Bradly, Sr.: Your Honor will observe that that is not the precise point of the objection. The precise point is this: That the witness shall not tell what instructions he received from General Baker, but in point of fact did pay that money delivered to him by General Baker to Mrs. Cobb.

The Court: If the purpose for which General Baker parted with this money is a fact within his knowledge, whether he intended to part with the proprietorship of the money or not, he can so state it.

Mr. Stanton: I was about to read an authority to that very effect. That the declaration of the party, made at the time, is evidence of such transaction.

Mr. Bradly, Sr.: The declaration made at the time of the *res gestæ* would be, What is the *res gestæ* here as to this particular thing? It is the delivery of the money to Mrs. Cobb, pursuant to a written contract with her for her services.

The Court: I have decided the point. You might just as well tell me that

a man who had lost his money, and it had been found by some party, could not go into evidence to show that he had lost it.

Mr. Bradly: I am not objecting to that. But the question is, What instructions he received when he received this money?

The Court: That is with a view of knowing whether or not General Baker parted with the ownership of this money, or whether he received it as the custodian for General Baker, or whether he received it for the purpose of paying it out for any purpose.

Mr. Hughes: I will ask the Court to direct the witness to state the actual conversation, and not inferences.

The Court: Yes, he must state only what he knows—what actually did take place.

Witness: The instructions I received when I got that two hundred dollars were these: That he would accompany me to the Avenue Hotel. He instructed me to pay the money to Mrs. Cobb, as I had agreed to do, and he would be there to take his money back. There is one thing I omitted to state, which, perhaps, is relevant to the issue. When I was shown the pardon, on Wednesday evening, I stood up by the center table. When in the act of leaving, Mrs. Cobb said to me that she would not make any thing at all out of this transaction, as she would have to pay out about all the money she had received, and said if I had any more business, or any of my friends, she would be glad to have me recommend them to her.

The examination in chief was here concluded.

Witness concluded.

Court adjourns until to-morrow morning at ten o'clock.

*Cross-Examination.*

By Mr. Bradly, Sr.:

Q. You have stated that you were a lieutenant in some regiment; up to what time?

A. I believe I am now. I think so.

Q. You are now, if I understand you, holding a commission in the army, and employed by and report to Mr. Baker?

A. That is my understanding of the order; I have not seen it. I was tried once by a military commission as a spy.

Q. When did you report to General Baker?

A. Last July.

Q. By written or verbal orders?

A. Verbal orders.

Q. From whom?

A. The Assistant Secretary of War, General Eckert. He directed me to place myself at the disposal of General Baker, and to act under his directions.

Q. Are you receiving pay as lieutenant in the army?

A. I am not receiving any pay.

Q. What pay have you received since you reported to General Baker?

A. I have not received any.

Q. When did you last receive any pay from the Government?

A. In St. Louis.

Q. When?

A. On the 2d day of May, 1864.

Q. You have been in the army ever since, and have received no pay?

A. No, sir, I have not been in the army ever since.

Q. Didn't you say you were there yet?

A. I said I believed I was there yet.

Q. Under any other commission than that of lieutenant?

A. No, sir.

Q. When and where were you tried by this military commission, of which you speak?

A. In St. Louis, in July, 1864.

Q. Were you under arrest from May, 1864, until that time?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know what the charges were that were preferred against you?

A. Yes, sir; but they are so long I could not repeat them.

Q. One of them, being a rebel spy?

A. No, sir.

Q. You do not recollect any of them?

A. One of them was for false imprisonment of parties.

Q. Is that the only one you recollect?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember the result of that trial?

A. It was not published at the time I left there.

Q. Have you ever had any information in regard to it?

A. No official information.

Q. Have you upon inquiry ascertained?

A. I never have inquired.

Q. You do not know then whether they found you guilty or not?

A. I understood they found me guilty; but mere finding of me guilty is not the result of it.

Q. Do you know what the sentence was?

A. I have heard what it was; but I have no official information.

Q. In the same way that you discovered they found you guilty, did you learn what the sentence was?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was it?

A. Two years hard labor in the Alton military prison.

Q. You are an American by birth?

A. I am.

Q. Where did you form the acquaintance of Mr. S. S. Jones?

A. At Willard's Hotel.

Q. Was he at that time also in the employment of Baker?

A. I supposed he was. I had seen him around the office, but he did not know me.

Q. You were introduced by him, I understand you, to Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Did you state why you wanted to be introduced to her?

*A.* I think that the reason why he introduced me to her was because of his overhearing a conversation between Mr. Janney, of Columbia, South Carolina, and myself. Mr. Janney arrived here the same day I did, and told me he had obtained a pardon. I was dressed in a suit of gray. He approached and I entered into conversation, stating to him that I also came here for a pardon.

*Q.* Did Jones then know that you were employed by Baker?

*A.* I do not think he did.

*Q.* You knew he was?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* I will ask you to tell me what you stated to him when you asked him to introduce you to Mrs. Cobb?

*A.* I do not recollect what I stated to him; I suppose, however, I stated to him that I wanted a pardon.

*Q.* He did not know you then in any way, except that you were a rebel, here seeking for a pardon?

*A.* I do not think he did. He had no means of knowing.

*Q.* How long had you then been in Baker's employment?

*A.* I told you I reported to Baker in July.

*Q.* Had you been at his office during that time, or elsewhere?

*A.* At his office occasionally.

*Q.* Did you see Jones?

*A.* I saw him there in July. I left here in July on business, and was absent, I think, about two months. On my return I remained here but two days, when I was sent away again, and was gone a month.

*Q.* You do not know, then, that Jones had ever seen you about that office?

*A.* I do not think he had any knowledge as to who I was, or that I was in any way connected with the office.

*Q.* Were you at that time dressed in gray?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* From July down did you dress in gray?

*A.* No, sir; sometimes in white and sometimes in black.

*Q.* When did you first see Jones at Baker's office?

*A.* I could not say.

*Q.* How long after you first began to go there?

*A.* I might have seen him the first day I went there; I do not recollect, however, about that.

*Q.* So that although he had seen you at Baker's office more than once, from July down to November, you think that on the middle of November he did not know that you were in Baker's employ?

*A.* I do not think he knew I was in Baker's employ until after the transaction. I do not think any of Baker's men knew I was in his employ, or had any thing to do with the office.

*Q.* Then it was a genuine movement on his part to introduce you to Mrs. Cobb, and had nothing to do with the plan you had in view?

*A.* I do not know that.

*Q.* Didn't you state you thought he overheard you talking to Mr. Janney, and in consequence of that introduced you?

*A.* That may have been his reason; I do not know.

*Q.* Where did you form Jones's acquaintance?

*A.* At Willard's Hotel.

*Q.* How long before this?

*A.* Well, sir, I could not tell you how long before. I boarded at Willard's Hotel when I was here.

*Q.* In July?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Was Jones boarding there then?

*A.* I think not.

*Q.* When did you first find him there?

*A.* I think I met him there when I came here the last of October.

*Q.* In what part of Willard's Hotel was your first conversation?

*A.* In the parlor.

*Q.* She did not go up to Mr. Jones's private room with you?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* You are sure of that?

*A.* I think I am.

*Q.* Can you fix the precise date when this conversation occurred?

*A.* It was on Saturday, I think, the 4th day of November.

*Q.* When did you first give her that petition?

*A.* On Sunday, the 5th of November.

*Q.* You had the next interview with her on Monday afternoon?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Tuesday you did not see her?

*A.* Yes, I did.

*Q.* Wednesday?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Wednesday was the day of the arrest?

*A.* I did not know that she was arrested. I was not present then.

*Q.* The day you and General Baker went there to pay her that friendly visit in the evening?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Have you ever seen that pardon?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Do you remember the date of it?

*A.* I do not. Mrs. Cobb showed it to me on Wednesday evening.

*Q.* Nor ever saw it afterward?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Was it not dated the same day, Wednesday, 8th.

*A.* It might have been.

*Q.* Didn't it strike you at the time that it was the same day you went down to pay the money?

*A.* I do not know that it struck me at all; I was thinking of something else.

*Q.* Be good enough to look at this paper (handing witness a written document), and tell me if that is the original paper prepared by you, with the attestation or certificate of the justice of the peace?

*A.* Yes, sir; that is it.

The paper was read by Mr. Bradly as follows:—

To his Excellency ANDREW JOHNSON, President of the United States:

Your petitioner would respectfully represent that he comes to the City of Washington for the purpose of obtaining the pardon of your Excellency for past offenses; and in making this application your petitioner would respectfully set forth the facts in his case. Your petitioner held a captain's commission in the Confederate army, and was assigned to duty in the Trans-Mississippi Department, under General Libbey, and accompanied his command into New Mexico; returned with him after his defeat by General Canby at Apache Cañon, Pidgeon Ranche, and Peralto; was then detailed in the Secret Service Bureau, and came north into the State of Missouri; remained there in accordance with instructions until the date of my arrest, in March, 1864, by order of Major-General Rosecrans, and incarcerated in the military prison in the City of St. Louis. In the month of July, was called out and examined at different times, and remanded to prison; and about the middle of September, 1864, made my escape from prison, and succeeded in getting into Canada, where I have remained ever since, and lived in strict accordance with the English neutrality laws, taking no part in any plot or conspiracy against the Federal Government. Having in all things acted under the orders of my superior officers, and committed no act not recognized by the laws and usages of war, would respectfully beg that you extend to me your executive clemency, and restore me to the rights of citizenship, of which I am now deprived. My residence is in the State of Missouri; age thirty-five. Respectfully asking your early attention to the within petition,

I remain your obedient servant,

CLARENCE J. HOWELL.

SUSPENSION BRIDGE, COUNTY OF NIAGARA AND }  
STATE OF NEW YORK, October 24, 1865. }

Personally appeared before me, J. W. Moss, a justice of the peace in and for said county, Clarence J. Howell, and solemnly affirms that the within statement is true, to the best of his knowledge and belief; and I hereby certify that he did, in my presence, affix his signature.

J. W. Moss, J. P.

*Q.* You put this paper into her hands for the purpose of having her obtain a pardon for Clarence J. Howell, without any information on your part that it was a false or fabricated paper?

*A.* Well, sir, I placed it in her hands for the purpose which has been stated and reiterated by the counsel.

*Q.* Can you not answer the question?

*A.* Allow me to answer it in my own way. I put it in her hands for the purpose of testing the question whether she possessed the influence in obtaining pardons which she stated to me she did. I made no such intimation to her as you have spoken of.

*Q.* Did you not put it into her hands for the purpose of having it laid before the President of the United States?

*A.* I put it into her hands for a purpose. The purpose was to show that the obtaining of pardons by these parties was a fraud upon the people. It was for the purpose of detecting that fraud that that paper was drawn and presented to her; to see if, without any knowledge on the part of any bureau of the United States, such a man as Clarence J. Howell could receive a pardon.

Mr. Bradly insisting upon a more direct answer, the witness said—

*A.* Well, sir, I had no purpose in the matter at all, except to accomplish the object for which I started out.

*Q.* Did you expect to accomplish that object unless that pardon was procured?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* Did you not know that the pardon could not be procured without the petition being laid before the President?

*A.* I didn't know any thing about that.

*Q.* Did you understand the pardon could be procured without the President having the petition?

*A.* I did not understand any thing about it. I did not know whether I could or not.

*Q.* You did not understand that the President would have to grant the pardon?

*A.* I understood that the President would have to grant the pardon.

*Q.* And you did not understand that petitions for pardon had not to go before the President?

*A.* I had no thought about that at all.

*Q.* You expected, then, by means of this paper, if I understand you, a pardon would be procured and signed by the President?

*A.* I do not know that I did expect it in that way either.

*Q.* You did not expect that through these instrumentalities a pardon would be signed by the President?

*A.* I think Mrs. Cobb said to me that I would have to make a statement on which to found her application for a pardon. I think she stated that to me on Saturday.

*Q.* Suppose she did after you made that statement?

*A.* I had not made any statement then.

*Q.* After you made the statement in writing, and put it in her hands, did you, or not, put it into her hands in the expectation and belief that a pardon from the President would be obtained upon that petition?

*A.* I did not believe any pardon would be obtained.

*Q.* Then why did you go there, day after day, to see if she had got it?

*A.* I explained that some time ago—because she told me she could get it.

*Q.* And you did not believe she could?

*A.* No, sir, I did not.

*Q.* Why did you take the money that evening and put it into her hands, if you did not think she could get the pardon?

*A.* Because she assured me she would get it. The thing would have failed if she had not procured it.

*Q.* Then you expected it would not fail, and you would expose her?

*A.* No, sir, I expected it would fail. I did not believe that it was possible for her to do these things.

*Q.* And yet, not believing she could succeed, you resorted to all these instrumentalities?

*A.* Yes, sir, I did. I acted under instructions.

*Q.* Didn't you suggest it yourself?

*A.* I suggested that if such things existed they should be exposed.

*Q.* Didn't you suggest to Colonel Baker that you could prepare a formal petition?

*A.* No, sir; he asked me if I could do it. I said to him one would have to be prepared for a foundation. He then asked me if I could prepare it. I told him yes, and did so.

*Q.* Didn't you understand all this was to be done for the purpose of disclosing Mrs. Cobb's management of such cases?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* You had no faith in it?

*A.* Yes, sir, I paid her one hundred dollars, and got bit out of it.

*Q.* And yet you did not at that time believe that any thing would come of it?

*A.* I did not believe there would.

*Q.* You have said you had no means of knowing that this petition had to be laid before the President of the United States. I will ask you why you addressed it to the President?

*A.* Because he was the highest authority.

*Q.* Was not he the only one who had the pardoning power, and didn't you know it?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* How did you expect to discover Mrs. Cobb's agency in this matter unless she succeeded?

*A.* No response.

*Q.* Do I understand you rightly to say, that when you put that paper into the hands of Mrs. Cobb you did not expect it to go to the President?

*A.* I did not say any such thing.

*Q.* Did you expect it to go there?

*A.* I had no expectations about it either one way or the other.

*Q.* Do you recollect of mentioning, in the course of any conversation with her, the name of General John P. Slough?

A. Yes, sir. I mentioned his name on Saturday. Mrs. Cobb repeated some of the conversation here in her testimony.

Q. I want you to state it.

A. I do not recollect it. I think I told her that on one occasion I saved his life.

Q. Was that so?

A. No, sir. General Slough was the colonel of my regiment at the time?

Q. Do you recollect saying any thing about his making efforts to obtain your pardon.

A. Yes, sir; I did state to her that the papers were in his hands.

Q. And that you had paid him fifty dollars.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you paid her the one hundred dollars, you did not say any thing about General Slough?

A. I think not.

Q. Do you recollect of your saying that General Slough had gone with you to the banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., and become security for your borrowing some money there?

A. No, sir.

Q. And you are positive of that?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. When you went up into the room on the evening that you three gentlemen visited Mrs. Cobb, what passed between you and Mrs. Cobb in the room before you saw these other two gentlemen down stairs?

A. Well, Mrs. Cobb bantered me about the pardon, and said she had not obtained it, &c. I did not know. There was quite a little conversation before she went to the bureau and got a pardon. On her giving it to me, I read it over, and she told me the names of the gentlemen who had gone her security, that the pardon should not be delivered to me until I had taken the amnesty oath. I have forgotten the names of those gentlemen. I gave them to General Baker the same night. She asked me to write a letter of acceptance, in accordance with the terms of the pardon, to the Secretary of State, and address it to him. I did so, and gave her four fifty-dollar compound-interest notes, and took her receipt for them.

Q. Why didn't she give you the pardon?

A. The reason I have stated.

Q. Then what did you do?

A. I got up and went out.

Q. Where did you go?

A. Down stairs.

Q. Who did you see there that you knew?

A. I saw in the sitting-room or barber-shop of the Avenue Hotel, to the right as I went out of the door, General Baker and Mr. Spear.

Q. Did you stop there with them?

A. No, sir.

Q. Did you say any thing to them?

A. No, sir.

*Q.* You walked right out?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* And they walked up stairs?

*A.* I suppose they did.

*Q.* How long did you stay at General Baker's office after you went there from the Avenue House?

*A.* Until after ten o'clock.

*Q.* At what period of that time did you have that conversation with him.

*A.* Very soon after I got to the office. He was there when I got there.

*Q.* Who else was there while you were there?

*A.* Mr. Roberts and Mr. Jones. That is, in the small office attached to the main office of the building. My recollection is that Mrs. Cobb was in his private office up stairs, sitting by the window.

*Q.* Where was Mr. Cobb?

*A.* I did not see him. I was told he was in the General's lower office.

*Q.* How near to the office were you?

*A.* There was a brick wall between.

*Q.* How near the door communicating?

*A.* About ten feet, I should judge.

*Q.* You did not go into the room to see Mr. Cobb?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* You think you stayed there until after ten o'clock?

*A.* I think so.

*Q.* Did you see Mr. Smith?

*A.* No, sir. He was up stairs at the time, I think.

*Q.* Did you stay there until Mrs. Cobb came away?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* When did you see General Baker after you went back to headquarters?

*A.* He came down stairs, and I met him right in the vestibule between the lower office and the office I was in at the foot of the stairs.

*Q.* Was anybody with him?

*A.* No, sir.

*Q.* What became of those four notes which were taken from her?

*A.* I cannot tell you what became of them.

*Q.* Did you ever see them?

*A.* Think I have.

*Q.* When and where?

*A.* I think I saw them the day following.

*Q.* In whose possession?

*A.* General Baker's.

*Q.* Have you the number of those notes?

*A.* I have.

*Q.* Can you give them to us now?

*A.* I can.

Mr. Bradly: Let's have them.

Witness: They are as follows: October 16, 1865, 289,234, letter B; October 16, 1865, 289,235, letter B; October 16, 1865, 289,227, letter B; August 1, 1865, 265,039, letter D.

Q. I understand you to say that you have not been in the public service, receiving any pay, since the spring of 1864. I wish to know if you have supported yourself during that time, or whether you have received pay from the Government for any service?

A. I have not received any pay from the Government since the 2d day of May, 1864.

Q. Since you have been in Washington, since July last, and reported to General Baker, have you not received any compensation?

A. My expenses have been paid by the Government, I suppose. Whenever I am sent away, on my return I render my bill of expenses, and that bill is paid.

Q. Who furnishes you with the money when you go away?

A. The cashier of General Baker.

Q. Who pays your board bill and expenses while here?

A. The cashier of General Baker.

Q. You have had nothing for clothing during all that time?

A. No, sir; I had money from other sources.

Q. Nothing from General Baker's office? Do you not receive extra compensation for making arrests?

A. I have never made an arrest since February, 1864.

Q. Have you made any arrests since you have been in Baker's employment.

A. No, sir.

Q. Where did you go immediately after this transaction of Mrs. Cobb's arrest?

A. I decline to answer that question.

Q. Did you leave the city?

A. When I got ready.

Witness stated that the reason he declined to answer the question put to him, a minute ago, was because of his being in the secret service of the Government, and being sent away on official business.

Q. I want to know whether you were sent out of the city of Washington shortly after this transaction, and sent by Baker.

A. I was sent away on business. I left here on the evening of November 9th.

Mr. Bradly: The pardon, I think, is dated the 8th.

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Before you left, were you or not aware that Mr. and Mrs. Cobb were taking steps to seek redress?

A. No, sir; I never knew any thing of it, until I saw it published in the papers where I was.

Q. And that you are perfectly clear about?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect meeting any acquaintance at the depot as you were

going away, and having any conversation with him on the subject of this transaction with Mrs. Cobb?

A. Well, I do not know; I might have met some one there that I knew.

Q. Do you recollect of meeting General Slough there?

A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. Do you remember what you said to him, or he said to you, about this matter?

A. He said something about Mr. and Mrs. Cobb coming to his office, when Major Wyncoop was there, and asking him if he knew Captain Howell; and after describing me, and the way in which I was dressed, he said it must be me, naming me.

Q. Is that all?

A. He says, "What are you up to?" I says, "Not much of any thing; I reckon you will find out." Says he, "I am waiting for the baggage for my wife, that should have come this morning," and says, "Where are you going." I told him I was going West on business, and I think I said something in regard to this transaction.

Q. Do you remember what you said in regard to it, and what he said to you?

A. I do not.

Q. Do you remember of his making in reply to what you said, any suggestion, by the way of advice, that you had better get out of town?

A. No, sir; I do not remember any thing of the kind.

Q. Not in precise words or substance?

A. No, sir.

Q. Was there any thing said at the time about Mr. and Mrs. Cobb making any disturbance about the matter?

A. I do not know that there was. Even if there had been any advice given to me to go out of town, it would not have made me go, because I was acting under orders.

Q. Then, if I understand you right, before you left town that evening you had heard something about this business?

A. Not that there was to be any thing of this kind going on, or that General Baker was to be arrested, or any thing of that kind.

Q. Or any thing against you in the matter?

A. No, sir.

Q. I understand you to say, that you prepared that petition, and asked Mr. Smith if he could not prepare the affidavit for you?

A. No, sir; you will find it all in my own handwriting. Mr. Smith put on the name of some magistrate; not the name of any magistrate that I knew of.

Q. How came you to write the name of the magistrate in the body of the certificate?

A. I wrote the first name that came into my mind.

Q. You did not ask him to think of some name to sign, but you had written it yourself?

A. Yes, sir.

By Mr. Stanton:

*Q.* What position was it you occupied at St. Louis, before you left there?

*A.* That of Assistant Provost-Marshal General of the Department of Missouri.

*Q.* Do you remember whether the name of J. W. Moss was suggested by yourself or by Mr. Smith?

*A.* I do not recollect.

*Q.* You say that you are an American citizen. Where were you born?

*A.* New Haven, Connecticut.

*Q.* Where have you resided mostly?

*A.* In almost all of the Southern States, and some of the Territories.

*Q.* Any time in Ohio?

*A.* Yes, sir; I was a boy in the same town in which Judge Carter practiced law. He has known me from boyhood up. Mr. Riddle knew my father very well in his lifetime.

*Q.* Have you applied to the War Department for any hearing upon this affair?

*A.* By permission of the Court, I would like to say something in regard to what has been alluded to by Mr. Bradly, in regard to my case.

*Q.* In regard to the conviction?

*A.* Yes, sir.

The Court: You can state any facts.

Witness: What has been said may leave an erroneous impression on the mind of the jury in regard to my case. The fact that I was arrested and tried by an arbitrary order of General Rosecrans did not make guilty of the offenses with which I was charged. I have in my possession an affidavit showing a conspiracy, and the amount of money that was paid by the conspirators to place me in the position in which I was placed by the arbitrary order of General Rosecrans. I was dismissed the service, incarcerated in prison, and kept there six months, until I made my escape, because General Rosecrans swore I should lay there and rot. On making my escape, as soon as I had time, I made my report to the Secretary of War—stating where I was, and the circumstances. Upon the examination of my papers, the Judge, Advocate decided that the proceedings against me were illegal and void, and consequently of no effect; but the great number of the affidavits which had been placed in the hands of the Government, in regard to the matter with which I was charged, although most of them were perjured statements, which I am able to show beyond the possibility of a doubt, induced the Government to order a trial before the court of which Colonel Burnham is the Judge-Advocate. I have always courted a complete and thorough investigation into every charge that has ever been brought against me as a public officer. I entered the service of the United States at the breaking out of the war. General Slough, and every officer with whom I have served, will certify that the only thing the Government ever had against me was because I reported the frauds and corruption of superior officers, and the stealing and robbing of the Government. That is the fact in regard to my case, and I would as soon ex-

pose the man who stood at the highest pinnacle, if he was defrauding the Government, as an ordinary soldier in the army. I never aspired to position; I would as soon have entered the service as a private as any other way. I was tendered a commission by the Governor of the Territory in which I lived, and solicited to take it. I did so, and to the best of my ability I have ever since discharged my duty as an officer of the army, as I had always previously done as an American citizen.

By Mr. Bradly:

*Q.* You say you lived in Ohio?

*A.* Yes, sir, in 1845 or 1846, I think.

*Q.* Have you known Mr. Riddle or Judge Carter since that time?

*A.* I have met Judge Carter several times; I have met him but once since I have been here, that was yesterday morning. I was not acquainted with Mr. Riddle; it was my father who was.

*Q.* The only charge you can recollect of is that for malicious arrest and false imprisonment?

*A.* That constituted a part of the malfeasance in office; I believe that is the charge.

*Q.* At what time was it you reported to the Secretary of War, after you got out of prison?

*A.* Two years ago, in the month of November, 1864.

*Q.* When did you get orders to report to General Baker?

*A.* In July.

*Q.* Oral or written?

*A.* Oral.

*Q.* You came here, then, in July, and went to the War Department, where you were directed to report to the chief of the detective force?

*A.* No, sir, they directed me to place myself at the disposal of General Baker.

*Q.* Did you not know that he was the chief of the detective force?

*A.* I had seen his name in print as the special agent of the War Department.

*Q.* Didn't you know that he was the chief of the detective force of the War Department?

*A.* I must say that I do not consider that he is the chief of the detective force. He is the special agent of the War Department, and so signs himself, and did in his letters to me eighteen months ago.

*Q.* Who is chief of the detective force?

*A.* I do not know that there is any detective force.

*Q.* Who gives directions to the detectives?

*A.* I do not know any detectives.

By Mr. Riddle:

*Q.* You state that you met Judge Carter yesterday; let me inquire whether Judge Carter did not give you permission to refer to him?

Objected to by Mr. Bradly: on the ground that the testimony of the Chief-Justice himself was the best evidence.

Objection sustained.

Dr. D. W. BLISS sworn.

By Mr. Stanton:

Q. Please state your rank and position?

A. I am a physician and surgeon in the army.

Q. Were you at any time in command of a hospital in this city?

A. I was—Armory Square Hospital.

Q. Did you know Mrs. Cobb?

A. Not as Mrs. Cobb.

Q. By any other name?

A. I recognize a lady here whom I knew as Mrs. Livingston.

Q. Will you state the reason she took the name of Mrs. Livingston?

A. I do not know any thing about any reason—I supposed it was her name.

Q. Was it Miss or Mrs. Livingston?

A. Mrs., I think.

Q. Was there any rule that excluded single ladies from acting as nurses in the hospital?

A. Not that I am aware of.

Q. Was Mrs. Livingston discharged from the hospital?

A. I believe she was.

Q. For what reason?

A. I do not know that I can recollect what reason. I have had a large number of female nurses in the hospital at different times, and these things I would not charge my mind with.

Q. Do you remember what she said about her husband at any time—where he was?

Objected to as not at all responsive. Objection sustained.

Q. Did you ever give Mrs. Cobb a letter of recommendation?

Objected to by Mr. Bradly.

Q. Are you acquainted with the character of this woman for truth and veracity?

A. No, sir. I do not know that I ever heard her truth called in question.

Q. Do you consider Mrs. Cobb a fit associate for the members of your family?

Objected to by Mr. Bradly. Objection sustained.

#### *Cross-Examination.*

By Mr. Bradly:

Q. Do you recollect of her bringing you a letter of introduction from Dr. Haywood?

A. I recollect of her bringing me a letter of introduction from Dr. Woodward, Assistant Surgeon in Philadelphia. It was on his recommendation that she was appointed.

*Q.* Do you remember of her being sick before she received her discharge?

*A.* I do not recollect about it.

*Q.* Sick with neuralgia, and attended by yourself?

*A.* I do not recollect it.

*Q.* Do you remember shortly before of her face being very much swollen with neuralgia, and being in the hospital sick?

*A.* I do not.

*Q.* Will your books show whether she was sick or not at that time?

*A.* I think not. I do not think our records of that date were kept so close.

*Q.* What is your recollection as to admitting into the hospital unmarried ladies under a certain age. Was there not objection to admitting them under thirty-five years of age?

*A.* There were objections by some of the physicians in the early part of the establishment. I have heard different opinions expressed. I heard Mrs. Dix wanted them to be fifty years old.

*Q.* Mrs. Dix did make objections?

*A.* I believe so, but I did not see it; I can state what orders I had.

*Q.* Had you any orders to keep women out?

Objected to.

*Cross-Examination.*

By Mr. Stanton:

*Q.* Did you ever talk to Mr. Jones about the reputation of this woman?

*A.* I never did. Mr. Jones asked me one day what she was on, and I told him I did not know. I think that is the only conversation Mr. Jones and myself ever had.

*Q.* I want to know whether you ever introduced persons to this Mrs. Cobb for the purpose of getting her to procure pardons from the President?

*A.* I think I introduced one gentleman to Mrs. Cobb.

*Q.* For that purpose?

*A.* I cannot say whether for that purpose or not.

*Q.* Did you know she was engaged in that business?

Mr. Bradly: I desire to show, may it please your Honor, by the witness that he had received orders not to let Mr. Jones come there to interfere with any person going into the Executive mansion, Mr. Jones being in the employ of General Baker, and claiming to be there under his (Baker's) authority.

Objected to. Objection sustained.

Thereupon the Court adjourned until Monday morning, at ten o'clock.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

### CLOSING SCENES IN COURT.

Eloquent Plea of Mr. Riddle—His able Résumé of the whole affair—Scenes in the Court House—Verdict of the Jury, and Decisions of the Court—Spicy Bitterness of certain Papers—List of Pardons—Abuse of Executive Clemency and Power.

I TURN with unfeigned pleasure to the closing plea of Mr. Riddle, whose able argument held the attention of all present and whose history of the guilty parties, including some in highest positions, will be confirmed by the revelations of time and the future records of the great crisis through which the nation is passing.

Mr. Riddle : May it please your Honor and you gentlemen of the Jury, two or three evenings since, as I was passing up Fourteenth Street, to my residence, an elderly gentleman, well known in the city, connected socially and otherwise with some of the highest circles in the country, having occasion to speak of the trial in progress, and of the troubrous times through which we had passed, some of the unfortunate incidents, some of the great outrages that people have suffered, spoke of a matter which fell under his personal observation, and with which he was connected. He is my sole authority for the incident. During one of these periods in the year 1803, when there was about as little regard paid to the rights of individuals, whether rightfully or wrongfully, as at any time, his attention was called to an aged and infirm man, who was in prison, a resident on the Virginia side of the Potomac, a bereaved man, the father of an only daughter, who, as it seems, had been induced by an officer, through his professions of love, to submit her person to him as a husband without the ceremony of marriage. In those days, it took very little to incarcerate and imprison; and, I have no doubt, many a man was imprisoned solely to gratify private spleen or personal dislike; and when this old man interfered for the protection, and, if possible, the restitution of his daughter, in order that the seducer might the more readily secure access to the victim of his passions, complaint was lodged against this blameless old man, and he was lodged in one of the prisons of this city. With no friends to inquire, no one to care for him, there he lay, suffering the tortures of living death. The facts were brought to the notice of my informant, who immediately became interested in the case. This feeble, broken-hearted old

man had already lain there for two months, nearly eaten up with vermin, the victim of outrage, oppression, and wrong. My informant went at once to a gentleman then occupying a somewhat responsible position in public affairs, and made known to him the circumstances of the case. The gentleman to whom he applied promised him that he would go the next morning, and give personal attention to the case, his position being such that he had access to whoever was in prison. He went, and, hearing the old man's statement, finding there was no person to complain against him, having the power, he opened the prison door. He took him out, caused him to be thoroughly cleansed, burnt every rag of his worn and soiled clothing, and from his own means furnished him with such a dress as a respectable gentleman might appear in, lodged him at a respectable hotel, supplied him with a horse, saddle, and bridle, together with a safe conduct back to his place of residence, and all this without taxing either the public or the individual charities of any person.

That man, capable at least of these Christian charities in such uncharitable times, was Lafayette C. Baker, then Provost-Marshal of the War Department, and now on trial for an alleged outrage upon the personal rights of the complainant in this case. He may be, perhaps is, exactly what is said of him; but it is barely more than possible that there is, within the limits at least at the present time of these United States, a man upon whom more unmitigated, steady, strong, vituperative invective, sarcasm, and epithet, have been cast, with or without cause. I am speaking of that charged upon him here. You have been regaled from the public prints, gentlemen—poetry has been quoted to you as marking exactly what I have said. I beg leave to read from the "Intelligencer" of last Saturday, as embodying, by expressing in a condensed and convenient form, the public feeling which has been invoked, in your presence, to take this case from your hands, and try it by outside influence. I know it has been the custom in this District, when public opinion has run one way, and the justice, the law of the case run another, to open the doors and invite the mob to try the case; and nothing but the steady, strong, inflexible bearing of the personale of the Court could have grappled, crushed, and annihilated that spirit, that found open voice during this present trial.

The extract to which I refer is as follows :

"The self-respect of the people of the United States has in nothing, among all the exactions and oppressions of the times, been so much insulted as by the existence, with secret and unknown powers, of a vast ramification of detectives throughout the country in time of peace. But in the District of Columbia, where the central bureau was located, under the unconscionable presidency of the once fearful and now despicable Baker, the remembrance on the part of our citizens of the numberless oppressions and indignities inflicted upon them by this person is peculiarly poignant. The patron and employer of this man, having no longer power to protect him from the responsibility which other malefactors incur to the law of the land, he is now on trial in the Criminal Court of the District of Columbia."

Oh, yes, gentlemen; his patrons and employers, being without power, you are kindly informed that if you will have the goodness, with or without law,

in the absence of proof to convict General Baker—as this is a sort of experiment, to test the question upon the capacity to secure conviction—that they will then place before you a man who is a little higher, and a little more responsible. “This trial is a trial of the public sense of liberty, and personal sanctity.” It is, is it? What of personal sanctity, when the leading journals in the land, published in your midst, and thrust into your hands while you are trying a person, thus undertake to assail him? Oh we, too, venerate and love the law. It was precisely that which protects this unfortunate (for unfortunate she is) woman, who has appeared before you. It asks no questions as to her position, none as to her habits, none as to her associates; but it comes as the sunlight comes, it comes as night comes with brooding rest to protect her, wherever she may have been, engaged in whatever she may have been; and it is a part and parcel of the same law that adjusts and ascertains the character of the transactions for which this man is upon trial, and metes to him the rewards of his deeds, whether it shall be to go to prison, or to go free. It is a matter of great congratulation that the fearful paroxysms which shook the very soil upon which we trod have passed away, and we may now return to the old healthful, well-ascertained law of the land.

“It is gratifying to find that the able District Attorney is aided by a gentleman of the ability and the dignity of character of Judge Hughes, who, in the progress of this prosecution, has exhibited a becoming zeal for the vindication of the law, and the American disgust of professional treachery.”

He says to you that he is not troubled with any of those nice, conscientious scruples in reference to the use of all necessary means by the Government. I presume, gentlemen of the jury, that you might go through the broad extent of this land, from here northward, westward, and eastward, and you will scarcely find a man who would stand up here now, and say that he was not always in favor of all the necessary means for carrying on the war, and of bringing it to a successful issue. The misfortune of these gentlemen is that no measure proposed was by them deemed necessary; and it was the misfortune during the last two Congresses that these gentlemen, with their conspirators, found no measure that was constitutional, but opposed every thing and any thing. Oh! it was the fashion of these gentlemen then to denounce him whose name can scarcely be mentioned now; who passed away in your midst—denounced him—

Mr. Bradley: If your Honor please, Judge Hughes has been called out of town, and requested me yesterday afternoon, if any allusions were made, such as the gentleman is now making, with reference to his political affiliations upon the questions of the day, at that time, to state for him, that he was, and always has been, from the inception of the political troubles up to this day, a friend of the same men who sustained the now President of the United States.

The Court: Judge Hughes stated the same thing yesterday himself.

Mr. Riddle: I do not know that his absence shall protect him or the case from the fitting remarks upon what he found occasion to say to the jury, and I will be abundantly responsible to Judge Hughes, dignified as he may be.

Mr. Bradley: It is not a question of personal responsibility, but one of personal courtesy.

Mr. Riddle: I have not a word to say, personally, of the excellent gentleman; but it is a little remarkable, from his high political association and high character for personal bearing and intelligence, that it is left for him to declare now, after the war is over, what his views *were*. A man that has to make affidavits, or make statements, six months after a danger, as to the position that he occupied in reference to it, seems to call for an explanation.

Ah, yes, you can laudate the President now! How I remember those fearful times, in 1861, when those gentlemen that represented those Southern States dashed off the character of representatives, threw away the senatorial toga, and rushed headlong to organize that army for the consummation of the frightful and bloody era in your midst. It is curious how these gentlemen lauded those gentlemen then; and it is a little marvelous, that we find those same men that rushed out of the Congress, out of the Government, now rushing back, and demanding entrance precisely as they broke out. I am not discussing that political question, but I remember that Senator, standing alone, a dark, thoughtful, taciturn man; I remember him, as he walked silently and alone through the streets of Washington, and that the common men, and women too, made a little ripple and got out of his way as he passed along. I remember him well, personally; I remember, it did not require that the gentleman should eulogize him here, to remind us what we owed him when he took upon himself the responsibility of a position in one of the border States, then in rebellion, and confronted, with the same inflexible face and the same heaving breast, the rebel foe, personally meeting the danger. Ah, yes, he was denounced by them—I do not say by this gentleman, but by these gentlemen generally—denounced as exercising usurped powers. There was no epithet or expression that they apply now to Baker, that they did not then apply to the gentleman to whom I refer. They come in here now, when his onward steps have borne him to the celestial spheres, the most obsequious of sycophants. There is a purpose, an object for all this—something to be made in some quarter. I will pass all that with a simple reference to it. I am backed by nobody; I have nobody to cheer any thing I may say. It won't be necessary to admonish the officers having charge of the police of this court room to repress any outburst of enthusiasm.

Why, gentlemen, it was marvelous! If you will go back to those dark and fearful days, when this great rebellion rose, and even broke against the very walls of this capital, then the President was the great tyrant, the great oppressor, the great outrager of the rights of the people. As the waves of that rebellion receded, and its colors paled, and the President seemed to emerge a little, it was not quite so popular, perhaps not quite so profitable and expedient, to traduce and denounce the President, and they turned to assail the next earnest and good man, the Secretary of War; and they visited upon him, from that time, precisely the same invectives, precisely the same charges, made by precisely the same men, for the same purposes, and exactly for the same causes. As the war died away, and its thunder subsided, and the cloud rolled below the horizon, it was not quite so fashionable and popular to assail the Secretary of War, but still there must be somewhere somebody found to vent the spleen and spite of gentlemen upon, and then they selected

his subordinate, Baker. Why, in those troublous times, when the President was the great center of the shafts of these men, Baker was not even named. He scarcely came into notice when the Secretary of War was the recipient of all the favors of those gentlemen; but since he has risen quite beyond their reach, and can no longer be affected by their arrows, the same men send the same invectives upon the then Colonel, now General, Baker, for precisely the same causes. He is now the epitomized center of all the shafts left for the sore and yet disappointed and broken down rebellion, wherever it may be found or wherever it speaks.

Gentlemen, I did not bring this discussion here; I would have said nothing about General Baker, personally, if it had not been provoked by what has been said by gentlemen on the other side. Now let me say a word or two in regard to him. Some men who have supposed him too monstrous to have had his birth in this country, have charged over the offense to a foreign nation. I will state that General Baker was a native of Western New York, of a stock that fought the first wars with Britain; born of a father who was a soldier, under General Scott, in the war of 1812. He may be a spy, he may be the epitome of all treachery; if so, let the land that bore him bear also the disgrace. It has been said that he was the subject of supervision by the Vigilance Committee in the City of San Francisco, and departed the country. I would state, in refutation of this calumny, that he was one of the most active and efficient agents of that Vigilance Committee; and when they surrendered back the government of the city to the civil hands, it was one of the conditions, that the now detested Baker should have a high position upon the police force of the city. That he occupied until he came to the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, in the beginning of these troubles. This man, too, who is not to be mentioned in connection with the military positions, organized one of the first companies of returned Californians, that fought so gallantly under the lamented Colonel E. D. Baker. Being ambitious, however, and finding the process of getting into the service through that organization a little too slow, he sought for service, and found it under General Butler, who led the first thoroughly organized force from the North. He was General Butler's bearer of dispatches, from some place in the neighborhood around the City of Baltimore, to Washington. He carried back the orders which led that General to take position at Annapolis. He passed from that service; General Scott wanted a man of personal bravery, of good address, of courage, of devotion and fidelity, to send upon a desperate mission. General Hiram Walbridge, of New York, personally introduced to him L. C. Baker as a fit man for that service. He sent him on a mission to Richmond; twice captured by our own pickets and returned back to the city, the third attempt, from Port Tobacco, landed him across the river in the hands of the rebels; landed him in the presence of General Beauregard, at Manassas. He was charged as a Yankee spy, and threatened with the gallows. He was placed on board of a train of cars, and transferred to Richmond. The latter part of May found him relieved. In Richmond he was placed in the upper loft of an engine-house, the most convenient and serviceable for his purpose, as it overlooked the fortifications of the city, which, together with the position of things

at Manassas, he carefully traced on tissue paper, which he secreted about his person. Twenty-seven days was he in Richmond. But I suppose he was capable then of insinuating himself into the good graces and confidence of others. He practiced great treachery. He got into the confidence of the leaders of the Confederacy. Three times honored with personal interviews with Jeff. Davis; was appointed by him the secret purveyor and purchaser of goods and arms for that Southern Confederacy, and armed with a missive from Howell Cobb for this purpose, and with safe conduct from Jeff. Davis, that carried him to Fredericksburg, he was arrested making his way in this direction. Making his escape, he met with vicissitudes. Pursued by cavalry, he found a resting-place in a hay-field, under the new-mown hay, and going to a house the next morning for the purpose of procuring some refreshment, he was there set upon and captured by eleven rebel soldiers, tried by a drum-head court-martial as a spy, and sentenced to be hung. Finding it impossible to escape until near daylight, he stole away, and got into a skiff, and made off. He was fired upon, first by two men, and then by the whole garrison. Upon the camp becoming alarmed, the men sprang down after him with their weapons. Showers of shell and musketry literally hailed around him. One of the shells carried away the bow of his skiff, and he worked his way across by floating down the river twelve miles, and reported himself at Washington, where he had to identify himself to General Walbridge, who returned him to General Scott, with the plans of the fortifications that he had obtained.

Oh, he is a spy! He deserves the execration of every American citizen; deserves that the leading journals should open upon him, while he is on trial, and anticipate, if possible, the verdict of a jury. But he was guilty of more treachery than that. You have heard of the Knights of the Golden Circle. There was a prominent circle over at Baltimore. Lafayette C. Baker became a Knight of the Golden Circle; of course practicing fraud, and all the known crimes, according to these gentlemen's ideas. For three weeks he remained in that order. The result of it, for he is a great betrayer of wrong-doers, was the suppression and capture of the Secesh Maryland Legislature, which was charged upon McClellan and Scott. The Bureau, connected at that time with the State Department, was soon after, in January, 1862, transferred to the War Department. General Baker was transferred with it, with this missive from the head of the State Department. See ante, p. 127.

I needn't stop, I must hastily glance at two or three prominent points. The mode and manner in which he discharged the duties of that place are matters of history. He was the first gentleman that explored and took possession of the ruined works abandoned by the rebels at Manassas, and the honorable Committee on the Conduct of the War did him the honor, and themselves the credit, of incorporating verbatim into their report, not quite giving him the credit, but incorporating entire his report to the Secretary of War of his mission on that occasion. He was authorized (and I think it is the only instance in the history of this war) to appoint all the officers of his regiment. That was not a mere sham. The regiment was raised, equipped, and armed, and portions of its battalions have been led by this hated man with as much courage and chivalrous bravery, in the heady fights, as were

ever seen by "Miles O'Reilly," who is now dogging him with his doggerels. You may leap from that to his appointment as brigadier-general—not a brevet. That appointment has been read to you, and marks upon its face the services for which it was a reward.

A year or more ago, it was found that the great State of New York was furnishing but phantoms and figures, while her quotas were filled on paper, her soldiers never reached the rendezvous, and were never armed. General Dix and his detectives, and the great detective force of the city of New York, were utterly at fault, until General Fry asked that Colonel Baker, who wins the confidence and betrays everybody, should be detailed for that special purpose, and he was. He took his men, and they went to the different rendezvous, and were recruited, and thereby he learned the secrets, which resulted in the parties being arrested. As an evidence of the value of the service thus rendered by General Baker, I will state that General Grant said that the moral effect of that exposure was equal to placing under his command, about Petersburg and Richmond, forty thousand troops. And that other incident referred to in that commission, when the grand explosion, the general blowing up of the last of this great rebellion took place, when men were wild and jubilant, when the city was ablaze, there fell that mysterious blow, that smote the great head of the nation, and left the whole body politic to quiver in the shock. The assassins fleeing, the united detective force of the country was summoned to Washington, and placed, as it was supposed, upon their track. On the Sunday following, Colonel Baker returned from his duties in New York, reported for service in Washington, and was referred to the detective force that had this thing in charge. They would not confer with him, and he had to take up the case anew, search it out for himself from the beginning, and going over the ground over which they had gone, discovered the trail which they had missed. A whole week had elapsed. If you recollect the sickening, deadening feeling that came over the public heart, and caused the general pulse to stand still with indignant grief, at the thought that the murderers had escaped, and would not be captured—and they never would have been had it not been for General Baker. His hounds that they speak of here—the hounds of General Baker—were baying along the bloody track of the murderers, and the universe could not have hidden the assassins from the eye of General Baker. Had they skulked away into some dark crevice or cavern, their dishonored bodies would have been dragged even thence. By Baker they were captured and given up to punishment—the dishonest Baker, the traitor, the man who stands before you, who looms up as one of the extraordinary men of these extraordinary times, and educated by the times for the services which he has performed.

Pardon me, gentlemen of the jury, for glancing thus hastily at some of the prominent points in the career of this man. All this may be true, as it is, but still, according to the gentlemen, he may be entitled to your verdict of condemnation. I stand here, gentlemen, as his humble advocate; I know nobody in this defence but General Baker; I represent nobody but him; I was retained by him, I expect to be compensated by him; I know of no purpose beyond that of making for him a fair and legitimate defence; I know

nobody that is standing behind him stimulating this defence, or who is any way responsible for it. I may know of one or two things connected with this transaction, which we have not thought proper to spread before you, for it would not change materially the character of the defence, and for which no outsider is responsible in any manner or shape. Don't let anybody give a wrong construction to this remark; and that brings me to discuss, briefly, the matters pertaining directly to the charge.

I may feel obliged, possibly, to refer again to some matters which have been brought there by others, to say a word or two, lest they are brought here. You recollect we have been charged with an attempt to trap the President to do a great variety of things. That this is a grand crusade of somebody against somebody else, for something to be done somewhere, at some time, for some purpose, to which nobody has given us any clue, and in comparison with which this little painted girl, this General Baker, are but little trivial incidents; that this is a great contest between somebody else, fought out one way and another in their names, through the medium of this trial. But I know of no such thing—I believe no such thing; and I will deal with the balance of this case, referring possibly to a remark or two which has been made, simply as a case brought before you to be tried upon the ordinary rules of evidence. Nor do we complain of the learned array of counsel which surrounds this woman, for it is not the candid thing to speak of her as the defenceless, the lonely, the solitary, the drooping outlaw—to be simply the subject of charity—when with one wave of that little hand of hers, one glance of her eye, as it rolled around, falling upon these outsiders, you know what kind of chivalry it created along the male electric chords. It needed only one glance, one wave, for this defenceless woman to summon to her assistance the powerful array of talent which has stood about her case. Business calling Judge Hughes (the first in point of place) away, the head of the bar, the distinguished Mr. Bradley, receives the fainting form of this bruised and crushed woman into his hands, and, when the rheumatism lays him low, why the younger, the gallant, handsome young gentleman, more fitting by his years, as one would suppose—possibly less so from some other reasons—conducts her along, until all three together unite to bring her into the embrace of the district attorney. And ah! gentlemen, it is the glory and pride, that none are found so humble, and so lowly, be they beautiful or plain, be they innocent or guilty, that at the bar they do not find ready and willing advocates to see that their rights are protected. We do not complain of this. The gentleman made it the subject of his own remark. It makes no difference to us, as it makes none to you. We are simply to perform our duty, and as far as I am concerned I do not wish to provoke any comparison between myself and more learned gentlemen, knowing I can but suffer in that comparison, and I do not speak of her for the purpose of making any such individual comparisons. I simply deal with these gentlemen as advocates and gentlemen—I say nothing of them personally. I speak of them simply, and of the sentiments they declare on this floor, as they have found occasion to utter them here. Now then, what have you? Why, it was announced here, in grave

and solemn terms, that these gentlemen would put Mr. Baker on trial here upon the several charges—assault and battery, false imprisonment, and extortion. The books were read to show what extortion was. We were tried here four or five days for extortion, assault and battery, and I do not know what beside, until the thing fell under the judicial eye, and the law pertaining to the case was examined and applied to the text of that indictment, and these gentlemen at once conceded that there was no extortion. We did not mean any such thing at all, say they. There is no assault and battery. The fact is, gentlemen of the jury, there is not any thing, that is the trouble with the case. Don't you recollect the learned and ingenious analysis of the gentleman who so ably opened this case yesterday, in which he took up and discussed the rules of law, advancing the doctrine that you could imprison without the exercise of any force? There need be no walls of a prison—oh, no! We have ordinarily associated prison—we have associated it in these dark and troublous times—with being shut up by somebody for something or nothing; but we have come to learn, finally, that it is not necessary for imprisonment that there should be a prison, or that it should have walls, but it may be the broad, free atmosphere. You may surround one with some moral, intellectual, or some other restraint that we cannot see, and do not feel that nobody knows any thing about, but which is nevertheless an imprisonment—a thing in the constitution of which force does not enter, and thus produce a false imprisonment. It is conceded that there is nothing in this case of a vindication of the rights of the subject, and the experiment is whether this shall be an entering wedge to some other prosecution which may also amount to nothing. But this is not to be disposed of quite in this summary way. There are several things yet to be said about this case. Now it is charged and sworn, and there can be no difficulty in understanding the meaning of the words employed by the principal witness, that General Baker entered her apartment at a given time, and, as she says, arrested herself and husband, took them up to his office, had a private interview with one of the parties and induced her to give to him a portion of her money, and went away. There is no actual detention of the person, and this is the imprisonment. Then very much is made of what is said to have been the opening of the defense, that Baker was about the White House, disclosing the fact that he was Provost-Marshall of the War Department, and that he took notice of such occurrences as demanded the attention of a detective, as of course he did, being the agent of the War Department. Whether I made the remark exactly as published, or not, is immaterial. It is well-known, however, that there was an incipient conspiracy to assassinate the present President. The regular Metropolitan Police of this city contributed its quota to the protection of his person. One of the detectives, under General Baker, was detailed for the same purpose; not for the purpose of watching the distinguished citizen that is at the head of the Republic, in the discharge of his duty; not for the purpose of casting any slur upon him; but men of large experience were placed in the neighborhood, for the purpose of seeing that the great catastrophe that so nearly struck down the Government in the spring should not repeat the blow, or, if attempted, that it should not be with impunity. I need

not repeat the further part of that opening. It was claimed therein that Baker went to the Avenue House, not for the purpose of making an arrest; and that he did not make any arrest, but that he acted upon information which he had received from others, to wit: that this young woman was engaged in a business supposed to be reprehensible, whether it was or not. He acted upon it, and must rise or fall, sink or swim, by the merits of the act itself. The purpose for which he went there is made perfectly known. It was simply to expose what there was bad, if there was any thing bad, in the process by which the pardoning power was made to dispense its favors. Why, gentlemen, not that anybody suspected the President, not that anybody sought to assail him, not for any such contemptible purpose as to seek to entrap the President, nor that any person could have had any purpose to gain by such a process as that. If they had, of all conceivable methods for realizing the object they had in view, they would not have resorted to such an inefficient method as this. Now, it was simply to test the business itself, and to know and determine what it was. If improper, the attention of the President would be called to it, and in his hands would it be left.

Mr. Riddle, at this point, paid a glowing and eloquent tribute to President Johnson, and, after referring to his exalted position, his multifarious duties, and his power, argued, that in the midst of his duties he might be imposed upon by this woman. Now, what was Baker's object? That has been made known. Let me follow this right along, just here. They say he arrested her. Why, gentlemen, Baker is not a fool. He may be criminal, as they claim him to be, but he is not quite to be charged with being demented. Now, why arrest her? Of what service would that be? What object had he to gain by the arrest? Why, say the learned gentleman, he had just taken his lessons as to the law of arrest under the act of Congress, upon judicial authority announced to him by the Supreme Court of the District—a court of original jurisdiction, whose acts are subject only to be reviewed by the highest Court known to the Constitution. That had advised Baker, that if he acted under the order of the President, and he received it from the Secretary, or even from the messenger of the Secretary, and by parol, that that was his warrant. Gentlemen, if he had had a purpose, as he could have had none in the arrest of Mrs. Cobb, but if he did purpose to arrest her, if he is really the minion of that other man (and we all know who is referred to), that compact, vigorous man, that man of intense energy, who planned so many campaigns, from whose mighty brain went forth so many great projects, whose hands conjured from the earth the material with which to fight the great battles, who stood by and sustained the great generals, and who received them back to the capital, when they returned, after the consummation of his projects—the man who, in the dark hours of the assassination, ere the present President had reached the position of power to make himself felt, when the whole fabric was shaken, he who sustained it by his single arm—now, I repeat if Baker had had a purpose to arrest, and if Baker was but his minion, all he had to do was to say to the Secretary of War, "I want an order for the arrest of Mrs. Cobb," and it would have been made, and you never could have touched Baker; so say

the gentlemen themselves. In the first place, then, I say he had nothing to achieve by her arrest; and, in the second place—with the judicial lesson which had just been inculcated upon him by which he might profit—if he had intended to arrest her, he would, at least, have armed himself with that, which could no more be punctured than the shield of Achilles. The fact that he did not do so, is conclusive that he never intended to arrest her. If he had intended to arrest her, not only would he have gotten the order referred to, but he would have whistled to some one of those whom gentlemen characterize as his hounds, for General Baker seldom, in ordinary cases, himself undertakes an arrest. If in this case he desired the arrest of this party, he would have sent and accomplished it, and had Mrs. Cobb brought to his office. No arrest was intended—none was necessary, in the nature of the case. We come now, directly to the collision of the witnesses. Here is a woman, I have nothing to say about her reputation, I have had nothing to say, any further than I understood, myself, to have been challenged by the gentlemen.

We know perfectly well, gentlemen of the jury, that in attempting to impeach the character of a female for truth and veracity (but nobody can see the force of the reasoning), we are strictly confined to her reputation for truth. The theory is a sort of solecism in the law, that the quality which alone marks a woman as truthful may be wanting, and yet you are not permitted to say by that, that she is untrue. What makes a true woman? Why, gentlemen, her purity—with females, a thing so sacred that it is scarcely to be named; in illustration of which there can be found no material type in the universe, among the most delicate and the most beautiful things, which can be the object of sense and touch. We know perfectly well that it is but the band, the ligament which surrounds and binds up all the beautiful and lovely qualities which go to make up the sum total of the woman, and ordinarily we would suppose that to prove that that band was annihilated, that ligature thrown away, and all these qualities blackened by unchastity, would be sufficient in order to raise a question of her truth. The law is otherwise, of that we have nothing to say, but accept it as it is. But, gentlemen of the jury, you will remember that you are asked to convict this man upon the unaided testimony of this woman. I do not speak of her save as she appeared—something there was which you know she has lost, as something you know she has gained. Why, the two days that she occupied that chair were to her field-days. The audience to whom she spoke were over there, she did not vouchsafe scarcely a turn of her eye upon you, gentlemen of the jury.

A word here, gentlemen, with regard to the city and its citizens. Let me say that the citizens are not responsible for all that goes on here. I took occasion the other day in commenting on a matter here in court, to say that I thought this was as bad as governed a ten miles square as could be found anywhere. In saying that, I did not mean to charge this unpleasant state of affairs upon the authorities of this District—not by any manner of means. Everybody and every thing floats in here, the good and the bad. All is charged improperly and wrongfully upon the character of the resident population, when it simply belongs to the character of the city as a metropolitan

city to which all portions of the country contribute alike their good and their bad elements. Sometimes the bad predominates a good deal.

I only make this remark, as these parties are not your citizens, and to show to you, gentlemen of the jury, that under no blind excitement or heat of argument will I do injustice intentionally. If I am thoughtlessly led into it, I am always glad of the opportunity to make reparation, and no one will ever do it more cheerfully than myself to man or woman. But I said that the witness, Mrs. Cobb, stood there upon that stand, and that there was an apparent loss of which she was not conscious. She had lost the outside manner and bearing of chastity. She was not quite conscious of it, but it was gone. No power, no art could simulate it; and she had gained what perhaps she was not conscious of, that which women gain alone by association with fast men. Little suppers with one woman and half dozen gentlemen. I do not say she is this, that, or the other. I only speak of her as she spoke, not only by her voice and countenance, but by her bearing and her manner. And does she occupy an unprejudiced position? Did not she repeat, with emphasis, a threat which she made to General Baker, that she would be engaged in his office in no shape, save for the purpose of ruining him? That is the purpose for which she is upon that stand. And she is met in her statement by a witness that contradicts her. When may a thing be taken to be proven, gentlemen of the jury—when one veracious witness testifies to it, and he tells a probable story, and is not contradicted by another witness? When may a story be said to have been disproven—when another equally credible witness, having no greater motive to state the opposite, appears upon the stand, and swears to having had the same opportunities, and positively declares that the things testified to did not happen? That leaves it as it was before. Remember that the prosecution here has the affirmative. They take upon themselves the labor of this case. They are to prove to your satisfaction, to the exclusion of your reasonable doubt, that the allegations in this indictment, as they apply to the case under consideration, are all true. But when one witness swears to them, and another witness with equal means of knowledge, and no more compromised by his connection with the case than is the witness swearing in the affirmative, swears that he was present, and the things sworn to did not happen, the testimony of the one neutralizes the other. But it is said that Spear is an informer, and ought not to be believed for that reason. Again, he has been indicted for participation in this same offense, and for that reason ought not to be believed. Then, by the same mode of reasoning, this woman, who it is said is the subject of this outrage, is unworthy of belief. There can be nothing said of the one that cannot be said of the other. If it is said Spear is an informer, she is a \_\_\_\_\_. You may fill up the blank with any thing you see proper, and you will do no injustice. Now, then, which probably tells the truth. There was no motive to arrest this woman. There could not have been any arrest, because there were no means employed to arrest her, such as would protect the man making the arrest. She swears there was an arrest. Spear swears positively there was not. She does not say exactly by what means Baker arrested her, but that he so said in

a reply to a question from her husband, when he inquired "Are we to consider ourselves under arrest?" Already arrested, and did not know it! Just here she is met by Spear, who says, when the inquiry was made as to whether they were to consider themselves as under arrest, Baker replied, "No, you are not under arrest." He makes that emphatic denial right on the face of this witness. His manner on the stand must have convinced you, gentlemen, that he was telling the truth. Calm, intelligent, and collected, and answering readily, having no hand in the transaction save as by his personal presence, and without knowing in advance what was to transpire, can you, I say, in the face of this negation, take the statement of this woman as true? "Why," says the learned gentleman, "if he wanted to converse with her, why not do it there?" Down there in the hotel in a room, liable to interruption from anybody and everybody! If Baker had have sought to take her away to some place of confinement, some other means would have been employed than those used by him. But the gentleman dwells upon the language of the witness, Mrs. Cobb. Mr. Baker desires her to go, perhaps making a pressing invitation. He asks her if she will go. She says, "I suppose I must." What does that mean? Persons a thousand times say they must do a thing, when they are constrained by no physical force. "I must go to see my wife," "I must go and call on my neighbor," "I must go to the ball;" but in no instance does the expression, "I must do a thing," imply that I am in any way coerced by force, or by the exercise of force. Not at all. The carriage, too, is called; no carriage is brought there. Both she and her husband are invited to enter, and they did enter. Did she protest against it; did she say to anybody that she would not go; did she ring her bell, and summons the landlord, call in friends, burst into tears? No! Although in the presence of this dreaded man, this awful Baker, whose very presence is a living prison, so that wherever he walks he carries false imprisonment with him—this terrible man, taking this woman at night-fall away from the protection of her lodgings, from the surroundings of her acquaintances, to incarcerate her, perhaps, in the Old Capitol—not a murmur, not an objection, not even a woman's tear; but quietly and gracefully she places her outside garments around her, gets into the carriage, and is driven to the headquarters of General Baker. Then what happens? Her husband accompanies her—they say he was arrested and taken. I wish you to keep that in mind. We say she inquired whether her husband might be permitted to accompany her, to which Baker replied he might. What did Baker want with Cobb? was any thing to be done with him? When she got to General Baker's headquarters, then what? Why he separated her from her husband. And how? Why General Baker called a gentleman to show me to his private room, she says. Did she object? Does she say she did? Was there a single inquiry on her part, as for instance, "Why take me to General Baker's?" "What are you going to do with me?" If under arrest, she might have expected to be taken to prison; but she was not under arrest, and she knew it. Does she desire her husband to go to the private room? Does she inquire what he is going to do with him while she is gone? Not a word, but voluntarily she walked to that place. Again, it is said, gentlemen,

that this defendant has put upon the stand his own satellites—his tools, as the gentleman calls them, the minions of his power. They have not only contributed by their presence and their conduct to the working out of his nefarious purpose, but they are here on this stand for the purpose of, by their evidence, exonerating him from the consequences of this awful case. Of course, gentlemen, they have told the truth on this stand, or they have lied. If they have lied, they might just as well have gone a little further, and have lied a little more. Some one or more of these men would have sworn that they were present with Baker and this woman in this private room, and have given you what transpired. Indeed, if Baker had intended any outrage on that woman there of any kind, he would have had a witness present, who would have sworn that there was no outrage. And as to Smith, who was left by Baker in the room with her, she does not contradict a single word of his testimony. She does not begin to complain to him, and say, "I am here under arrest. What do you suppose is to be done with me? Shall I be sent to the Old Capitol? Baker has taken from me my money." Is there a word of that? Does she suppose that she is in prison? Does she ask Smith if she might go? Not one word of it. Smith, when put on the stand, was asked if he was placed there to guard her. "No." "Should you have let her go, if she wanted to?" "I suppose I should." "Why?" "Because I had no orders to detain her." Does Smith lie? Surely he would not have told such a strange lie as that. If he was going to lie at all, he would have sworn that he was present in that room all the time, and that nothing such as she has related occurred. Does she contradict Smith? No; she is not called to the stand to rebut anybody. And I am reminded just here of what has been said by gentlemen in regard to Cobb. They say that now Cobb is well; and if his wife did not tell the truth, why not produce him to contradict her. I reply by asking those gentlemen, if he would sustain his wife, why not produce him to sustain her. Besides, the Court distinctly proposed to these gentlemen to postpone this case until such time as it was thought probable Cobb could have come in and testify. But oh, no! They knew whether they wanted him or not, and it was for them to elect whether they would go to trial, or not, in his absence. No, it is evident they did not want him. We did not want him, it would have been only adding wickedness to folly, vice to something that shall be nameless.

And when she comes down and takes leave of Baker, she does so so graciously that it provokes the ire of Cobb at once. But, says she, "He had a right to get mad when he saw me treating General Baker so kindly after what I had suffered." What was her object? Why, she says she was determined to show General Baker that she would be a lady in spite of him. Oh indeed! Anxious for the good opinion of General Baker, after he had so terribly abused her, and whom she was so desirous of ruining. One thing further. She swears that her husband was arrested. Was he? He was, if she was; for precisely the testimony that proves the arrest of the one proves the arrest of both, so it follows that if he was not arrested, then very clearly she was not. To show that he was not arrested, we have only to recur

to the fact that he was allowed to go about and do what he pleased. He walked about the room when he was nervous, and went out and took a drink when he was dry; and Spear, the man who helped to commit the outrage on her, he invited to go with him and drink. There is forgiveness for you, gentlemen. He would not forgive the kind words of his wife to General Baker, but he would forgive any outrage that he had himself received. It having been shown clearly that he was under no restraint whatever, and it following that if he was not, his wife was not, we will forbear dwelling longer on that point. Then, how stands this case upon that proof? What has Baker done? He has done simply nothing. I do not stop to inquire whether you would have done what he did, or not. That is not the question. The question is, whether in doing what he did, he has committed an infraction of the law? Let us see for a moment why he acted as he did. He had been informed upon authority, which he had a right to rely upon, that this woman was procuring pardons, and that others were, in a curious and marvelous way. Gentlemen say, why did he not go and admonish the President? Why, he did not then know what they were doing. He had not the means of knowing until he himself could, through gentlemen on whom he could rely, learn from them what was done. And so here was this Lieutenant H. H. Hines, who, passing here under the name of Captain Howell, known as Captain Howell, and by no other name, save to two or three, known to Baker's assistants as Captain Howell, introduced as such, proclaimed as such, and introduced to her as such. It is said to you, and I am not going to discuss to you the character of this pardon brokerage business, for oh! if I am to stand up here, in the brightness of this beautiful winter's sunshine, in the middle of the day, to argue that the high prerogative of a pardon is not to be turned into the noise of public sale and prostitution, if I have to argue such a thing as that to the jury, I propose to place my hand over my mouth and be silent. I do not undertake to say that people may not be assisted in this, as in any other matter. I only say, that when it comes to be a trade, to be trafficked in for the profits that come out of it, that it clearly cannot be countenanced by a jury of American citizens, at the American capital. Nor am I to enter into any very extended details of this transaction, and I take the story as related by her. Mr. Howell has given you his version of it. What does she say? Why, that he was introduced to her; that he told her he was here under an assumed name, because Baker and his hounds were after him. She was not imposed upon about the matter of his being here under an assumed name. Whether she imposed upon the President or not is quite another matter. She had that information, that he was here under an assumed name, and she undertook by that contract to procure that pardon in less than twenty-four hours; nay, less than that, for she only began after the business hours, nine o'clock, and closed before six, the time it was to be delivered. Why, gentlemen, have you had any cognizance, had any thing to do with the cruel delays that attend the prosecution of business in the public departments, and especially at the White House? It is not any fault of the Executive, for he discharges more of the individual business of the citizen than does the head of any other Government in the world. He undertakes the

overwhelming burden of doing the business of everybody that approaches him, and necessarily there have to be channels that he recognizes, known and established, to reach him. Not that he is not at liberty to depart from them, sitting up there as he does, the highest citizen in the Republic, doing the business of the citizens. He cannot know who approaches him, he is not particularly to care. He governs all—the good, the bad, and the indifferent. He does not set any spies on those who approach him, nor does he ask that anybody else should, and nobody else attempts to do any such thing. Why, gentlemen, you know that when a petition for a pardon is placed in the hands of the President, he refers it to the Attorney-General for a report, if for a civil offence, and to the Judge Advocate-General, if for a military offence. When the report is placed in his hands, he acts upon it. But what does the young lady say? This light, dancing bubble, that floats on the mephitic vapors of this strange capital—and there is not another city whose atmosphere would keep such a person afloat twenty-four hours—at one glance of her eye the walls of the White House vanish, and she confronts the President. She went, she says, to Mr. Pleasants, and to the Attorney-General, but they could do nothing for her. She went to the President, and he sent her to Judge Holt. What had she? A petition under an assumed name, as she knows, for she says Howell told her he was under an assumed name. It is just one of the baldest cases that could have been contrived, and the best for the test to which General Baker proposed to put this business. She went to the Judge-Advocate. The Judge-Advocate told her there was no such case. She says she returned to the President, and herself told him there was no such case. Did she tell the President her client was here under an assumed name? Not at all. She swears she knew it. The President told her to come back within two or three days. She went back at the expiration of the time named, and he told her that he could not grant the pardon, as the party was over in Canada. She told him he was here, and then, after having told him he was here, told about the petitioner having saved the life of one of our generals. He said, "Well, if that is so, I will pardon him," and sat down, and did so. But, gentlemen, is there one word of truth in this story that this woman tells? Why, of course she could get seventy-five pardons in a day. All she had to do was to ask for them, and tell a story. Is the grave exercise of the pardoning power, of which the President is simply the trustee, thus abused? Why, gentlemen, if she tells the truth, this is a thing to make the very Capitol blush, from the face of the bronze statue of Liberty upon its dome to its foundation-stones—to make the very paving-stones in the gutter, where flows unnameable filth, turn themselves in their slimy beds in very shame. No, gentlemen, there isn't a word of truth in it. I do not know how she got this pardon. I know she did not get it so. Oh, I know that the man that has traced his honored steps to that great height, while he does not and cannot know who approaches him, and judges alone of the merits of the application, never so conducted.

The very transaction itself proves that it was the duty of somebody to direct the attention of the Executive to it. What did Baker do? After he had received from this woman the money bearing the marks by which he

could identify it, after he had received from the hands of her husband the pardon—and the very mode under which that was procured shows that nobody was under duress—then he waited on the President. What transpired in the presence of the President the prosecution might have proven. If we there made admissions against ourselves, they could prove them. What transpired between the President and ourselves we cannot prove affirmatively. The learned gentleman who stood at the head of this prosecution said he would have the President summoned. I believe they did not, however, send the process for him. Whether they learned by personal investigation what the result would be, if they should take his statement, does not appear. Of course, nobody would ask, in any exigency of the administration of justice, of the great Executive, in whose hands are placed the mighty destinies of comparatively the whole human race, for peace or war, to come and participate in the squabbles of a criminal court; but his statement might have been taken. Did they go and learn what his statement would be? Oh, inquires Judge Hughes, "When Baker went and made his report, did he receive the declaration: 'Well done, good and faithful servant'?" I do not know that he did. If I do, I am not at liberty to state it. I know that he was not condemned. The man that sits up at the White House is not a man to be trifled with. If there had been that in the conduct of General Baker which did not meet with the President's approbation, the motion of his little finger would have stripped, disgraced, and dishonored him. No matter what his services were, no matter what subordinate head of a Department might ask for his services, that head, too, might have rolled in the basket. General Baker made his report. He offered a sworn copy of that report. He could not offer it as affirmative proof. It was offered to the gentlemen so that they might examine, and use it, or not, as they pleased. What more could we do? What more should we have done? We called the attention of the President to this matter respectfully. There we left it, and that was the end of the pardoning business as carried on in that way, right or wrong, good or bad.

Now, then, gentlemen, here I leave this case. By the proof there was no arrest. There can be none found affirmatively. If there was, it was but the slightest conceivable technicality in the world, into which enters the intention of man. A man cannot commit a crime without intending to do it. What conceivable purpose could General Baker have had, save the good of the service? Did he rush into print to glorify himself? Has he ever gone into print for any purpose. Who has been suborned to glorify General Baker in the prints? He has discharged his duties, made his official reports, waiting until the mountain of public odium, that would have completely overwhelmed and long ago driven from business and public employment a less determined character than himself, should be removed—waiting for the lapse of these evil times, and looking to some other day, possibly to some other generation, for the vindication of his character and his transactions. Did he do wrong in suppressing this business of pardon brokerage? Did he not, on the contrary, do a good thing? If he did a right act, you cannot find him guilty; and by the proof he committed no crime.

During the progress of this trial, the counsel for Mrs. Cobb were almost hourly in consultation with the President. They were back and forth, between the court room and the Executive mansion, three or four times a day, consulting with the President. It was generally understood by the counsel and the public, that the prosecution was begun, in the first place, at the President's request, and that he was assisting all he could, by his influence, in pushing it forward. He was aware that the testimony would be so damaging against himself, that unless he took some measures to convict me, the whole thing would reflect upon himself. During this trial, which occupied a number of days, great pains were taken to impress the public with the gravity of my offense. Flaming dispatches were sent broadcast through the country, of which the following are samples:—

**DETECTIVE BAKER'S CASE.**—We learn that the case of Detective Baker was yesterday closed in the District Court of this city. He was found guilty, as charged in the indictment. We now wait impatiently the next scene in this drama, and trust that Baker will have full justice meted out to him. He has insulted the President by his course in the arrest of Mrs. Cobb, and we trust that Judge Fisher, in passing sentence, will take into consideration the enormity of his crimes.

Again:

**THE GREAT DETECTIVE BAKER'S CASE—HOW THE MIGHTY HAVE FALLEN.**—The case of Baker is concluded, and we only wait the sentence, which we trust will be adequate to his crimes.

Again, from the "National Intelligencer" of Washington:—

#### THE CHARGES AGAINST DETECTIVE BAKER.

The following we extract from the Washington correspondence of the New York "Herald":—

"Mrs. and Mr. Cobb, the plaintiffs in the cases against General L. C. Baker, have, for some unaccountable reason, altered their tone considerably within the few days last past. According to reports of their conversation, they are not so bloodthirsty by half against Baker as when they swore out indictments against him for robbery and false imprisonment. Many well-informed persons hazard the opinion that they will not appear against him when those charges are brought to trial. Mr. and Mrs. C. are old acquaintances of Baker, who threatens to produce in court the accumulated history of their several years in Washington."

We invite the District Attorney, who is reputed in this community to be a

man of resolution, to take a hand in this business. "Mr. and Mrs. C." and their "old acquaintance, Baker," the Grand Jury, the District Attorney, and the Judges of the Court of the District of Columbia are all involved in the matter. It does not, in our opinion, and, as we believe, the opinion of all, rest with "Mr. and Mrs. C." whether they will "appear against" their old friend, whose revelations or persuasions, in prospect or in hand, so strongly influence them. Nor does it rest simply in the discretion of the District Attorney whether he will invoke the proper compulsory process for securing the attendance of witnesses. There are laws which provide for these cases, and it is confidently expected, if not sternly demanded, by public opinion here and elsewhere, that a prosecution of such consequence should not be suffered to fall by the suspected procurement of the accused through the timidity or dishonesty of prosecuting witnesses. If this detective is guiltless of statutory crime, there is no doubt he will eagerly court a trial. If the witnesses are ashamed of themselves, that should not frustrate a legal prosecution.

In contrast with the above, the following appeared in the Philadelphia "Inquirer":—

#### COLONEL BAKER'S CASE.

The case of Lafayette C. Baker, formerly Chief of the Government Detectives, which has, in various phases, been before the public for some time, and which has been a frequent subject of reference in news from Washington, may at length be considered ended, as far as the prosecution brought by Mrs. Lucy Cobb is concerned. The latter was arrested by Colonel Baker, upon the charge of being a pardon broker. She alleged that she had been kept in custody until she paid Mr. Baker two hundred dollars, when she was released. On the late trial, there were two counts against the defendant; first, that he had imprisoned her, and extorted two hundred dollars; and, second, that he had subjected her to false imprisonment. The jury acquitted Mr. Baker on the first count of the indictment, but found him guilty upon the second. The effect of that conviction upon the mind of the Court is expressed by the presiding judge in his remarks, when sentence was passed, in which he said that the offense was technical, involving no turpitude on the part of Mr. Baker; committed in excess of zeal, and punishable only by a nominal fine. Mr. Baker deserves congratulation upon his substantial triumph. It is so easy to embarrass, annoy, and prosecute faithful officers in the discharge of their duty to the people, that the failure of any effort in that direction may be considered as a matter worthy of congratulation to the public, whose servant the officer is.

I conclude this chapter by giving the charge of Judge Fisher, and his sentence:—

GENTLEMEN—The protection of personal liberty is a matter over which the common law—a part of the heritage descended to us from our mother country

—from an early period in English history, has ever exercised the most vigilant and zealous care. The unlawful restraint of that personal liberty has, in our system of jurisprudence, for generations past, not only formed a subject of civil suits, but has been regarded as a criminal offense, and as such indictable at common law. It is in this criminal view of it that you are now called upon to act in this case before you. The defendant, Lafayette C. Baker, stands indicted for the offense of having unlawfully restrained the personal liberty of Mrs. Lucy L. Cobb, the prosecuting witness, in this District, on or about the 8th day of November last, and so to have continued this restraint of her liberty until he had extorted from her the sum of two hundred dollars. This is the charge contained in the first count of the indictment, and the second and last count is but a repetition of the first, with the extortion omitted. It is the ordinary common law form of indictment for false imprisonment.

This offense of false imprisonment may properly be defined to be any intentional and unlawful restraint of a person's liberty. It may be the arrest and restraint of a person under color of law by means of an illegal or insufficient warrant or process, as when a person appears before another, pretending to be an officer, and pretending to act under authority of a legal warrant, when he has really no such warrant or authority; or it may be by means of a legal process at an illegal time, as upon a Sunday, when a civil writ cannot be lawfully executed; or as in the case of the arrest of a member of Congress on such a writ while attending upon, going to, or returning from his Congressional duties; or it may be altogether without color of law, that is to say, without any pretense, on the part of the person making it, that he is an executive officer, or that he is acting in obedience to a legal warrant.

Again, this offense may be effected with physical force or violence; or it may be done without touching the imprisoned party's person, simply by menacing words or gestures, producing in the mind of that party a reasonable and well-grounded fear that, if the imprisonment or constraint be not submitted to without physical force, personal injury must inevitably be the result, and compelling the imprisoned party by means of this well-grounded fear to go where he does not wish to go, or to refrain from going where he has a right to go.

Extortion, in its more extended sense, signifies any kind of oppression under pretense or color of right, when such right really does not exist. But, in the more restricted and technical sense in which you have to deal with it in this case, it simply means the unlawful taking by an officer, by color of his office, or under a pretended right as such officer, of any money or thing of value that is not really due to him, or more than is due, or before it is due. This offense of extortion differs from that of robbery and of trespass in this, that the former—extortion—is committed by an officer under pretense that he has lawful authority, as such officer, for the doing of the act, when he really does not possess such lawful authority; while trespass and robbery grow out of acts done by individuals not acting in an official capacity, though they may pretend to be officers of the law.

You will infer from these observations that the defendant in this case, in order to have rendered himself obnoxious to the charge of false imprisonment,

must have been proved to your satisfaction, by the evidence in the case, to have restrained the prosecuting witness, Mrs. Cobb, of her liberty, by presenting himself to her in the character of an officer charged with the duty of making arrests, and under the pretense that he had a legal and sufficient warrant for her apprehension, when in truth and in fact he had no such official character or authority; thereby inducing her to go with him, under a well-grounded belief that she was obliged by law to do so; or that, without any official pretension, he, by physical force, or by words, or gestures, or both, so aroused her just and reasonable fear for her personal safety, as to compel her compliance with his orders to go where she did not desire to go, or to refrain from going where she wanted to go and had a right to go. This compulsion to go where she was not obliged by law to go, or the hindering or preventing her from going where she had a right to go, you are to understand may have been effected either by actual force applied to the person of the witness, or by words or actions sufficient to put her, or any other person of ordinary reason and nerve, in fear of impending injury. If you shall be satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt, from all the evidence before you, that the defendant in this case, under pretense that he had as an officer a lawful warrant from the President of the United States, or from some one of the Cabinet ministers, or from any officer of the Government clothed with proper authority to grant such a warrant, did go to the room of Mrs. Lucy L. Cobb, and there gave her good reason to believe that he was an officer of the Government, authorized to make arrests, and that he had in his hands good and sufficient authority in law to take her to his headquarters, and to believe that in accompanying him thither she was acting in obedience to the mandates of the law, when really he had no such authority, then he has been guilty of false imprisonment.

If, in addition to this, you further believe that, under such pretended authority, he compelled her, by force or through fear, to pay him money which he was not entitled to take from her, or did not rightfully belong to him, then he was guilty both of the false imprisonment and extortion, and you will find him guilty as indicted. Or, if you are satisfied, from the evidence, that although she, of her own free volition, without compulsion, or physical force, or fear of personal injury, accompanied the defendant to his headquarters, and that he there prevented her from leaving these headquarters, by means of pretended authority in his hands as an officer of the Government, and that he continued that imprisonment under such pretended authority until he succeeded in obtaining from her a sum of money which was not due to him, then he would also be guilty of false imprisonment and extortion, as charged in the first count of the indictment, and you will find him guilty as indicted.

If, however, you are not satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt that he arrested and restrained her of her liberty under pretense that he was a public officer, armed with authority; but that he did arrest and restrain her of her liberty merely as an individual, without having made any such pretense of lawful warrant therefor, then he is guilty of false imprisonment, and not of extortion, although he may have obtained the money without being entitled to it, since the taking of the money in that case would amount, not to extor-

tion, but to trespass or robbery, according to the circumstances of claim of right and felonious intention; and, in that event, you would find him guilty, under the second count, of false imprisonment only.

But, gentlemen, before you can properly convict him at all, in either form charged in the indictment, you must be assured, beyond a reasonable doubt, from the evidence in the cause, either that he presented himself to the prosecuting witness in the character of an officer whose duty it was to arrest and imprison in proper and lawful cases, and that in that character he set up to her, in this particular case, the pretense that he was acting under lawful authority, emanating from some public officer having the right to confer it, and thereby caused her to act under the well-grounded belief that in placing herself under his custody she was acting in obedience to the law; or, if you do not thus believe, then you must be satisfied, beyond a reasonable doubt, that, without any pretext of legal authority, he used physical force to arrest and imprison her, or by words, or gestures, or both, placed her in such fear of personal injury, as to constrain her to go where she did not wish to go, or to refrain from going where she had a right to go.

But you are not to take for granted, gentlemen, that the defendant was such an officer, pretending to be armed with such authority as that I have mentioned, without evidence of the fact that Mrs. Cobb, taking him for such officer without any pretense on his part, was ready to consider herself under arrest and imprisoned the moment he announced himself as General Baker of the War Department, and that, therefore, inasmuch as she *supposed* he had come to arrest and imprison her, she must necessarily commit herself to his custody and do his bidding, whether he professed to hold lawful authority for that purpose or not. You must have satisfactory evidence before you that General Baker's actions and conduct were such as to satisfy a reasonable and sensible person either that he had lawful and sufficient warrant to arrest and imprison her, or that he by violence or by intimidation compelled her to a submission to do as he commanded.

Perhaps it may simplify the law of the case if I say to you that there are three questions asked of you, either one of which, if answered in the affirmative by you, will convict the defendant of false imprisonment, unless the arrest was justified by lawful order.

The first is, Did he, either at the Avenue House or at his headquarters, intentionally give Mrs. Cobb to understand that, as General Baker of the Detective Bureau, it was his duty, in obedience to lawful order or warrant, to arrest her or detain her in custody?

Second. If not, then did he, without any color or pretense of such authority, use personal violence, which restrained her liberty?

Third. If he did not use pretense of lawful authority or personal violence, then did he use such language and gestures as ought reasonably to have induced her to believe that if she did not yield herself his prisoner, such violence would be applied?

But if you are not fully satisfied, beyond a reasonable doubt, that he used one or other of the agencies which I enumerated, you cannot convict him of false imprisonment, and you should accordingly render a verdict of acquittal.

The evidence in the case, gentlemen, is somewhat conflicting. It might be expected that it would be. The prosecuting witness, Mrs. Cobb, the only witness produced by the Government to prove the arrest, tells you that she was unlawfully restrained of her liberty, both at her room in the Avenue House and at Baker's headquarters, and that Baker declared at her room that on his own authority merely he arrested both herself and husband. Mr. Spear, Mr. Jones, Mr. Smith, and Captain Hines, are equally positive in their testimony that no arrest or imprisonment took place. The prosecuting witness acknowledges and exhibits to you great bitterness of feeling against General Baker, while the witnesses in his behalf are persons in his employ. They may on both sides, whilst not intending to mislead you, be so influenced by their prejudices and feelings as to give an account of the transaction which may not be the true one. You will reconcile these contradictory statements, if you can, with the theory of guilt or innocence; but if you are left by them unable to determine in your minds that he is guilty beyond a reasonable doubt, you will give him the benefit of that doubt.

You have doubtless wondered, gentlemen, that a case of misdemeanor like this, where there was not over a few hours restraint of liberty, if any restraint at all, should for six or seven days have drawn here so large a crowd of spectators, and why such an array of counsel should have been retained to assist the district attorney in the prosecution of this case. It may be because of the jealousy with which the American people are disposed to watch every, even the slightest, encroachment upon personal liberty, or it may be that the explanation is to be found in the remarks of the counsel who first addressed you in behalf of the prosecution, when he told you that you were the representatives of the people, and that as such you should set a precedent, by your verdict in this case, to be followed in other similar cases hereafter.

Let me say to you, gentlemen, that you are in the jury-box only as the representatives of that stern, sublime, and holy attribute of the Almighty—His eternal justice. You may, as He does, temper that justice with mercy, but the justice must ever be maintained in its integrity.

You have also been reminded by the counsel for the prosecution, that the right of deciding all questions of *law*, as well as of fact, is ultimately with the jury. It may be so, gentlemen, but if in the exercise of that right a jury shall, without reason, entirely disregard the instructions of the Court, and decide questions of law for themselves, they will be just as culpable as though they should decide questions of fact without regard to the testimony of witnesses. It is as much the office of the judge, under his oath of office, to testify honestly as to the law of the case, as it is the duty of the witness, under *his* oath, to testify honestly as to the matters of fact pertaining to it; and the jury are just as much bound to take his testimony as to what the law is, that they may apply it to the case, as they are to credit the testimony of a witness who stands before them unimpeached as to the facts involved in it. I dismiss the subject with this further observation, that on one or two occasions, in a practice of nearly a quarter of a century, I have heard the counsel for the accused, in cases of great pressure, remind the jury that the

law as well as the fact was to be judged by them; but I have never before heard such a reminder suggested by the prosecution.

You will take the case, gentlemen, and determine it as best you can, according to the facts testified before you, under the light of the instructions which I have endeavored to give you. You are not to look to any consideration of party or public clamor. You are to rise above such influences, and spurn them with contempt. You are to hold the scales of justice with an even, steady nerve, and you will let not one atom of any thing but the law and the evidence disturb their perfect equipoise. Convict if you are certain of guilt; acquit if you have a doubt.

The jury took the case, and retired at ten minutes before eleven o'clock, and after an absence of one hour and twenty minutes, they returned, and returned a verdict of guilty of false imprisonment, but not guilty of extortion.

#### THE CASE OF DETECTIVE BAKER.

To-day, F. P. Stanton, of the counsel of Lafayette Baker, stated in the criminal court that Baker was present to receive sentence in the case of the false imprisonment of Mrs. Cobb, he having been convicted in January last. Mr. Stanton remarked that if Mrs. Cobb had any title to the money, the sum of two hundred dollars, of which it is alleged Baker robbed her, he having taken the money away from her at the time of her arrest, and which he had previously marked as a decoy, she had her remedy at law, but his counsel did not concede that she had any title to it.

Judge Fisher, in passing sentence, addressed Baker as follows:—

"You were indicted by the grand inquest for the County of Washington, in November last, upon a charge of false imprisonment. The indictment found against you contained two counts: the first count for the false imprisonment of Mrs. Lucy L. Cobb, and detaining her under arrest for some five hours, and until she had paid you the sum of two hundred dollars for her enlargement; and the second count for the simple false imprisonment. To this indictment you pleaded not guilty, and put yourself upon a jury of your country, who, upon a fair and impartial trial, decided by their verdict that you were guilty as charged in the second count of the indictment, and not guilty as charged in the first count. The effect of this conviction is substantially, as I understand it, that you were technically guilty of that offense which is termed false imprisonment, deducted of the circumstances of aggravation with which the first count in the indictment sought to invest it. It appeared in the evidence, to my satisfaction, certainly, and, I doubt not, to the satisfaction of the jury who convicted you, that the act with which you were charged, and of which you were convicted, was the result of an honest, though it may have been an ill-advised endeavor, in the discharge of your duty as a Government detective, to discover by whom and by what means certain fraudulent and corrupt practices were carried on against the Government of the United States in obtaining pardons from the Executive. Whether you were successful in that endeavor I know not, nor is it necessary, for the purpose of this case, that I should; nor do I desire, in any way whatever, to intimate any, the slightest,

suspicion that the party arrested was one of those who were engaged in the bad business of obtaining pardons by fraudulent or criminal means, or by any indirection whatever; but after fully and maturely, and I hope impartially, considering all the circumstances of your case, I have come to the conclusion that you may have been guilty technically of the offense of false imprisonment, there are not apparent in it any circumstances of moral turpitude or of malice, or of such ill-treatment of the party complaining as would warrant me in visiting upon you a heavy punishment. The case presents itself to me in the aspect of one where an officer of the Government, in a zealous effort to discharge his duty, may have been led by his zeal to go a hair's-breadth too far, and done an act which, though it cannot be justified in law, yet which, in a moral point of view, has much to mitigate the punishment. The sentence of the Court, therefore, is, that you pay to the United States the sum of one dollar and the costs of the prosecution."

Baker immediately paid the fine and costs, amounting to about thirty-six dollars.

District Attorney Carrington entered a *nolle prosequi* in the other indictments against Baker for the false imprisonment of Joseph R. Cobb, and the three indictments against Spear for false imprisonment and robbing Joseph R. and Lucy L. Cobb.

The impositions and frauds practiced upon applicants for pardon at the capital had become so notorious, that the President, under the advice of some of the Provisional Governors of the Southern States, decided to appoint an agent, who should reside permanently at Washington, whose duty it should be to receive all the applications, to place them on file in the Attorney-General's office, receive pardons from the Attorney-General, and forward them to the respective applicants. It was claimed by the President, and by the Provisional Governors, that the Southern people were subjected, not only to great expense in coming to and going home from Washington, and their hotel bills while in the city, but that on their arrival they were beset by male and female pardon brokers, and, in order to secure their pardons, were obliged to submit to any tax that the pardon brokers might impose, as above stated. To obviate this difficulty, the President appointed, as an agent for this purpose, a man reported to have been a rebel colonel. It was advertised throughout the South that such an agent had been appointed, and consequently those desiring pardons were requested to forward their applications to said agent. In pursuance of this notice, applications came forward in great numbers.

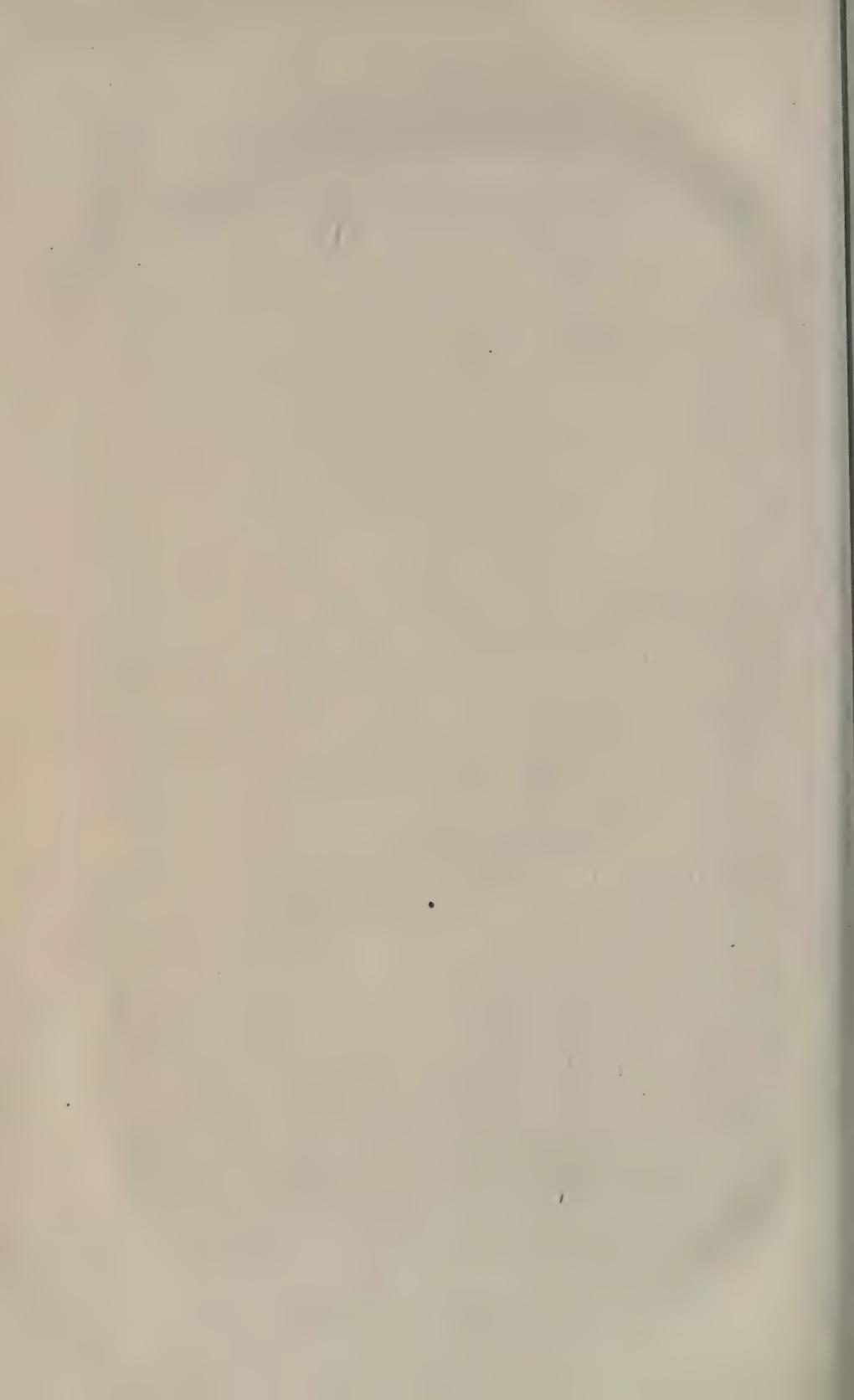
They were taken to the Attorney-General's office; pardons were issued and returned by the Attorney-General to the agent, and by the agent taken to Adams & Co.'s Express office. Instead of doing the business gratuitously, and, as at first alleged, to break up this fraud and imposition practised by pardon brokers in Washington, the rebel agents sent the pardons through the Express Company, with instructions to collect, on delivery, one hundred dollars. The following is a list, copied from the books of Adams & Co., of a few of the names of these applicants. Those books show that over thirteen thousand pardons were procured by this agent, and forwarded through the Express.

	Pardon.
Nov. 10....T. Pollard.....Montgomery, Ala.....	1 \$100
" 10....D. C. Anderson .....Mobile, " .....	1 100
" 10....C. Hopkins....." " .....	1 100
" 10....Eli Shorter .....Eufala, " .....	1 100
" 10....E. J. Kelheimer.....Selma, " .....	1 100
" 10....George Hughley .....West Point, Ga. ....	1 100
" 10....T. F. Nolan ....." " .....	1 100
" 10....W. C. Darden....." " .....	1 100
" 11....M. L. Walker ....." " .....	1 100
" 15....Amos Hughley....." " .....	1 100
" 15....W. C. Ray.....Montgomery, Ala.....	1 100
" 15 ...L. W. Lawler.....Selma, " .....	1 100
" 15....H. C. Sempler .....Montgomery, " .....	1 100
" 15....James T. Holtyclan....." " .....	1 100
" 15....John W. Malone .....Athens, " .....	1 100
" 15....Colonel S. Owen.....Montgomery, " .....	1 100
" 16....Lewis Owen....." " .....	1 100
" 16....E. W. Pettis.....Selma, " .....	1 100
" 16....D. C. Anderson .....Mobile, " .....	1 100
" 16....J. C. Anderson....." " .....	2 100
" 16....J. F. Holtyclan .....Montgomery, " .....	.. 100
" 17....Dr. Blount....." " .....	1 100
" 20....B. Tardy.....Mobile, " .....	2 100
" 20....M. H. Bloodgood....." " .....	2 100
" 21....H. P. Watson.....Montgomery, " .....	1 100
" 22....M. T. Walker .....West Point, Ga. ....	.. 100
" 22....George Hillyer.....Atlanta, " .....	.. 100
" 24...L. W. Lawler.....Selma, " .....	.. 100
" 24....M. T. Walker .....West Point, " .....	.. 100

The history of Executive pardons, from the spring of 1865 to the present date, would be a record unparalleled in national annals for its disregard of any fixed principles of

justice. Female influence, old prejudices and sympathies, and political affinities, seem to have been the reasons for clemency in a majority of cases.

In the narration of my official experience, of course, much was left out of the book, whose interest was equal to any thing included in it, because the time has not yet come for its publication. But one thing is certain—when a full and accurate history is written, the Republican party, with Abraham Lincoln at its head, in its general character and measures will be vindicated, whatever individual ambition and corruption might have done in the name of Liberty and the Union. It will appear that the ruling spirit of the rebellion was only subdued by force of arms, and that the golden opportunity to complete the work, in a righteous peace, was sacrificed by the very first acts of the Johnson policy ; and that more was accomplished to undo the achievements of a great conflict, and revive the hopes of the conquered, during the first six months of "Andy Johnson's" administration, than ever before in the wake of any victory, so vast and complete, in the annals of the world. But there is a "silver lining to the cloud" now, as when it was charged with the bolts of war. The same good and wrong occupying Providence which threatened the despot, and threatened plottings of any conspiracy before such times began, and has brought, in unexpected ways, secret crimes against humanity and the State to light, to judgment, and to punishment, since this work has been in press, has moved the people, through the State elections in nearly half of the Union, to pronounce a verdict against compromise with treason, whose tone of thunder reverberates over the land, and whose echoes will linger in the White House until its present occupant ceases to dishonor it. And no one more fervently than the writer of these necessarily imperfect annals can hope, that never more, in the future of this already costly but glorious Republic, may occur the occasion for the service of a National Detective Police, to divine the lawless plotters and speculators at the expense of its safety and honor, and to protect the loyal citizens who love and are ready to die for its unity and perpetuity.



## APPENDIX.

### FURTHER INVESTIGATIONS IN THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT

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As it will doubtless be of interest to my readers, I give some additional testimony before the Congressional Committee, in relation to the frauds and other malpractices in the Treasury Department.

By Mr. Garfield:

*Question.* You have been summoned to appear before this committee with all the papers, documents, and depositions you have respecting the printing or publication of the public money, or the persons engaged therein. You will proceed to give us what information you have in relation to affairs in the Treasury Department, as regards the printing of the fractional currency, and as to the character of any person engaged therein.

*Answer.* I suppose the committee will expect me to make a statement in reference to the manner in which I came to go into the Department, in the first place, to make the investigation. I was sent for, on or about the 20th of December last, by the Secretary of the Treasury, and in answer to that summons I was informed that there was some suspicion that there was something wrong in the department. I inquired in reference to whom the persons were upon whom suspicion rested; and I was told they were Mr. Stuart Gwynn, Mr. G. A. Henderson, and Mr. S. M. Clark. I think I was directed by Mr. Chase to go to Mr. Jordan, Solicitor of the Treasury, for the particulars as to what I was expected to do in the Department. I went to Mr. Jordan, and told him it was impossible for me to make any investigations in the Department, as my time was taken up, night and day, in investigations in the quartermasters' department, and, besides, I was a commissioned officer of the War Department, and was not at liberty to undertake any investigation in the Treasury Department. I left the Department, but on the following day I received an order, signed by the Secretary of the Treasury, in substance as follows:—

By the direction of the Secretary of War, you are ordered to report to the Treasury Department, for the purpose of making such investigations as may be deemed necessary.

I think that is the substance of the order. The first arrest made was that of Charles Cornwell, who belonged to the Redemption department. Cornwell was detected in stealing money from the burning or Redemption department. On the following day he was arrested, and, by Mr. Johnson's order, was committed to the Old Capitol prison, and thirty-one or thirty-two thousand dollars were taken from him, which he admitted was stolen from the department. Most of it was in five-twenty bonds, and some of it was in Treasury notes. Within two or three days after this arrest, I was sent for by Mr. Jordan. I met Mr. Jordan, Mr. Mansell B. Field, Mr. L. E. Chittenden, and Mr. McCulloch, Comptroller of the Treasury, and I think Mr. B. F. Spinner was present. The substance of the inquiry at this time was in reference to Dr. Gwynn and his operations in the Treasury Department. I reported to these gentlemen that I had made some inquiries and investigations in regard to Dr. Gwynn, and from those investigations had become satisfied that he was engaged in an operation in the Treasury Department involving the outlay of a great deal of money and the consumption of a great deal of time unnecessarily, and that his presses, plans, and machinery would never work. This information, I will state, I obtained from such men as Mr. Neil, superintendent of plate printing under Mr. Clark, and Mr. Corbin, a man represented to me as being a man of scientific ability in that particular line of printing and engraving. At the interview referred to with those gentlemen, Jordan, Chittenden, and others, I stated the result of the partial investigations I had made. The question arose then as to what should be the next step taken in the matter. I recommended the immediate arrest of Dr. Gwynn; Mr. Chittenden, I think, favored the recommendation; I think Mr. Field did also; I think Mr. Jordan had very little to say about it on that occasion. My recommendation, however, was not acted on at that interview, and the interview was broken up and I went away.

On the following day I was sent for by Mr. Jordan; I think this was the 4th or 5th of January last, as near as I can recollect. I entered more into detail with Mr. Jordan in reference to these matters, and made some explanations and statements referring him particularly to those presses that had been bought by Dr. Gwynn, and asked him to go with me to look at them; he did not, however, go with me on that occasion. On the following day I was sent for again. I recommended that either Mr. Field or Mr. Jordan should go through the building for the purpose of making an examination of what was being done in Mr. Clark's department, and more particularly in reference to the manufacture of the membrane paper, which was represented to me as being made exclusively in the Treasury Department; we obtained a permit from Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, and went through Mr. Clark's department; and on inquiry of Mr. Clark as to where the paper was manufactured, he told us he did not think it would be possible for us to get access to the room where it was manufactured, that Dr. Gwynn had thrown around the manufacture of this paper all sorts of restrictions to prevent its being counterfeited, and in order to prevent any of it from getting out of the building, but that he would go with us and show us where the room was, at the same time remarking that he did not think we should be able to get in there; we went to the room and tried one or two doors, but found them locked; we finally went around through the heating or furnace room and found a door

which stood wide open; we went into the room, which was eighty to one hundred feet long; there were six or seven girls in the room, some of them at work scrubbing the floor, and some of them picking up paper; I found two or three doors leading out of this room into the hall, where there were some workmen engaged in laying the pavement in the open corridor. I saw workmen and laborers passing from this room into the hall; Mr. Field called my attention to it, and remarked that it was singular that paper should be manufactured in that way, with so little restriction about it. I then suggested to Mr. Field that he should ask the young man in charge, Mr. Hudson, who was there as Dr. Gwynn's agent, clerk, or superintendent, what means or mode he had of knowing how much paper he had on hand, how much he manufactured, how much he sent to the printing room, and what means he had of preventing people from stealing it; he did so, and the reply was, "None, whatever, except we count the sheets at night." We had some further conversation, which I do not recollect now. At my suggestion, Mr. Field sat down at the desk, ordered the room cleared of every one in it, ordered it closed, and took possession of the paper, machinery, and every thing in it, and Mr. Field took the key; the young man, however, who had charge of the room, wanted Mr. Field to give him a receipt for what was in the room, which Mr. Field declined to do, but he gave him a copy of the order, and took possession of the room. I think this occurred the day or the day before Dr. Gwynn's arrest; it was decided, however, that Dr. Gwynn should be arrested. I went up into Dr. Gwynn's room, which is in the third story, to bring him down into Mr. Jordan's room, where Mr. Chittenden and Mr. Field were sitting. When I brought him down and stopped at the room I found they had gone, and I took Dr. Gwynn to my office. I immediately returned to Mr. Jordan, took one of my officers with me, told Mr. Jordan that Dr. Gwynn was at my office, and asked him to send a man with me to Dr. Gwynn's room for the purpose of taking possession of all the letters and papers which he had in his room. He put on his hat and said he would go with me himself; we went up and locked the door on the inside; Sergeant Lee, of my office, was with us; we gathered up the letters, papers, specimens of printing, and whatever we could find, and at Jordan's direction they were carried to my office. In going down stairs, I told Jordan I would look over the papers as soon as I could, and make a report. In the mean time, Dr. Gwynn was placed in charge of an officer that night, and the next morning I reported to Jordan that I had found sufficient against Dr. Gwynn to convict him; he then gave me an order directed to the superintendent of the Old Capitol prison, in the following words:—

You will receive and retain in close custody, until further orders, Dr. Gwynn. By order of the Secretary of the Treasury:

EDWIN JORDAN, Solicitor.

I do not know that I can better inform the committee of what transpired after this time than by reading a report which I made to Mr. Jordan, dated April 1, 1864.

The witness here read a copy of the report referred to, and which is marked, among the papers of the committee, "Exhibit A."

By Mr. Wilson:

Question. At what time was that report delivered to the Solicitor of the Treasury?

## APPENDIX.

*Answer.* I think it was delivered on the 4th or 5th of last month—April. I am not certain as to the exact date, but my books will show.

*Q.* At what time was the arrest of Dr. Gwynn made?

*A.* On the 6th of January last.

*Q.* What was the occasion of the delay in delivering the report to the Solicitor of the Treasury?

*A.* It was a report requiring some time to make out. I will state to the committee that I had supposed, when I went into the Treasury Department to make the investigation, I was to be aided by the heads of the bureaus. I found, however, when I got in there to make it, that there was no one inclined to assist me at all.

*Q.* The first suggestions to you in relation to the operations of Gwynn, I understood you to say, came from the Secretary of the Treasury?

*A.* I do not know whether they came from the Secretary, directly, or from Mr. Jordan. My interviews generally were with Mr. Jordan, and, in fact, I did all my business with Mr. Jordan. In making out this report, had occasion to call on Mr. Corbin, whose name I have mentioned, and immediately after he furnished me with those statistics, referred to in the report he was dismissed by order of the Secretary.

*Q.* How did you become possessed of the fact that he was dismissed?

*A.* I saw the order dismissing him.

By Mr. Garfield:

*Q.* From all the data in your possession, what amount of fractional currency do you suppose they could possibly have worked off during all this time in all their operations?

*A.* That is a subject to which I have given no attention.

By Mr. Wilson:

*Q.* How many roller presses had they in operation at the time you made the examination?

*A.* I think they had about one hundred.

By Mr. Brooks:

*Q.* Who was this Mr. Corbin?

*A.* He was an employee of Mr. Clark.

*Q.* What was his business?

*A.* He was there as an experimenter. He is a Prussian, an engraver by trade, and a chemist.

*Q.* In your report, you spoke, at the close, of accompanying documents. What did that refer to?

*A.* The letters and correspondence which passed between Dr. Gwynn and Clark and others.

*Q.* Where are they?

*A.* With the original report. The Secretary or Mr. Jordan has that. All the letters referred to in that report can be had by applying to Mr. Jordan.

By Mr. Wilson:

*Q.* You stated that you advised Dr. Gwynn's immediate arrest?

*A.* Yes, sir.

*Q.* Have you stated, in your report to the Solicitor of the Treasury, all the facts upon which you advised the arrest of Gwynn?

*A.* I do not think I have. Before those interviews of which I spoke, with Jordan, Chittenden, and others, we had got possession of certain bills which had been rendered by Gwynn to the Department, and on which Gwynn had obtained money. On inquiry of those persons whom the bills represented, we found that they had not received the money. Mr. Jordan directed that copies of the invoice book should be made out. They were brought down to him, and it was decided upon them and other papers that Gwynn had received thirty-five thousand dollars for certain bills which he had not paid. That was the charge on which I recommended that Dr. Gwynn should be arrested.

*Q.* Are you prepared to state that those parties who should have received that money, according to your view of the case, had charged these accounts to the Government, and not to Mr. Gwynn?

*A.* I can only say what the parties stated to me; and one stated under oath to the Secretary of the Treasury, in my presence, that he had made the charges on his books to the Treasury Department.

*Q.* When was that statement made?

*A.* I think it was made the day after Gwynn was arrested.

*Q.* At the time you advised the arrest, did you know that any of the accounts upon which Gwynn had received money from the Department were charged, by the parties of whom Gwynn received materials and machinery, to the Government of the United States?

*A.* We knew it this far. Mr. Jordan and Mr. Chittenden had asked General Spinner and other heads of departments to bring to Mr. Jordan's office their books, in order to ascertain what bills had been paid. From those books it was ascertained that certain moneys had been paid Gwynn; and it was from the same books ascertained, or from the statement of parties to whom the money was to be paid, that they had not received the money. I recollect that the matter was talked over by all of us together, two or three mornings. Mr. Chittenden, particularly, took a great interest in it, and said he was satisfied money had been paid to Gwynn which he had not paid over to the parties at all. For example, Gwynn had represented to certain parties in the Department that he had paid Woodruff & Beach, a manufacturing company at Hartford, Connecticut, for presses. We knew he had not, for I had sent down, in the mean time, and ascertained that they had not received the money. I had requested Woodruff to come to Washington, and he was then in the city. When these bills were brought in, Mr. Chittenden got the warrant, which passed through the Treasury Department, for some forty-three thousand dollars, which had been paid to Gwynn. General Spinner, Mr. Field, or some one of the heads of bureaus present, said that he recollects that Gwynn, when he made the requisition for the sum of forty-two or forty-three thousand dollars, stated that a portion of it was to go to the Woodruff & Beach Manufacturing Company. I told them I had sent to Hartford, and had ascertained that none of the money had gone to that manufacturing company, and that Mr. Woodruff himself was in this city. After that, Mr. Woodruff went before the Secretary, and made a sworn statement of the fact.

By Mr. Garfield:

*Q.* What knowledge have you, if any, in relation to Mr. Clark's operations in the Treasury Department, in connection with the female employees there?

*A.* I have a number of affidavits here in reference to this matter, and I desire to state how I procured them. In the first place, I had heard various rumors about Clark in connection with certain women in his employ. Mr. Schmidt, a German, a confidential agent of Mr. Chase, and who has recently gone to California, came to me and gave me the names of two of these women, and told me where they resided, and told me he thought those women were being improperly used by Mr. Clark. I immediately took measures to ascertain where their rooms were, and then took measures to get possession of certain correspondence and of a certain diary kept by one of those girls. I got the original diary, and copied the whole of it. I got possession of letters and notes from Mr. Clark, which I have here; also letters from Mr. Henderson to these girls. After I had ascertained all these facts, I sent for one of these girls. I did not tell her what I wanted of her. I began by asking her some questions about her connection with the Treasury Department. I asked her how long she had been there, and she told me. I asked her where she was on a certain night; asked her if she did not go to the Central Hotel, and sleep with Clark that night. She said she did. After I had put all the questions to her I desired, I asked her if she had any objections to making a statement. She said she had not. I then wrote this statement which I hold in my hand, and read it to her very carefully, three or four times, and then handed it to her, and allowed her to read it herself. I then sent for a notary, and had him read it to her, and had her read it to the notary.

*Q.* Was she an employee in the Department?

*A.* She was an employee in the numbering room of the Treasury Department.

*Q.* At this time?

*A.* I suppose she is there, for I saw her there to-day, sitting in the window eating her dinner. The room of this girl, Ella Jackson, is at 276 Pennsylvania Avenue. In the same building there is residing a Miss Ada Thompson, who has no connection with the Department, and, so far as I can ascertain, is a very respectable woman. I have heard nothing against her. She occupied a room adjoining Ella Jackson for a long time. It was through her that I first obtained access to the papers to which I have referred. My detective first obtained access to the room to get possession of those papers. I do not know that it is necessary to enter into the minutiae of the operations of my detectives. I will read the statement of Miss Ada Thompson and the statement of Miss Ella Jackson.

The witness here read the papers referred to, and which are marked, among the papers of the committee, respectively, Exhibits B and C.

By Mr. Wilson:

*Q.* Were these statements placed before the Secretary of the Treasury?

*A.* They were. Mr. Jordan told me he had taken the statements to Mr. Chase, and that Mr. Chase had requested him to send for those girls and the persons making these affidavits, with a view to ascertain whether they would make the same statements before him (Mr. Jordan) that they had before me.

Mr. Jordan sent for the girls, and he gave me the result of his interview with them. It was this. He told them he wanted them to understand that they were there in his room under no restraint whatever, and that they were at liberty to take back the whole of the statements they had made to me, if they thought proper. He asked them if they had sworn to those statements. They said they had. He then read the statements over to them carefully, and in one or two instances they made some immaterial corrections as to dates. Mr. Jordan's language to me was: "All the statements were sustained." He also stated to me that the Secretary required him to make out a report; that he did make out a report, in which he stated that he had carefully examined all the persons who had made affidavits, and that he found that they corroborated the statements of those girls, with some immaterial corrections.

*Q.* At whose instance did you commence the investigation as to these females?

*A.* At the instance of Mr. Jordan and Mr. Chittenden.

*Q.* You have spoken of three statements. Are those all you have?

*A.* No, sir. I have here some seven or eight statements.

*Q.* How many of those girls still remain employed in the Treasury Department?

*A.* All of them but one, and she left of her own accord. The question came up, one day, as to the propriety of discharging the girls, and Mr. Jordan and Mr. Chittenden both insisted that they should not be discharged until Mr Clark was. Hence the girls have been kept there until the present time.

By Mr. Dawson:

*Q.* Have you had any conversation with Clark about these affidavits?

*A.* I have had none.

*Q.* Have they been communicated to him?

*A.* Yes, sir; Mr. Chase requested Mr. Jordan to send for Mr. Clark and read the affidavits to him. Clark came down into Jordan's room, and Jordan showed him the affidavit of Ella Jackson first. He looked at it and threw it across the table, saying, "Yes, sir; I know all about this. I deny your right, or the right of Mr. Chase, to question my private character."

*Q.* When was that?

*A.* Quite recently—within the last two weeks.

By Mr. Garfield:

*Q.* State to the committee briefly what other matters you have here in the way of affidavits, and what are the facts substantially.

*A.* I have an affidavit of Miss Germon, who corroborates every statement made by Miss Ada Thompson and Miss Jackson. There is also the statement of Laura Duvall, who is now in the Department. Here is a statement of Mr. Spurgeon, a job printer, now working for Polkinhorn, of this city. He corroborates all the other statements. There are also statements of Mano Lulley and Anthony Lulley. Mano Lulley resides at No. 406 K Street.

May 14th, I forwarded the following statement:—

## APPENDIX.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 14, 1864.

General GARFIELD, Chairman of Treasury Department Investigating Committee:—

SIR—I am to-day informed that Miss Ella Jackson, one of the women who made certain sworn statements concerning S. M. Clark, has removed to No. 425 Eleventh Street, this city.

I would respectfully recommend that the committee send for Mr. G. A. Henderson, who will, no doubt, give some important facts concerning Clark's assignations with various female employees of his bureau, but more particularly in relation to the evening spent at the Central Hotel with Miss Jackson and Miss Germon.

I am reliably informed that S. M. Clark has to-day circulated among the female employees of his bureau a certificate, which he (Clark) has required these females to sign, setting forth that he (Clark) had invariably deported himself with propriety toward these female employees.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Special Agent War Department.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 19, 1864.

Hon. Mr. GARFIELD, Chairman of Treasury Investigating Committee:—

SIR—Herewith please find a statement submitted to me by the father of the young lady referred to. Mr. Weeden (the father) is a very respectable and reliable mechanic, and now employed in the Navy Yard at Washington.

If you deem it proper to send for him (which I trust you will), he will place you in possession of all the facts connected with the matter. There is no question as to the truth of that portion of the statement referring to the mulatto woman, Catharine Dodson. There are other similar cases in which she has figured in precisely the same manner.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel, and Agent War Department.

WASHINGTON, May 20, 1864.

Hon. P. H. WATSON, Assistant Secretary of War:—

SIR—You are doubtless aware of the startling developments recently made in the Treasury Department, through my instrumentality. A Congressional committee of nine, from the Senate and House, have for some days been in session, making investigations.

The proof is so overwhelming and positive in its character, that even Mr. Chase's personal friends are alarmed for the safety of his (Mr. Chase's) character and reputation.

A republican member of the committee referred to called on me late last evening, and asked me where a subpoena would reach you. That he desired to show by you what my character, position, and standing had been for two years past in the War Department; whether I was worthy of trust or not, &c. I informed him that I did not know your whereabouts, but would ascer-

tain and let him know. This morning I called on Mr. Whiting, who kindly furnished me with the desired information.

After your many acts of kindness and consideration toward me, I regret the necessity that compels the committee to send for you on my account.

If you deem it consistent and proper to send me a statement, in writing (which I can place before the committee at the proper time), as to my *status*, character, and reputation in the War Department, I would consider myself under various obligations.

The First District Columbia Cavalry have done nobly in the recent battles under General Butler (see official report of General Kautz); the repeating rifles do the work cleverly, showing the wisdom of the Assistant Secretary of War in directing the purchase of this most effective weapon.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed)

L. C. BAKER,

Colonel and Agent War Department.

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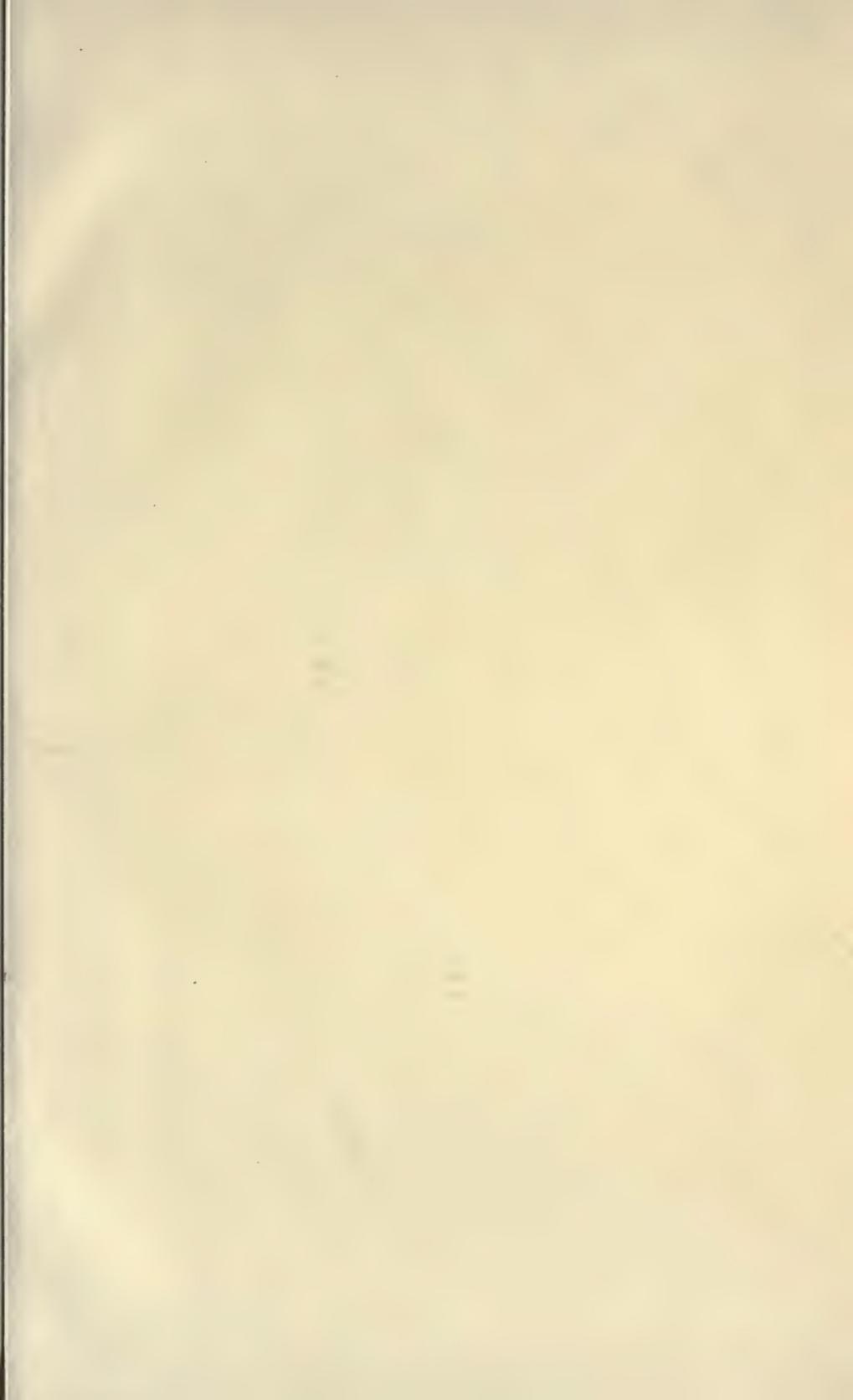
#### ACTUAL BURIAL-PLACE OF BOOTH.

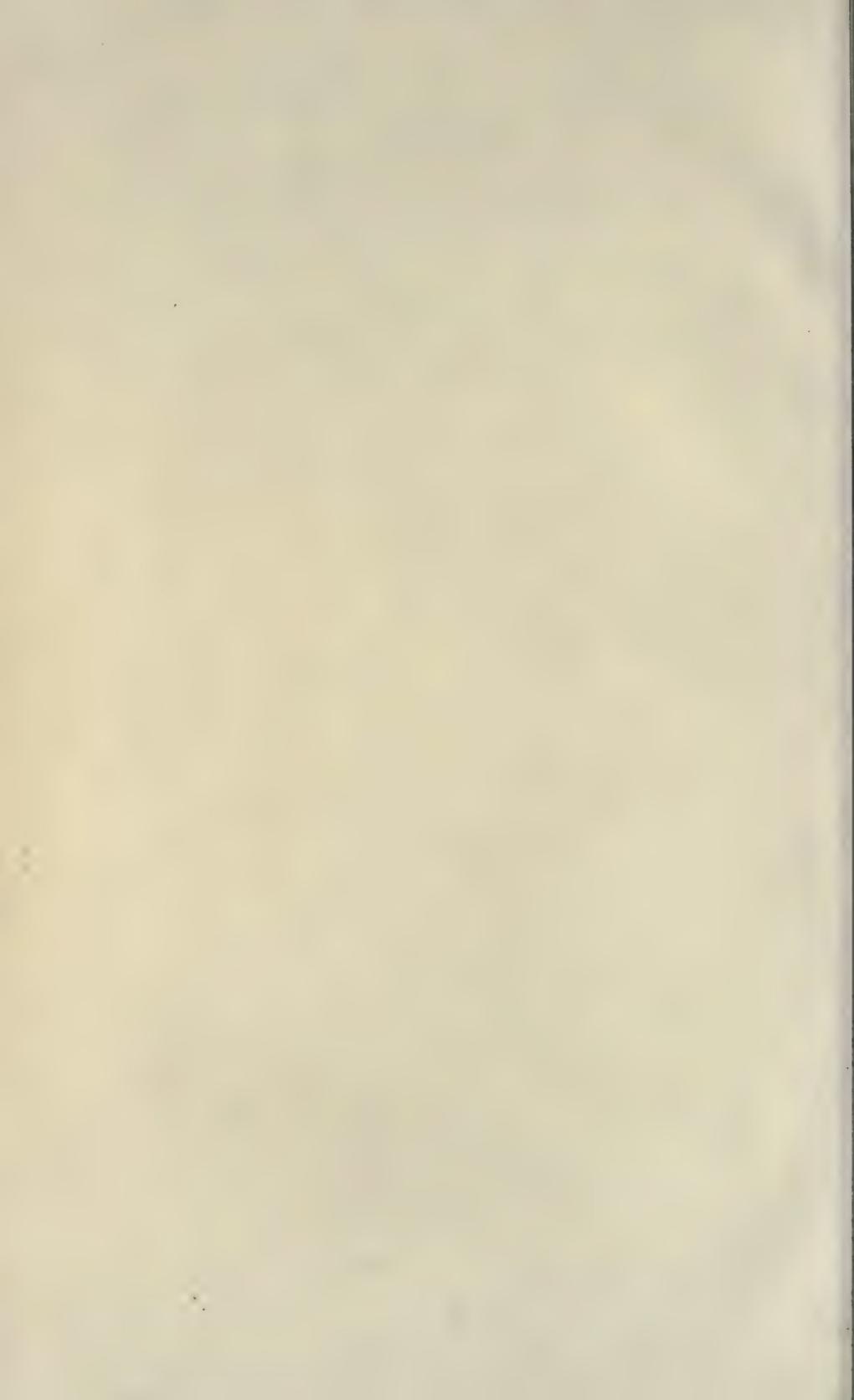
In compliance with a promise made in the Prospectus of this work, as well as to gratify public curiosity, and, if possible, forever put at rest the many absurd and foolish rumors in circulation concerning the final disposition of the remains of the assassin, J. Wilkes Booth, I submit the following facts:—

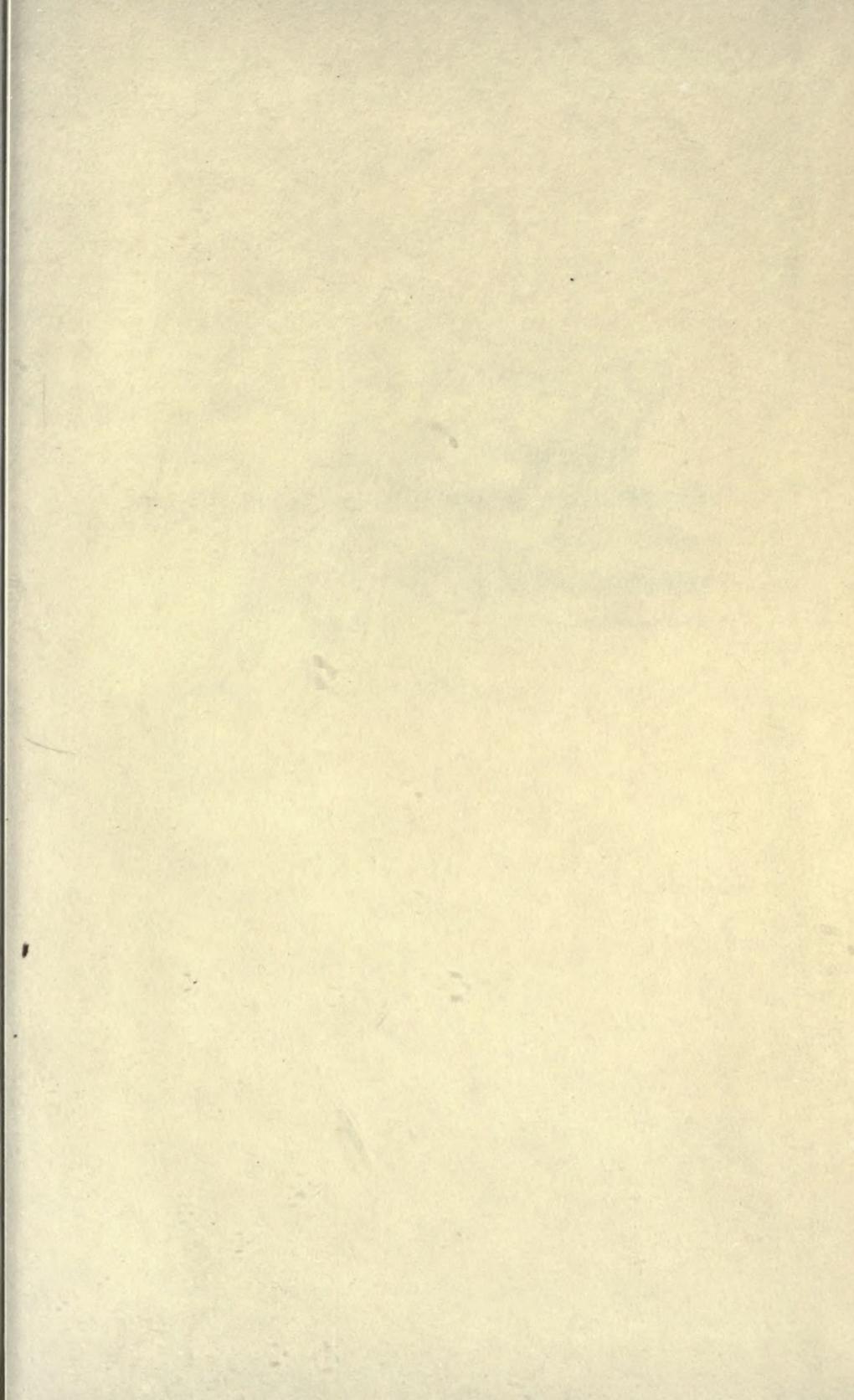
In order to establish the identity of the body of the assassin beyond all question, the Secretary of War directed me to summon a number of witnesses residing in the city of Washington, who had previously known the murderer. Some two years previous to the assassination of the President, Booth had had a *tumor* or *carbuncle* cut from his neck by a surgeon. On inquiry, I ascertained that Dr. May, a well-known and very skillful surgeon, of twenty-five years' practice in Washington, had performed the operation.

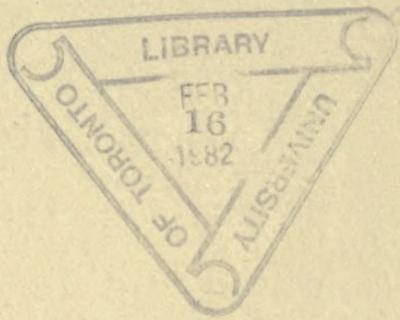
Accordingly I called on Dr. May, who, before seeing the body, minutely described the exact locality of the tumor, the nature and date of the operation, &c. After being sworn, he pointed to the *scar* on the neck, which was then plainly visible. Five other witnesses were examined, all of whom had known the assassin intimately for years. The various newspaper accounts, referring to the *mutilation* of Booth's body, are equally absurd. General Barnes, Surgeon-General U. S. A., was on board the gun-boat where the post-mortem examination was held, with his assistants. General Barnes cut from Booth's neck about two inches of the *spinal* column through which the ball had passed; this piece of bone, which is now on exhibition in the Government Medical Museum, in Washington, is the only relic of the assassin's body above ground, and this is the only mutilation of the remains that ever occurred. Immediately after the conclusion of the examination, the Secretary of War gave orders as to the disposition of the body, which had become very offensive, owing to the condition in which it had remained after death; the leg, broken in jumping from the box to the stage, was much discolored and

swollen, the blood from the wound having saturated his under-clothing. With the assistance of Lieut. L. B. Baker, I took the body from the gun-boat direct to the old Penitentiary, adjoining the Arsenal grounds. The building had not been used as a prison for some years previously. The Ordnance Department had filled the ground-floor cells with fixed ammunition—one of the largest of these cells was selected as the burial-place of Booth—the ammunition was removed, a large flat stone lifted from its place, and a rude grave dug; the body was dropped in, the grave filled up, the stone replaced, and there rests to this hour all that remained of John Wilkes Booth.









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